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THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

PERIODICAL ROOM

Re-established by ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE.

EDITED BY LLOYD BRYCE.

July, 1890.

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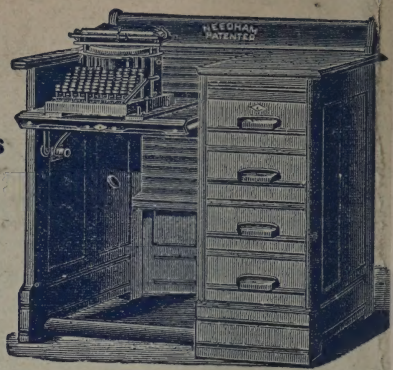

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JULY, 1890.

MR. PARNELL ANSWERED.

BY THE RIGHT HONORABLE ARTHUR J. BALFOUR, CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND.

THE history of the Irish land question is the history of Ireland. Every historical cause which has conspired during eight hundred years to make the Ireland of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the parent of so many political difficulties has left its mark upon the land system of the country. Tribal anarchy, conquest, rebellion, confiscation, famine, religious differences, penal laws, commercial restrictions, even Parliamentary franchises, have contributed, not slightly or remotely, but obviously and directly, to make agricultural Ireland what it is. Is such or such a district occupied entirely by grazing farms? This is not improbably because the population were removed at the time of a great famine. Is another district crowded with tenants who could by no possibility extract from the soil, even if they had it rent free, a prosperous livelihood? This is not improbably due to the fact that in the old days of the 40s. freeholder the landlord was of opinion that he gained in political importance by multiplying the number of voters on his estate, and made therefore no serious efforts to check, if he did not absolutely encourage, the rapid growth of population and the excessive subdivision of holdings.

Is agrarian crime judged by a different standard from that which is applied to other far less cowardly and disgraceful infractions of

the law? The reason is to be sought in old traditions of lawlessness, partly caused, partly aggravated, by the successive confiscations to which the land of Ireland has been subjected, and which, in combination with other circumstances, too long to dwell upon here, have produced in the minds of certain sections of the population a hereditary belief that in agrarian matters the operation of the law may, with advantage, be supplemented by intimidation and murder. Is such or such a landlord the titular holder of a great tract of country at a fixed rent which is merely nominal compared with the present value of the land? He is probably the descendant of some courtier of Elizabeth, James I., or Charles II., who long ago parted with his rights to any interest in his property beyond the "head rent." Does another such man hold his land on certain forms of long lease? This is not improbably because he has inherited his tenure from a Roman Catholic ancestor who was unable, while the penal laws were in force, to become the legal freeholder of land which he was prepared to buy and the owner was prepared to sell.

The general result of these and other historic causes was that in Ireland, towards the middle of the present century, the immediate recipients of the rent were in many cases middlemen and in many cases absentees; while the ultimate recipients were too often the mortgagees. The relations between landlord and tenant were determined in part, but only in part, by conditions recognized in courts. In Ulster there had grown up a definite and universally-accepted custom under which the tenant was practically copartner with his landlord in the ownership of certain rights attached to the soil; while in other parts of Ireland vague memories of an age in which custom, not contract, had determined the tenure of land, lingered in the minds of the people, on which they founded an obscure and ill-defined claim of right, not admitted in theory either by lawyers or landlords, yet not as a rule inconsistent with the practice of the latter. Add to all this a population which, while entirely dependent on agriculture, was far in excess of the agricultural capabilities of the country, and we find ourselves in face of a social system so ill compacted that the first serious shock was certain to produce a catastrophe.

The shock came in the shape of the potato famine of 1846. Of the suffering and ruin which this great calamity produced on tenant and on landlord it is not necessary here to speak. Two

results of it only need be noted. The first is the great diminution of population which, though unequal in its incidence,—in some districts possibly excessive, in others certainly insufficient,—has yet, on the whole, beyond all doubt enormously improved the well-being of the Irish agriculturist. The second is the large transfer of estates from the old landlords, who were ruined, to new purchasers, who were invited by Parliament to buy Irish land and to treat it in precisely the same manner that a citizen of the United States would treat land which he bought for a similar purpose—namely, as property which he might let to any one who would take it at its full competition value. On such estates there was necessarily a violent change from the quasi-customary tenure mentioned above to contract in its most modern form. A movement in the same direction was encouraged by the Land Act of 1860, passed by the then Liberal government of which Mr. Gladstone was a member.

Probably no country—and certainly not Ireland at any other period of its history—has increased so rapidly in prosperity as did Ireland in the twenty years succeeding the great famine. Nevertheless, the occasional exaction, principally by the new landlords, of their full legal rights had in certain cases necessarily produced either the reality or the appearance of hardship, and it was to prevent this that, first in 1870 and afterwards, more elaborately, in 1881, the governments of which Mr. Gladstone was the head directly reversed the policy which had been pursued up to the year 1860, and endeavored by formal enactment to frame a legal system which should be a successful imitation of the customary system, the tradition of which, as I have before said, lingered obscurely in the minds of many of the Irish tenantry.

I do not propose to offer any criticism upon these important measures. It may be said in favor of them that they were undoubtedly well meant; that they may have temporarily and partially softened the bitterness of agrarian discontent; and that the system which they were intended to amend did undoubtedly, in its practical working, succeed in combining almost every evil which observers have detected in the system of large estates with every evil which they have detected in the rival system of a peasant proprietary. Nevertheless, it may be safely said that the task they endeavored to accomplish was a hopeless one. Any legislator who attempts to abolish demand and supply as the

determining causes of commercial value must put a court of arbitration, or something equivalent to it, in their place; and the result of such an attempt in Ireland has been, as it could not but be, to hand over to a department whose members are, as vacancies occur, necessarily appointed by the political party for the time being in power, the duty of determining for every man connected with agriculture in Ireland the "fair" value of his property, as distinguished from its market value.

Such a system would, in the opinion of the present writer, be intolerable, even if the principles on which the court had to reach its decisions were definite and easily intelligible; if the application of these principles to the particular cases was direct and obvious; if the opposing parties between whom justice had to be done were equal in numbers, in power, and in their opportunities of influencing public opinion; if the court could be protected from the attacks of a political party violent in their designs to the verge of treason, and unscrupulous in their methods beyond the limits of legality. In Ireland none of these favorable conditions exist; and there the system is only tolerable if it be regarded as provisional. But if it is to be regarded as provisional, to what is it intended to lead? A reversion to the old policy of 1848 and 1860, even if desirable, would be wholly impracticable. We cannot go back; and if we are to go forward, the only method which the wit of man has yet devised for again securing freedom in land contracts is by substituting for the existing system the simplest of all tenures—that, namely, under which the occupiers of land are also its owners.

Such, then, are, broadly stated, the circumstances under which the present administration have brought forward their proposals for facilitating land-purchase in Ireland. They have been met by a determined opposition from the home-rule party—an opposition the violence of which does not seem to be mitigated by the fact that the various arguments used against the bill are inconsistent with each other, and for the most part inconsistent with the previous utterances of those who use them. Before, however, I approach the consideration of these, or of such of them as Mr. Parnell has repeated in this REVIEW, it may be as well to remind the reader, in a few sentences, of the particular problem which the framers of the bill had to meet, although it would not be possible here to give any adequate account of the method in which they have en-

deavored to meet it. In the first place, as the British electorate had declared that it was not prepared to run any financial risk for the sake of the Irish tenants, and as, at the same time, no tolerable measure of land-purchase is conceivable which does not utilize to the utmost the advantages of British credit, a plan had to be invented by which the Treasury might be enabled to lend to the Irish tenants under conditions which would supply an absolute assurance that neither the thriftlessness, misfortune, nor dishonesty of the debtor could imperil the security of the debt. In the second place, it was necessary, in order that the scheme might work smoothly, to find some method of introducing elasticity into the relations between the borrowing purchaser and the lending exchequer, so that, in case the former was prevented by undeserved calamity from paying the full amount of his annuity within the legal term, it need not be necessary to have recourse to the extreme measure of eviction. It was desirable, in the third place, to devise some method for dealing with the "congested districts" in the west of Ireland by which the pressure of population upon the means of subsistance should be lessened, partly by diminishing the former, partly by augmenting the latter. These, it will be admitted by all who have studied this question, are not objects easy to attain separately; still less are they easy to attain in combination: nevertheless, it is not too much to claim that they are attained, and attained for the first time, in the bill of the present government.

Such being in brief the scope of the measure, what are the objections to it brought forward by Mr. Parnell in his recent article? They appear to be the following: It is asserted, in the first place, that the amount to be advanced is not sufficient to buy out the Irish landlords and settle the Irish land question. It is asserted, in the second place, that, since the loan by the British exchequer to the purchasing tenants is ultimately secured on the amount of the exchequer contributions towards the cost of carrying out certain public objects in the localities in which these tenants live, default by the latter would result in these public objects remaining unfulfilled. It is asserted, in the third place, that while Ireland is under "coercion" (as it is called)—in other words, while the machinery of summary jurisdiction and short sentences is used to punish those offences with which, as experience shows, Irish juries cannot be trusted to deal—the tenants

will not be in a position to make, on equal terms, a fair bargain with their landlords.

In regard to the first of these objections (that based upon the *inadequacy* of the measure), I have to observe that Mr. Parnell has overstated his case. If we take into account the advances authorized under the existing land-purchase acts, the total amount to be expended in the first instance on land-purchase in Ireland will not be thirty-three millions, as Mr. Parnell appears to suppose, but over forty millions. Moreover, this forty millions does not, as Mr. Parnell would have his readers believe, represent the whole amount to be expended under the government bill. On the contrary, as the loans are repaid by the first set of purchasing tenants, they can be reissued for the purpose of facilitating sales to a new set of tenants, so that, in reality, the government bill not only provides an enormous fund immediately available for the creation of a peasant proprietary, but it supplies, in addition, a constant revenue applicable to the same purpose.

Now, is this provision so inadequate as Mr. Parnell would have us believe? The land-purchase acts have been in operation for nearly five years: during that period less than ten millions has been applied for; so that, if experience is to be taken as a sufficient guide, and the new loan of thirty millions is to be as slowly taken advantage of as the old loan of ten millions, it will be fifteen years before the whole forty millions is exhausted; and by that time the repayments available for reissue will amount to no inconsiderable sum. Personally, however, I am perfectly ready to admit that I would rather have a hundred millions at my disposal for purposes of land-purchase than forty millions. But does any one suggest that the present Parliament of the United Kingdom will be induced to sanction the larger amount? And, if not, is any Home-Ruler sanguine enough to suppose Parliament would be more anxious to place its credit at the disposal of Ireland when Ireland is "managing its own affairs in College Green" than it is at the present moment, with the full responsibility for governing Ireland resting upon its shoulders? I think not; and I gather that my opinion is shared by Mr. Parnell; since the remedy he suggests for the inadequacy of our proposal consists, not in increasing the amount of the loan, but in diminishing the purposes to which it may be applied.

Indeed, if there be any force at all in Mr. Parnell's second

objection,—that, namely, which is based upon the inexpediency or injustice (I do not quite gather which it is) of hypothecating the imperial contribution to local purposes as security for the imperial loan,—it is clear that the government plan errs, not on the side of giving too little, but of giving too much. There is no conceivable security for the British exchequer which does not sooner or later, in some form or other, involve the seizure, in case of default, of Irish funds which might otherwise be devoted to Irish purposes; and if this procedure be regarded as either unjust or inexpedient, then all schemes of land-purchase may be forever abandoned. But the truth is that in urging this objection Mr. Parnell is attempting the difficult task of combining two inconsistent methods of attack. He is rather complimenting his allies by adopting one of their arguments than stating his own deliberate opinion, for he has told us both in speech and writing that this hypothecation of local contributions is the proper, and, indeed, the only, method of guaranteeing the necessary advances; and if this be once granted, it would be difficult—I venture to say impossible—to show that any other measure has been or could be contrived which more effectually safeguards the local purposes from any possible injury arising out of the dishonesty or the ill-fortune of the purchasing tenants.

We may take it, then, as admitted by Mr. Parnell and those who agree with him that the bill takes for its security the only security which is available, and that it proposes to raise upon that security as much as the British taxpayer will consent to lend. The only question, therefore, which remains for discussion on Mr. Parnell's first two objections is whether the money could be made to go further in solving the Irish land question than it is likely to go under the bill he is criticising.

Mr. Parnell has suggested no less than three methods by which this desirable economy in the employment of the Treasury advances may be attained. The first, which substituted a plan for what is called fining down rents for the plan of purchase suggested in the bill, he developed at great length in his speech on the second reading. It met, however, with but little favor from any section of the House of Commons. It is not alluded to, even in the most distant manner, in his article in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, and, I presume, will not be heard of again. His second method may be treated with more respect. It consists in excluding

from the advantages of the act the tenants of farms above a certain valuation. There is undoubtedly much to be said in favor of a plan which would increase the number of occupiers who would be able immediately to purchase their holdings, just as there is much to be said against a restriction which, by formally excluding from the benefits of the act many of the most influential tenants in Ireland, might create in an important class a feeling of soreness and discontent not favorable to a settlement of land controversy. But in any case this is a question of detail, though doubtless of important detail, proper for settlement in committee of the House of Commons, but in no sense affecting the main principles of the bill. I should add that in the bill as it actually stands there *is* a limitation somewhat of the kind which Mr. Parnell seems to desire, though he has not thought fit to mention it to his American readers. This would certainly have the effect of excluding from the benefits of the act the very tenants who he seems to fear will chiefly take advantage of it—namely, the "gentlemen graziers" occupying "several large farms, and not residing upon any of them." Under ordinary circumstances, the utmost amount that may be advanced to any single occupier is £3,000; and where, under certain exceptional circumstances, this limit is passed, the advance cannot exceed £5,000. Now, I submit that neither £3,000 nor even £5,000 is adequate for the purchase of "several large grazing farms."

Mr. Parnell's third method of economizing the employment of the forty millions may be more summarily dismissed. Put shortly, it consists in taking a large slice of the landlord's property without compensation, so that the exchequer loans may more easily be able to provide the compensation required for what is left. It is true that this simple financial operation is disguised under phrases which seem to imply that nothing further is contemplated than securing to the Irish tenant the value of his improvements; but these improvements are already amply secured to him by laws to which, I believe, there is no counterpart either in the United States, France, Germany, or Belgium; and any further proposals by Mr. Parnell or his party purporting to have this object in view are, if we may judge by experience, really nothing else than more or less ingeniously-disguised methods for depriving the landlord of all property in the soil he owns beyond its prairie value.

I come now to the third of Mr. Parnell's objections, which is, perhaps, the most singular of all. He objects, it appears, to any land-purchase scheme being passed while Ireland is under "coercion"; on the grounds that no tenant can under such circumstances contract freely with his landlord as to the terms of sale. In order to support so startling a thesis he is obliged to misrepresent the provisions of the Coercion Act, which, he states most erroneously, are to render illegal all combination on the part of the tenants; to invent imaginary prosecutions of Nationalist Members of Parliament, Mr. Cox, Mr. Patrick O'Brien, and others, for advising tenants not to give more than a certain amount for their holdings;* to ignore the fact that the clauses in the so-called Coercion Act dealing with criminal conspiracy are in operation over but a small part of Ireland; and that he himself, when, during Mr. Gladstone's government, all Ireland was under coercion, did not consider that he was on that account precluded from warmly supporting in Parliament a resolution in favor of land-purchase brought forward by two members of the present Conservative cabinet. But, in truth, to any one who knows the condition of Ireland during the last ten years there is an absurdity far beyond the necessity for formal refutation in supposing that the tenants are at any disadvantage in making bargains with their landlords. For every act of injustice, dishonesty, harshness, or oppression committed during that period by a landlord towards a tenant, it would be possible to find a hundred committed by tenants towards their landlord or towards each other. And if proof were required that, at all events, the tenants who have most experience and knowledge of the working of the purchase acts do not share Mr. Parnell's view, it may be sufficient to point out that in the Protestant parts of Ulster, where by far the largest relative number of sales have taken place, where no illegal combinations exist, and where, therefore, if these be a protection against landlord exaction the tenants are specially defenceless, the farmers have no complaint to make against the bill except that it is not made compulsory and universal.

* Mr. Parnell probably had in his mind the prosecution of Mr. P. O'Brien for an intimidatory speech delivered at Goresbridge on the 18th January, 1888. But the only circumstance connected with that trial which gives any color to Mr. Parnell's allegation is a count in the indictment, which made no reference to the *amount* of the price proposed to be paid for farms, *and which was not proceeded with by the Crown.* There is, so far as I know, no foundation whatever for the statement with regard to Mr. Cox, M.P., and others.

There is but one more criticism of Mr. Parnell's on which it is necessary to say a word, although it is directed rather against the administration of the existing purchase acts than against the provisions of the larger measure which now awaits the final sanction of Parliament. He states that the "grossest favoritism has been shown in the selection of the estates for whose purchase advances of public money are to be made. The large absentee owners have been favored, while the smaller resident owners have been left out."

The uninstructed reader, seeing these words, would naturally infer from them that the government, or some department over which the government have control, selected the estates on which the purchase was to take place; that the selection was made as a favor to the selling landlord; and that a great public wrong was perpetrated by singling out as the objects of this specially favorable treatment the estates of large absentee landlords. It requires but a small knowledge of Ireland and the land-purchase acts to see that all these complaints are groundless and even absurd. The tribunal that administers the existing land-purchase acts is entirely independent of the government, and it is proposed to strengthen it under the new act by adding to it two judges of the High Court. The business of this independent tribunal is not to select the estates on which purchases are to take place, but to determine whether public money can be properly advanced for the purpose of enabling purchases to take place in those cases in which landlord and tenant have come to an agreement as to the terms they are respectively prepared to accept. The only possible way, therefore, in which the Land-Purchase Commission could show "favoritism" in the "selection of the estates for whose purchase advances of public money are to be made" would be by corruptly refusing advances in the case of small estates where the security was good, or corruptly sanctioning advances in the case of big estates where the security was bad. No one, I believe, has ventured to bring any such accusation against the two eminent commissioners who administer the existing land-purchase acts; nor would Mr. Parnell himself indorse it when the true import of his charge was thus made clear and explicit.*

* In 1888 the Irish government introduced into the House of Commons a bill which proposed, *inter alia*, to associate the County-Court judges in certain proceedings with the Land Courts, as then existing. This proposal was resisted by the Irish Nationalist members, and Mr. E. Harrington, M. P., speaking in their name on the 30th April, 1888, "freely acknowledged" that the Land-Purchase Commissioners

It is, no doubt, true that many large land-owners, some of them absentee, have taken advantage of the existing acts; but the reason is obvious. Absentees are specially ready to sell because to them Irish land provides not a home, but merely an investment; and when estates are large there are fewer landlords to the same number of tenants, and therefore relatively fewer negotiations to be carried through. An estate, for instance, worth £100,000 can probably be sold with the same amount of higgling and bargaining as an estate worth £5,000, though the operation will absorb twenty times as much public money. But why are we to regard these things as a calamity? Hitherto facilities for purchase have been regarded, and rightly regarded, as a privilege to the tenants. Why are we to exclude from this privilege the tenants of large landlords? Hitherto land-purchase has been regarded, and rightly regarded, as an object to be aimed at in the interests of social order. How is social order likely to be promoted if a distinction meaningless as well as invidious, is drawn between tenants who, in respect to the size of their holding, its cultivation, and its rent, are in precisely similar circumstances, and who differ only by reason of the size of the estate of which their holdings respectively form a part? Hitherto every land-reformer who has discussed the Irish land question has desired to increase the number of resident owners, and to diminish the number of absentee owners. It was reserved for Mr. Parnell in 1890 to discover that the owners whom it is most desirable to expropriate are those who, in his own words, "have lived in the country," and "have spent their rents on their estates and among their neighbors."

I have now dealt briefly, but I hope not inadequately, with the chief criticisms which Mr. Parnell has brought before the American public on the government proposals. Whatever be the value of his objections, one thing, at all events, will probably be admitted by the readers of his article—that he has very imperfectly explained what, nevertheless, imperatively calls for explanation; namely, the opposition which the Nationalist party are offering to a bill which goes so far towards carrying out a policy to which they have more than once given a formal sanction. Manifestly no adequate justification of this is furnished by the baseless and

under the Ashbourne Act had "tried to exercise a useful discretion in its administration," and he suggested that the proposals of the government were made in consequence of the confidence displayed by the people of Ireland in the court as it existed.

for the most part trifling objections brought against the particular form into which the Land-Purchase Bill has been thrown. A better and more significant explanation will be found in considerations drawn from the general policy of the Parnellite party during the last ten years. It is quite true that in the original programme of the Land League land-purchase found a place. It is also true that it was advocated in America by Mr. Parnell in 1880. But to suppose that it has ever been an important part of the working programme of the Irish revolutionary party would be to mistake the whole character of the movement which Mr. Davitt originated eleven years ago.

Since that time the Nationalist party have introduced innumerable bills dealing with the land laws into Parliament, and have made innumerable speeches upon the land question in Ireland. None of these bills have touched the subject of land-purchase; none of them have offered, or pretended to offer, any solution, however inadequate, of the economic and social problems which press for solution in the "congested districts." That none of their Irish speeches have advocated land-purchase I will not venture to say—to assert any unqualified negative about so vast a mass of printed matter would be rash; but it is certainly not rash to say that the amount of time they have devoted to recommending land-purchase is relatively infinitesimal, and that all the eloquence, all the energy, and all the organization of a great party have been steadily and unswervingly employed, not for the purpose of settling the land controversy on a permanent basis, but for the purpose of embittering it in the interests of a political revolution. In the words of the Special Commission, that party have entered "into a conspiracy, by a system of coercion and intimidation, to promote an agrarian agitation against the payment of rent for the purpose of impoverishing and expelling from the country the Irish landlords whom they styled the English garrison."

No wonder that they view with undisguised hostility a measure which, in exact proportion as it is successful, must deprive them of their chief instrument for carrying out their avowed intention of making the government of Ireland impossible.* No wonder that those who think social anarchy the fitting prelude to home

* Mr. Lane, M. P., on the 23d September, is reported to have said at Bandon, County Cork : "Make it impossible for Mr. Balfour's government to rule this country by coercion, or, indeed, for a Tory government to rule it by any means whatsoever."

rule should oppose with all their energies a method by which the weakest part in the social fabric may be effectually strengthened.

Yet it must, I imagine, sometimes occur to the more far-seeing and patriotic members of the Nationalist party that the principles which by precept and example have been burnt into the souls of the rising generation of Irish peasantry during ten years of agrarian agitation are not those which make good citizens or even good farmers ; and that, from their own point of view, it is but a shallow and a short-sighted policy to reject on political grounds a measure the social advantage of which they themselves are constrained to admit—a measure which Great Britain is not likely again to offer them, and which without the aid of Great Britain Ireland can never obtain for herself.

ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR.

CHILDREN OF THE STAGE.

BY ELBRIDGE T. GERRY, PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF CRUELTY TO CHILDREN.

THE American people love novelty. Like the Athenians of old, their great pleasure is either to hear or to tell some new thing. This is particularly the case with their amusements. Novelty at the present day is essential to the success of every exhibition. It is that alone which gives zest to the modern opera and drama, and when it ceases public interest in the performance also ceases.

For many years past there has been a tendency on the part of theatrical agents and brokers, with a view towards reaping a pecuniary advantage from the exhibition, to train and exhibit very young children of both sexes in what is known as the stage-children business. These are picked up usually under contract with their parents, who are tempted by their own indigent circumstances, and by specious promises of future prominence in the theatrical or operatic profession, to place their children in the hands of these agents, for a limited period and with very little guarantee, if any, that the terms of the contract will be carried out, or the result such as the promise would indicate. Gathered into troupes, the children are then drilled into a so-called musical performance of some light opera, or in some silly little song or dance; they are taught the gestures, walk, and action of the minor business of the stage, or are required to learn the libretto of the opera by heart, and are instructed how to render it for the approval of the audience. They are then exhibited in various theatres throughout the country, at all seasons of the year when an engagement can be obtained; and so long as the novelty of the exhibition continues and money is made, the exhibitions are frequent.

After a while, when the novelty wears off and the public refuses to patronize the performances, the troupe is broken up, frequently by the person in charge disbanding the children in some

distant city. But wherever this disbanding occurs, the children have no future. Their voices prematurely strained and used, their physical systems broken down by constant exposure to the draughts of the theatre and the loss of sleep incidental to late nocturnal performances, render them utterly unfit for employment in any legitimate operatic business. And as their education in the theatrical line has been of the most meagre description, none of them secures any position in that profession. Then opens the only market for what is left of them—the low variety dives, dime museums, and drinking-saloons in our great city. These are not mere matters of supposition. The Societies for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, instituted by wise legislatures in the several States throughout the Union for the enforcement of the laws for the protection of children, possess the details of too many cases where the result is as stated.

Now, the true secret of the success of the American people as a nation is in its care for the young. In every State in the Union laws have been framed with the utmost care for the protection of children of tender years not merely against brutal assaults and wilful neglect, but also against the rapacity of ignorant or avaricious parents or guardians, who seek by the public exhibition of the children in theatrical performances to put money in their own pockets. The principle upon which such laws are based is a broad one. The State as the sovereign protects each individual member of its future constituency in the enjoyment of health, vitality, and education, to the end that boys shall, on arriving at maturity, be physically capable of bearing arms in defence of the State and of intelligently exercising the elective franchise; and that girls, on becoming women, shall be so capable of properly discharging the maternal function and of educating their offspring that the physical and intellectual material of the body politic shall not be destroyed or impaired. And the laws governing theatrical exhibitions of children forbid such exhibitions under the age of sixteen as the limit of such protection and as the legislative result of an elaborate and careful investigation into the relative physical strength of children.

Theatres in our large cities are divisible into three classes: (1) reputable, where only the legitimate drama is exhibited to audiences composed of cultured and intelligent people; (2) semi-reputable, where the stage is devoted to spectacular exhibitions,

vulgarly, but appropriately, termed "leg drama," the scanty costumes in which barely evade the prohibition of the Penal Code on the subject of decency; (3) disreputable, where both dialogue and performances fester with indelicacy, and the audience, composed of the lowest and most degraded class of society, engage in smoking and drinking as an adjunct of their enjoyment of the exhibition.

Now, it is an elementary rule of the criminal law that the letter of the statute which is aimed to suppress an evil must be sufficiently comprehensive in its language to cover it. The application of the law necessarily depends on the circumstances of each particular case. Thus the wilful exhibition of a child within the age, when in a sick and suffering condition, in a reputable theatre, would result in a severe punishment of the manager, on conviction; but to prosecute him in the absence of such facts and merely for a violation of the letter of the law, while followed necessarily by conviction, would result in only a merely nominal sentence. On the other hand, the exhibition of children in the other two classes of theatres, where there was not only danger of their health being injured, but of their morals being corrupted, would be dealt with by the courts in a much more vigorous manner. And the reasons that exist for the necessity of the law, which will be next considered, commend themselves to the consideration of every person whose sympathies are enlisted in the protection of the helpless.

First, the exhibitions prohibited are physically injurious to the children. They deprive them of their natural rest and subject them to unnecessary physical efforts, which engender disease. Thus a child of tender years is forced to sing and dance at night, half-clad in scanty theatrical costume, in a theatre where the draughts are incessant, and where the exertion of the performance constantly overheats the system so as to render the exposure still more dangerous. Encores frequently compel additional exertions, until at the close of the performance, tired and worn out, the child goes from the theatre through the cold and wet of the streets to gain such little sleep as the late hour and its exhausted system permit. In the recent "Bluebeard, Jr.," case some seven little children between five and nine years old, living in Brooklyn, were repeatedly followed from the theatre through rain and storm to their residences, some three miles distant and on the other

side of the East River. They did not reach their homes until half an hour after midnight, and were then so tired as to be found asleep in the cars; and this occurred night after night in succession while the play was produced.

In the next place, when such children are exhibited in the daytime, they lose their education. In all such exhibitions, whether at night or by day, much time is spent at rehearsals; so that, apart from the question of physical exhaustion, which unfits them for study, they have no opportunity of obtaining proper education, for which the State makes ample provision alike for the rich and poor, and which is the best capital in this country to insure success in life. Said the Hon. Grover Cleveland, in a recent speech: "In every enlightened country the value of popular education is fully recognized, not only as a direct benefit to its recipients, but as an element of strength and safety in organized society. Considered in these aspects, it should nowhere be better appreciated than in this land of free institutions, consecrated to the welfare and happiness of its citizens and deriving its sanction and power from the people. Here the character of the people is inevitably impressed upon the government, and here our public life can no more be higher and purer than the life of the people than a stream can rise above its fountain or be purer than the spring in which it has its source. Teaching the children of our land to read is but the first step in the scheme of creating good citizens by means of free instruction." Children of tender years have a natural disinclination to study. Hence the law makes education compulsory. But when children are used in these exhibitions, their minds are never in a fit condition to study, for when not actually performing they are absorbed with their stage business, which to them is far more palatable. And they gain nothing in return for the loss of their education. Singing in public at an early age almost invariably strains and cracks the vocal chords, and in many cases what with care might in time have proved to be a fine voice has been prematurely wrecked and destroyed. Of course they cry when not permitted to perform. Children proverbially cry when deprived of what is hurtful to them. They enjoy the performance on account of the excitement, the glare of the footlights, their brilliant tinsel costumes, and the applause of the audience, which flatters their vanity. They know nothing of the evil results—how should they?

Again, the associations are bad for the children. In the spectacular plays alluded to they are constantly brought into contact with persons about whose morality or virtue the less said the better. Constantly exhibiting in such troupes, the girls soon lose all modesty and become bold, forward, and impudent. When they arrive at the limit-age of the law, they have usually entered on the downward path and end in low dance-houses, concert-saloons, and the early grave which is the inevitable conclusion of a life of debauchery. The boys, unfitted by their idle life for useful work, find employment for a time in the lowest class of theatres, and end by becoming thieves or tramps. Neither boys nor girls ever attain any position in the legitimate theatrical profession, which requires a very different preliminary education and training.

The preposterous assertion is frequently made that these little children are "lawfully earning their living" by these exhibitions, and that therefore the law is harsh and oppressive, and should not be enforced. Let us look at this for a moment. The law compels parents to support their children during their tender years, and nowhere sanctions the reverse of this rule. If parents are unable to provide for their children, the law provides institutions for that purpose. No parent has any right to profit pecuniarily by the exhibition of a child within the prohibited age, for the reason that within that age the law asserts the child to be incapable of so exhibiting without injury to itself. It was to protect children from being used in these theatrical exhibitions in order to make money for their parents or guardians that the law was passed, just as it forbids their use in begging, peddling, or in factories. The children are wretchedly paid—usually about forty cents a night; they rarely have any supper during or after the performance, and they seldom live to grow up. Those who clamor for their employment are influenced solely by pecuniary reasons. Past history of the juvenile opera furnishes a sad illustration of the truth of this. More than one such company has been recruited from the children of the poor, their parents being beguiled by specious praise of the talents of the children, or by promises and part payment of money. Then the start on the road with no one to look after them, the champagne suppers with gilded youth of the town after the performance, the ruin of the children as the inevitable result, the ultimate disappearance of the treasurer of the troupe with the funds when far out West, the

finding of the girls in the only homes of vice left to them, and, finally, the agonizing appeals of the parents for a rescue, often too late,—these furnish cogent reasons why the evil should be nipped in the bud when the attempt is made to engraft the song-and-dance business upon the legitimate theatrical profession.

Long before the iron hand of the law was invoked for the protection of children from rapacious and brutal parents, the starving and abuse of these miserable little slaves of the stage was both universal and treated as a matter of course. The travelling mountebank trained the children attached to the company by the liberal use of the whip, and bread and water in scanty rations punished any omission by the unfortunate child to comply with the requirements of his daily performance. Feats dangerous to life and limb by these unfortunate children were gazed on with amazement by the patrons of the show. Occasionally a fatal result was cured by the kalsomining verdict of a coroner's jury. Too often a single fall resulted in spinal injuries and death, after months of paralysis in a public hospital. Case after case occurred where these so-called gifted children were driven to an early grave. For the physical exertion of song and dance necessarily engenders nervous excitement; when the curtain rises a blast of hot air rushes from the auditorium on to the stage, thus increasing the perspiration caused by the physical exertions which follow; and then when the curtain falls there is a rush of cold air which rapidly checks that perspiration, and the result is a chill too often followed by fever and disease which speedily become incurable. And yet the sole object of all the exhibitions, disguise it as you may, is in reality to put money in the pockets of somebody, for these exhibitions are never given gratuitously and in every case there is somebody to be paid for the use of the children. And the whole of this alleged right to the money proceeds from the idea that the child is the property of the parent, that it may be starved, ill treated, or forced to do whatever the parent may see fit to compel, without any protection or redress whatever, unless the consequences are so serious as to amount to a felony.

In other words, these child-slaves of the stage, but for the present humane provisions for the law, would be subjected to a bondage more terrible and oppressive than the children of Israel ever endured at the hands of Pharaoh or the descendants of

Ham have ever experienced in the way of African slavery. Child-slaves they have well been called. Helpless and feeble from their tender years, they are unable for that very reason to invoke the provisions of the law enacted for their protection. They are really contending against the parents and guardians who happen to have control of them during their childhood. And when well-meaning people who constitute the theatre-going public unite with those parents and guardians, applaud the exhibitions, insist upon encores, and denounce as unfair and unjust the laws which are intended to prevent the premature wrecking of the constitutions of these little innocents, well may they despair of ever having an opportunity of earning an honest living, or of freeing themselves from the vicious surroundings, evil associations, and alluring temptations into which they are plunged by the avarice and cupidity of their parents.

The most curious phase of the subject is the attitude of the press in regard to these little slaves of the stage. Ordinarily its influence is always exerted on the side of humanity wherever little children are oppressed or ill treated. It has been the outspoken champion of their rights whenever these have been overlooked, and notably so in the case of their employment in factories, where child labor is but the prelude to permanent destruction of health and the precursor of an early grave. Yet if the sacred precincts of the stage are invaded, if an effort is made to enforce the law enacted for children's protection from premature exhibition in theatrical performances, at once an outcry proceeds from the press, not only against the law, which is denounced as oppressive, but against the action of societies charged with the duty of enforcing it, as fanatical, arbitrary, and unjust. The latter are denounced for preventing the children from earning an honest living, and public opinion is invoked by plausible editorials against any interference with them or their exhibitors, who reap a pecuniary benefit from their performances. Now, why is this so? What is the hidden motive or reason for this array of the press against the law and against the children it was designed to protect?

Let us examine the subject a little more closely. To the uninitiated such utterances are only the sentiments of a "free and enlightened press," as after-dinner orators are fond of phrasing it. In reality, it is nothing of the sort, but purely a matter of business. Newspapers are conducted for the purpose of making

money for their proprietors. Nothing pays so well as theatrical advertisements. A careful examination recently made shows that these advertisements are usually either of sixteen or twenty-five lines, that the charge per line for each insertion in the great dailies runs from twenty-five to forty-five cents, or from $4 to $7.20 a day for the sixteen-line notices and from $6.25 to $11.25 for the twenty-five-line notices; so that a single advertisement of sixteen lines nets the paper from $120 to $187.50 a month, $1,080 to $1,687.50 a year, and an average of ten a day $10,800 to $16,875 annually. The twenty-five-line insertion nets $216 to $337.50 a month and $1,944 to $3,037.50 a year, and an average of ten such makes $19,440 to $30,375 annually; the year being in each case computed at nine months so as to discard the summer months, when the theatres are chiefly closed. In round numbers, between $20,000 and $60,000 a year is derived by a first-class newspaper from its theatrical advertisements! The reader of the censuring editorial has only to turn to the theatrical advertisement column of the same paper for a complete solution of the motive of the article. Now, is it surprising under these circumstances that, with a view of retaining the patronage of theatrical managers, the real interests of the children are too often forgotten by the press in its desire to propitiate the favor of those who can withdraw at will, or transfer to other newspapers, these lucrative advertisements?

There are two sides to this subject—the side before the curtain, where the glare of the footlights and the external glitter, aided by the orchestra of the press, are apt to blind the perceptions of people who are naturally humane and who are amused by the apparent innocence of the "little tots," as they are called; the other side is that behind the curtain, where the real injury to the children presents the strongest plea in their behalf for a rational view of the subject, uninfluenced by plausible suggestions from those who seek to discount their future lives simply for their own personal and pecuniary advantage.

ELBRIDGE T. GERRY.

THE EMANCIPATION OF THE FAMILY.

BY MONA CAIRD.

PART II.

At the time of the founding of Rome, the patriarchal system appears to have been fully established, with all the sentiments regarding women and family life which it encouraged. That system and those ideas became stereotyped in the ancient codes. Romulus is said to have been the author of the marriage laws and the laws of parental authority. They can boast a hoary antiquity, and can claim to have grown up and received their form and sanction from a nation which has given laws to the whole civilized world.

The position of women under Roman law has fixed and defined their position at the present day. It is remarkable how the idea of perpetual tutelage is still firmly rooted among us in a modified form, and how all the popular ideas of woman's sphere, duties, proper demeanor, and virtues are found in the singular system which made the wife as a daughter in her husband's house and her children as her brothers and sisters. The *paterfamilias* handed her over to the power of her husband, who then had the same rights of punishment and command of life and death which the father had previously enjoyed. He might even sell her into slavery. The paternal power in its extreme form began with the city itself; was legally established by Romulus, and after three centuries was inscribed on the fourth table of the Decemvirs. The twelve tables were regarded for ages as the epitome of wisdom and morality: the young learned them by heart; the old held them as little short of sacred. In the reign of the Emperor Augustus, Erixo roused the fury of the Roman people by whipping his son until he died. The Emperor saved him from their vengeance, the law being on the father's side. Gibbon speaks of the exposition of children in the public places, when the head of

the family wished to get rid of them, as "the prevailing and stubborn vice of antiquity."* The wife could not inherit except for her husband, and "if the original title were deficient, she might be claimed, like other movables, by the use and possession of an entire year." She was, legally, not a person, but a thing.

In modern times one must go to the Russian peasantry for an analogue to this development of the *patria potestas.* "If you cannot thrash your wife, whom can you thrash?" the head of the family demands indignantly. The marriage ceremony principally consists in the handing over by the father of his whip to the husband, with the advice to use it vigorously †

In Rome the family (as is, of course, well known) was not what we understand by the word. It was a group of kinsmen held together by its head, the kinship being counted through the male line only. Ties of blood, however, were of less moment than the fact of being under the family tutelage. Adoption was a legal process which gave the adopted child all the rights and liabilities of a genuine *agnate.* Gradually the law was modified, and in the reign of Augustus the laws Julia and Papia Poppæa were passed, which obliged fathers to provide their daughters with a dowry, and forbade them to prevent their marriage. Many other changes crept in, and at last the Emperor Justinian, in his reform of the whole body of Roman law, placed married and family life upon an entirely new footing. The husband lost his absolute control over his wife's dower, and in case of separation he had to restore it entire. Justinian seems to have desired to give to the wife an independence which was in direct opposition to the spirit of the old laws. It has often been said that during the five purest centuries of Roman history divorce was unknown. It is not generally added, however, that during that time women used to poison their husbands in a manner that not even respect for the sacred institution would probably now prevail upon men to put up with.

In the later times of the empire women attained a degree of freedom which is cited as the cause of the extreme corruption of that epoch and the decay of the imperial power. This explanation, if accepted, would oblige one to ignore all the influences which were at that time combining to destroy the strength and moral vigor of the people: the vastness of the empire, open

* "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," Chapter XLIV.
† "Impressions of Russia." Dr. Georg Brandes.

on all sides to attack ; the tyrannical form of government, which subjected a whole nation to the caprices of emperors half-mad with the intoxication of power and glory ; above all, the contact with the luxury and the vices of the East, where certainly it was not the freedom of women which had plunged the nations in corruption.

Moreover, the progress of decay had been going on for years, long before women achieved their independent position and divorce had become easy. Niebuhr goes so far as to trace the seeds of decay to the time of Hannibal. The condition of the nation at that time, after so many frightful wars, was one of extreme misery. The poor were ruined, the middle class impoverished ; the rich, on the other hand, had become imitators of Eastern luxury, self-indulgent, avaricious. The Roman games were now on a scale of extreme splendor ; the buildings of the nobles were magnificent ; their habits extravagant and brutal. Gluttony had become a fashionable vice. The constitution was democratic only in form. "No one," says Niebuhr, "thought of the republic being in danger, and the danger, indeed, was yet far distant ; but the seeds of dissolution were nevertheless sown, and its symptoms were already beginning to become visible."*

The freedom of divorce and the independence of women are made responsible for a condition of things which had already commenced in the time of Scipio. On this rough-and-ready principle, it would be easy to find causes for anything. Select any two facts that happen to be contemporary, and boldly attribute one to the other (it is immaterial in which order they are placed).

The later Roman jurisprudence, inaugurated by Justinian, became singularly liberal in its treatment of women. In the time of Gaius the system of perpetual tutelage fell entirely into discredit. The family rights remained nominally unimpaired. The family lent the wife to the husband, not relinquishing their claim. Thus the husband had no longer supreme power over his wife, and the appointed guardians of the woman left her, to all intents and purposes, to do as she pleased. The old religious form of marriage, in which the couple eat *far* or rice together, as a symbol of mystical union, had fallen unto disuse.

Confarreation (the religious form), coemption, and usus (the

* "Lectures on the History of Rome," Chapter LXXXI.

latter both civil forms) had been the old rites of marriage. Now a form of civil union, which had previously not been considered strictly reputable, came into more general use. The stricter enactments were altered or evaded, for there was no longer a feeling among the people corresponding to the spirit of these old laws, which for so many centuries had been unfitting women for liberty, and the whole nation for the liberal institutions which the Emperor Justinian had attempted to bestow upon it.

After the triumph of Christianity, there was a reaction against this liberty which the Roman women enjoyed, and against the easy laws of divorce. It seemed obvious to moral enthusiasts, careless of history, that the liberty and the easy divorce were the causes of the corruption; and Christian teachers declared themselves against both. This was the first check to the freer institutions: the next was given by the fall of the empire.

The conquering tribes brought with them their own laws and usages, their own patriarchal system; and thereupon commenced a process of compromise between the barbarian codes and Roman jurisprudence. According to Laboulaye, the *patria potestas* of the Romans and the *mundium* of the conquering tribes, although both representing the power of the chief, are quite distinct in character; the *mundium* being for purposes of protection for the "pupils," while the *patria potestas* was entirely for the power and advantage of the father. Among the Germans the wife and children are able to acquire a fortune and to spend it as they please, and the power of the father ceases when the child attains his majority. The daughter is released from the *mundium* on marriage, but she then passes under a more rigid government, from which nothing can liberate her. In ancient history the woman has been under the power of the father; modern history shows her under that of the husband.

Laboulaye* is much puzzled by a peculiarity in the Salic law, which certainly cannot be accounted for except by assuming it to be a remnant of the matriarchal age. The Salic law excludes women so long as there are males to succeed to the *allod*, or tribal land; but when the deceased chief leaves no children, the father and mother succeed together; secondly the brothers and sisters, and then the *sister of the mother, in preference to the sister of the father*. The *brothers* of the father or mother are not men-

* "*Condition des Femmes*," Laboulaye, *Chapitre XI.*

tioned. Quite inexplicable is this apparent exception to the leading idea of the Salic law on the exclusively patriarchal theory; but very familiar to the student of the matriarchal age is that choice of the mother's brother or sister for inheritance. This preference for the mother's sister occurs in the *lex Salica emendata* adopted by Charlemagne, and is consistent with the manuscripts of Wolfenbuttel, Munich, and Fulda. Against these authorities, the attempt of *savants* in the last century to suppose an error in the texts, because they were unable to reconcile these incongruities in the law, seems somewhat audacious.* The Salic law, cries Laboulaye in despair, is full of inexplicable difficulties!

The habit of setting apart an inheritance for the bride was remarked by Tacitus. Something very nearly approaching settlements seems to have been made to a woman on marriage, and the church adopted the Roman idea that a marriage was not legal without a dower. The *Morgengabe*, or gift of the bridegroom, the day after the wedding, was an almost universal practice among the northern tribes. So large was often the gift that Luitprand thought it necessary to restrict it to a quarter of the husband's property among the Lombards. The Burgundians, Lombards, Visigoths, Saxons, had different laws of succession and marriage; in some the Roman law remained dominant, while in others the old Germanic ideas had full play. Women were greatly respected, but they were still under tutelage. If they attempted to resist the authority of the husband, they were "drowned in mud."

The canon law had a very profound influence upon matters of marriage and family life. It overcame the civil law in many instances. It opposed divorce with all its strength, and even looked askance at second marriage. Its position on this question was strictly logical. Marriage, being a sacrament, could not be broken in time or eternity. It is difficult to see how, on any other grounds, the theory of indissoluble marriage can be reasonably upheld. A union that is sacramental, sacred, indissoluble—except sometimes, has in it elements of the comic. The Reformation, however, deprived marriage of its sacramental character, while confirming its

*"*Condition des Femmes.*"—"*J'ajoute que la loi Salique n'est point la seule coutume barbare qui ait conservé des traces de cette preference des femmes dans le cas dont nous nous occupans; la loi Ripuaire, par exemple.*" The Ripuary laws were, in almost all respects, similar to the Salic.

barbaric and tyrannical elements. The civil laws of the barbarians admitted divorce for murder, adultery, or magic. The German laws, unlike the old Roman codes, usually allow the mother to be guardian to her children. This was recognized among the Bavarians, Burgundians, and Visigoths. No agnate could interfere with the fortune and education of the children.

It is rather humiliating to remember that in England, till within a short time, the mother's right to guardianship was not recognized, that the father could appoint another guardian, excluding her, and that even now the devoted efforts of many liberal-minded men and women have not succeeded in obtaining for the mother her full rights to her children.*

A significant fact, which does something to tone down the impression given by Tacitus of the reverence and almost religious veneration in which the German women were held is that, if one of them were carried off from her home and during her exile had children, these children were regarded as belonging to her husband, on the ground that she was *in mundium*—that is, she was his property, honestly purchased, and consequently her children were his also.

In more or less modified forms, this patriarchal idea has ruled the family with remarkably little change—considering the vast changes that have taken place in other respects—to our own day. Feudalism tended to confirm it. In chivalry alone we find the origin of all ideas that modify and ennoble the former relations of the sexes. Thus we have a sort of lopsided development—a forward move in one direction, checked or held back by the immovable family relations, the continued tutelage and subjection of women. The family gradually lost its old position as the social unit, and the individual took a more prominent place; yet this change was also confused and rendered half-futile, because only male individuals were able to assume this attitude of independence. Society gradually organized itself on the individualistic basis, leaving the woman without the protection which she used to enjoy under the old group, or family, system, yet without giving her the compensating advantages of the new order. She lost security without gaining freedom. She still suffered every sort of disability, legal and social; she still remained without choice of occupation; still had her sphere and her duties,

* Custody-of-Infants Bill: 1886.

her virtues and opinions—nay, her very feelings—chosen for her; yet there was now no certainty of support, no absolute legal claim which would keep her safe from the rush and scramble of the modern competitive world, where each is for himself and the devil takes the hindmost.

The woman crippled by inherited inaptitude for self-reliance, with adverse public opinion, stubborn prejudices, not only of others, but in herself; with a thousand inborn fears, instincts, longings, needs; with a physical nature trained for centuries to one end and purpose, weakened for all others; and dowered with exquisite sensibilities, unending capacity for pain,—the woman of the nineteenth century finds the old shells and sheaths of a decaying patriarchal system drawn away from her; she finds herself restrained on all hands, but no longer protected and provided for. She sees her brothers going into the world with a thousand advantages, to her denied. For them a good education, encouragement in study, fostered talents, cherished opportunities. For them a good start in life, so far as lies in the power of parents to bestow, and on the father's death the inheritance of the bulk of his property, to the exclusion of the daughters, whose profession is to marry, and so provide themselves with a home and competence.

But into this necessity (for it is scarcely less) the modern spirit of competition enters. The social unit is no longer the family in the old sense: it is now the individual, and the individual has to contend with other individuals for the very ground on which he stands and the air—or, rather, the carbonic acid—which he breathes. Thus the woman must struggle with other women for the sole means of livelihood that has hitherto been recognized as fitting for her sex: the family claims from her duty and obedience, as of old,—though its rights are, of course, becoming much attenuated,—but it expects her to provide for herself. Her attractions are her capital; let her invest it to the best of her ability. On no account must she go out of her "sphere"; but the fact is sometimes overlooked that she is by no means certain of finding that "sphere," though she be ever so willing to be dictated to on the subject of what she must and must not do. If she does achieve this end, or, rather, "sphere," she is still under the old condition of tutelage as far as restraint goes, but she is now treated as an individual as regards respon-

sibility. If she sins, she is punished ; it is only in matters to her advantage that she remains under tutelage. She may pay taxes, but she may not vote ; she may be divorced for unfaithfulness, but she may not divorce.

In entering the marriage relation (humorously called a contract), she takes upon herself a tie infinitely more stringent, infinitely more imperious and extensive in its action, than the bond into which the man enters. Yet here also, though less free, she is equally responsible—nay, really far more so; for what is a man's sin against the claims of marriage compared to the woman's, in popular estimation ? I do not contend that this injustice was absent from the old system, for in that also, although a *thing*, the woman was often punished as a *person ;* nevertheless the family felt bound to provide for and protect her ; if she were carried off or injured, a *Wehrgeld* was charged to the offender, not, perhaps, so much on her account as for the sake of her value to the tribe ; but the *Wehrgeld* in some of the states was twice as high for a woman as for a man, as if with the object of giving her extra protection. If a woman had a grievance against any one outside the family, one of the men was told off to fight with him—a duty which the woman occasionally performed for herself.*

The notion of protection and duty towards the woman under tutelage was much stronger under the full-blown patriarchal system than under our own; the ideas of subordination on the part of women have outlived those of their claims; the dower, once a matter of course, now is the exception, and the old *Morgengabe* has dwindled down to a diamond ring or trinket.

There are some people who would not be sorry to see the old system restored in its entirety ; believing that women are unfitted for independence, and that their best qualities will disappear if they become free and self-sustaining in all the relations of life. It seems strange that any one can be unresponsive to the idea of freedom or regard it as unsuited to any human being worthy of the name. Still the idea is at least logical ; it has an artistic unity, and gives room for argument. But he who would uphold the present confused, patriarchal, competitive, woman's-sphere-and-woman's-responsibility condition of things can have no principle of any kind to stand upon ; he must be simply an echo or reflection of what exists around him, without the power of a genuine reac-

* "*Condition des Femmes.*"

tionary or the foresight of a progressive thinker. It seems abundantly clear that she who is treated as a minor must be provided for and protected as a minor. On this idea the swarms of women earning their own living at ill-paid work are an anomaly.

On the other hand, if the woman is to share in the change which has reorganized society, if she is to be held responsible for her actions, and expected to earn her living either by competing with others for a husband, or by some other means, then, undeniably, she must be freed from every possible disability—the long, monotonous, one-sided training of the past has already loaded her with too many of these; she must be admitted on equal terms to the banquet of life, and nothing—no matter how shocking to our previous ideas of her place, her qualities, her virtues, her "nature"—must be forbidden her. There is no rational alternative.

The present condition is evidently without consistency, without reason or principle, and indicates a mere confused stage between two orders—the old and the new. Society has before it a hard task. It has to reconsider its economic and industrial system; to face the danger to the race involved in the still greater pressure of competition which would follow the addition of women to the ranks of paid workers. It is evidently unfair to refuse to admit a whole sex to this competition; it is evidently a further burden, a rivalry to the harassed male workers, if their sisters are freely admitted on equal terms.

What is to be done? The obvious answer appears to be, Instead of being rivals, become coöperators. Some such change of system, however it may be organized, grows every day more necessary. Meanwhile the spirit of liberty among women is increasing rapidly, and as soon as economic independence gives them the power to refuse, without harsh penalty, the terms that men have hitherto been able to dictate to them, in and out of marriage, society will have passed through a bloodless revolution. It is then that marriage—at present a mere mouldering branch of the patriarchal tree—must alter its nature and its form; not by the modification of a few laws, but by the altered conception of a whole people.

Few seem yet to have realized what the independence of women would really mean, and how absolutely our present forms and ideas of marriage hang upon their subject condition. Those

who have opposed the smallest relaxation of the old laws, who have resisted the education and progress of women, were from their own point of view eminently wise; for upon the old condition of tutelage hung many a cherished belief, many a "sacred institution." It has been easy hitherto to maintain stringent forms of marriage, because the real brunt of it has been borne by women, while men have been comparatively free. Is it conceivable that when there are, in good sooth, really two to the marriage bargain, one of the parties to it will consent to fetter herself by bonds which the other repudiates? The "contract" can no longer remain unequal, and it remains to be seen how tight and irrevocable men will be willing to make the bond which they, too, must literally carry out. All men who are eloquent about the "sacred institution" will know that it rests upon them to sustain the sacredness which they will then, perhaps, less glibly talk about. They can no longer depute that office to their wives, together with the children and the cares of housekeeping. The "sacredness" which depends on restraints and punishments for its existence can then be fairly considered on its merits.

How tremendous must be the change which the independence of women, if achieved, would introduce into the whole conception of social and family life, is made more strikingly evident by remembering the almost incredible position which the married woman held, as regards her children, before the passing of the Custody-of-Infants Bill in 1886. Upon laws of this kind what we have been pleased to call the "sanctity of marriage" has, for centuries, been peacefully resting. Before 1886 the father of a legitimate child was, as far as legal rights are concerned, its sole parent, "though the law imposes upon the mother, under criminal and other penalties, liabilities and obligations almost equal to that of the father."*

The case is reported of a girl who applied to the court for permission to spend her holidays with her mother, the latter being separated from her husband for no fault of her own. The court refused on the ground that the father's rights were sacred. "With these sacred rights the court has not interfered, and will not interfere." Only in the most extreme cases of cruelty to the child would these rights be set aside. The father, says Lord-Chan-

* "The Infants Act, 1886. A Record of a Three Years' Effort for Legislative Reform, with its Results."

cellor Hardwicke, "is entitled to the care of his own children, by nature and by nurture." This view seemed eminently reasonable to august opponents of the bill. It is amusing to observe their horrified indignation at the bare thought of the father having to act with a guardian appointed by the mother, although the latter, according to law, might be *altogether excluded* from guardianship in favor of some one of her husband's appointment, and the utmost she could expect would be the privilege (in *her* case—in *his* the humiliation) of acting with another guardian.

Even to this day the mother becomes sole guardian only when no other has been appointed by the father. She can appoint a guardian to act after her own and her husband's death, but not to act *with* her husband (as he can appoint one or more to act with her) unless he is declared by the court to be unfit to have sole charge. Thus even this bill, fought for so devotedly by its friends, has been deprived of its principle of equality, and retains the spirit of the older laws of tutelage and patriarchal rule. The fifth clause is supposed to be a great triumph for the mother, because it empowers her, even while living with her husband, to apply to the court on any question regarding the custody of the children, or other important matters; and the court is actually directed to have regard to the wishes "as well of the mother as of the father."

Our country is to be congratulated on this achievement, and on the liberality of our law, which discerned fully four years ago that a child generally has two parents, and that one of them, though comparatively unimportant,—even verging on the superfluous,—might feel hurt if her existence and wishes were altogether ignored. Naturally there is no necessity to allow this little politeness to interfere with rights more sacred, resting, as Lord Salisbury pointed out, "on far deeper foundations than most of those which we have deemed firmly established."

Immense is the benefit which mothers enjoy under that bill of 1886; yet even now their position is subordinate. The woman who bears, suffers, risks her life, rears, trains, watches—of whom, indeed, the law demands these things, as well as public opinion—she whose body and soul have been subjected to this terrible service—has still only secondary rights to her children; she must still take the small mercies of the law and be thankful. Indeed, she has reason to be, seeing that four years ago she had no rights at all!

Consider all this in conjunction with the tremendous rigor with which maternal duties are pressed upon a woman; with the demand that she shall surrender to her children health, happiness, self-development, interests, pleasures; with the unbounded, merciless condemnation which is heaped upon her if she prove a neglectful or unenthusiastic mother: so amazing are the two ideas in combination that the sense of the stupendous injustice is almost swallowed by the sense of the stupendous absurdity, and —as happily often happens in the study of English law and English opinion—the stress of indignant and despairing feeling finds timely relief in a burst of laughter!

Upon stupendous absurdities like these the sacredness of marriage has for centuries been resting. Father and mother are to share pleasantly between them the rights and duties of parenthood—the father having the rights, the mother the duties. No wonder there was opposition to the bill of 1886. They were dear privileges that it attacked. Upon such a groundwork indissoluble marriage would securely last forever.

If we could only realize how fundamental, in our ideas of family and social life, is the old patriarchal feeling, how strong it still is in all our laws, we should then more clearly see that marriage, with its one-sided obligations, is not a thought-out, rational system of sex-relationship, but a lineal descendant of crystallized barbarian usages, cruel and absurd even when the warlike condition of society gave them some color of reason; revolting now to all ideas of human justice and of dignity. While society, in other directions, has been moving and changing, ideas on this subject have remained stagnant. This is the last citadel of the less intelligent kind of conservatism, and it has been defended with the ferocity and jealousy with which one instinctively fights for a last hope. History and science are rapidly undermining it; removing those imaginary foundations in the "will of God" or the "ordinance of nature" on which so many happy theories have been built. Under the new light of knowledge, the favorite satires of men against women lose their brilliancy; they sound stupid and ungenerous, like the taunts of gaolers against their half-starved prisoners.

To bring the institution of marriage up to date is among the next great tasks of progressive civilization. So far has it lagged behind that this proposal sounds like a proposal to break up so-

ciety altogether. So much the worse for society. Politically, we have had to learn the difficult lesson of liberty; to recognize the enormous importance to the state of the spontaneity of each individual, and the uselessness of the most perfect state machinery, without citizens who are free to make blunders if they will, and to serve their country with the intelligence and the public spirit which are the outcome of freedom. Politically we have learned our lesson well; so well that we are disposed to think that the principle of liberty forbids us to reconsider or alter our industrial system, because the change would interfere with certain rights enjoyed by individuals under the present order, and therefore *strictly conditional upon it*—an idea showing a strange confusion of thought. But we have not learned to apply this wholesome and bracing principle to social, and still less to family, life. As soon as we do apply it boldly, unswervingly, the present marraige system stands arraigned, offending as it does against every principle of liberty and equality, against the rights and duties of the individual, against the strength and vitality of the state, which lives or languishes as its individuals grow or decline in the qualities of independence, original power, and vigor of character.

A tie, such as marriage under its present conditions, which tends to level down differences of opinion, to check and restrain whatever is strong and salient, to glorify mediocrity, submission, one-sided self-sacrifice, uniformity of life, feeling, and even such details as mode of living, dress, and manner—such a tie is like a strong cord tightly twisted round the neck of a living creature, impeding all the functions of existence. We have abandoned *some* of the patriarchal rights: why do we not take them all away? Why do we not sweep from our state these remnants of a system which we repudiate utterly as far as political questions are concerned, which is out of touch with modern ideas, but whose influence we still keep warm and active at the very heart of our life, in the home, where the history of the coming generations is preparing?

That marriage in its present form and the subjection of women are interdependent will surely not be denied by any thinker. If women had shared with men the privilege of making the laws, it is clear that marriage would not have bound the two sexes unequally; and it seems very unlikely, if both law and opinion had

insisted on men really submitting to the conditions of this institution, that they would have made it so inflexible and so irrationally harsh in its demands. They would then have seen the incongruity of the ideas of "sanctity" and enforced union, and the cruelty of ruining so many lives in the supposed interests of society, which the marriage law does its best to fill with miserable homes.

The right of private contract is a right very dear to a liberty-loving people; yet in the most important matter of their lives—one which affects the present and the future for themselves and for their country—they have consented to forego it!

Mere alterations of the law will not accomplish the change of feeling which the temper of the age must gradually work in all ideas that concern men and women.* The law seldom, if ever, precedes average opinion. But as opinion develops in the direction of contract marriage (supposing that it *does* in this regard claim what has been claimed in all others), the safeguards will tend to form themselves with the opinion. A contract system, at first with careful limitations, might slowly drop its restrictions, as experience proved that the education of the nation had fitted it for the just enjoyment of the new liberty. So long as the idea holds that a husband or a wife must, in assuming that character, consent to subscribe to a set of conditions decided by some other persons, and that if these conditions are not assented to, honorable union (as society considers) is impossible, so long will freedom be lacking in the most important relation in life; so long will the right of private contract be denied.

The extreme danger or difficulty of allowing people, under gradually lessening restrictions, to make their own marriage bargain seems a fiction of the imagination, especially when we consider that every one is more disposed to hold to an agreement which he himself has made than to that which has been made for him. Under such freedom, it must be remembered, all children would be the children of mothers who bore them willingly, because they wished for them—not simply because they were married and thought it therefore right to bear them, or feared to express an unpopular distaste for this so-called duty. The sense of responsibility would, in such a case, be very great, and it would

* Some aspects of this question I have dwelt upon in an article in the *Fortnightly Review*, for March, 1890, and I will not, therefore, more fully treat it here.

surely act as a restraint upon the caprice or inconstancy of parents. In the cases where it did not have this effect, the law would protect children against neglect or ill-usage.

I firmly believe that the condition of children under a freer, more developed social life would be infinitely happier and better, even when their parents were divorced, than are the children of average undivorced parents who live undissentingly under the present marriage system. In the shelter of "happy homes," under the care of ignorant nurses or overworked mothers, deprived, through lack of knowledge, of physical advantages often of the simplest kind, of reasonable training, healthful interests and recreation, the unlucky children, for whose fate under a freer system so much anxiety is expressed, are now enduring a thousand wrongs, and suffering in a thousand unnecessary ways, because on this subject the majority of parents still cling to the superstitions of greatgrandmothers, whose words of wisdom are handed down, pure and unadulterated, from mother to daughter, assisted, generation after generation, by such lore of old nurses as may happen to attach to them *en route*.

Any change bestowing greater freedom, increasing the sense of responsibility, and extirpating the enchained ideas that marriage necessarily implies children, and motherhood the power of rearing and training them, would be the beginning of a happier future for the ill-used little beings, whom we make serve as apologies for the old-established tyranny which we have not yet rebelled against in our domestic institutions.

What I would advocate, as regards this great question, is the adoption of the ideal of individual liberty, not only in political matters, but in social and in family life. The home, where at present the love of liberty has scarcely dared to show its face, I would make its very temple. Without irreverence for the past, we must see that the time has fully come for us to throw off the tyranny of surviving superstitions which are holding us back and causing a dislocated social condition, because in public matters, and for one sex, we are working on the principle of individual liberty and the right of private contract; while in all the relations of home and family, and for the other sex, we are still guiding ourselves with the shreds and tatters of a by-gone order which is no longer able to afford us any sound support.

When marriage and domestic life have been brought up to the tide-line of general progress, we shall have entered upon a new era. Then, and not till then, ought we to regard ourselves as having left behind us the shadows of the "dark ages"; then, and not till then, can the discoveries of science, the development of education and thought, begin to take their full and beneficent effect upon the race and its future growth; for then only will the *whole* race be open to all the influences of the age, and able to use its power in a more or less united effort toward enlightenment. Hitherto we have been carefully fostering in our midst a school of superstition, to which we intrusted the task of fortifying the minds of the rising generation against all the knowlege which the contemporary schools of philosophy and science were laboriously endeavoring to acquire and promulgate. Equal political, social, and domestic rights for the two sexes; the economic independence of women (hanging in a great measure on the evolution of our industrial system); the establishment, rapid or gradual, as may prove desirable, of free marriage,—this at last would bring us to the end of the patriarchal system.

May we speed the parting guest!

MONA CAIRD.

CRITICS OF "PROBLEMS OF GREATER BRITAIN."

BY THE RIGHT HON. SIR CHARLES W. DILKE, BART.

A SORT of promise was given by me some time ago to the editor of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW that I would deal in that periodical with American and Canadian criticism on the "Problems of Greater Britian," in case I should happen to see reviews discussion on which might be of interest to a wide circle of readers. I have now had the advantage of perusing most of the notices which have appeared in the leading journals not only of Europe, the United States, and the Dominion, but also of South Africa and India. They are more indulgent to the shortcomings of the book than could have been expected in advance, and I have little to do except to express my thanks.

The problems of the British Empire which concern the relations of Canada and of the United States cannot be mentioned without bringing Mr. Goldwin Smith into the field. The questions concerned with those relations are peculiarly his own, and if he has failed to carry with him, as I think he has failed, the opinion either of the Canadian Dominion or of the United Kingdom, or, I may add (though of this your American readers will be far better judges), even of the United States, every line that he writes is full of interest and full of literary charm. In *The Forum* for May Mr. Goldwin Smith, in a manner most courteous to his adversary, has fallen foul of me for, as he thinks, rebuking him for dealing with Canadian questions rather in England and in the United States than upon Canadian soil. I should not have ventured to rebuke him upon this head. He is fully justified, I need hardly say, in writing upon such a question in the English newspapers or the widely-read American reviews. All that I said, or meant to say, was that the Canadians themselves seem to pay more attention to political controversy carried on in the journals of the Dominion, and to resent strong attacks upon the policy which

commands a majority at Ottawa when the criticisms appear across the border.

Mr. Goldwin Smith dislikes my occasional use of the term "the Empire" for the Queen's dominions. But it seems to me, I confess, a convenient and it is an official term, recognized by Parliament, by the War Office, by the Admiralty, by the Post-Office, and other government departments. If Her Majesty, Queen Victoria, and the Emperor of Russia should declare war on one another, that war would extend to the whole of their respective subjects, and some term is needed to express that portion of the world's surface which acknowledges the Queen, or Queen-Empress, and would be concerned on our side in such hostilities. "The Empire" is, as I have said, a convenient term, and one not more open to objection than any other that can be devised. Neither have I assumed, as I am made by Mr. Goldwin Smith to assume, that the British Empire will constitute a permanent unity. This very question forms one of those problems which I have discussed, but he would be indeed a daring man who should venture to assume for certain, or to confidently prophesy, that Australia, Canada, India, and the United Kingdom will be under one sceptre in times far distant from our own. It is a curious fact that Mr. Goldwin Smith, after quarrelling with the term "the Empire," is forced to use it in the (for so brilliant a writer) somewhat clumsy phrase, forced upon him not by his taste, but by the necessities of controversy, "this Empire, or whatever it is to be called." In his admirable article, "The Hatred of England," in the May number of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, Mr. Goldwin Smith also makes use of the phrase, "Great Britain has in her empire three hundred millions of people. . . Read any one of the treatises on the defences of her empire."

Mr. Goldwin Smith seems to imagine that, as portions of the empire become more democratic, there is less chance of the expenditure necessary to defend its parts being encountered by its people, and he thinks that "Problems of Great Britain" proves that in Australasia "a military policy, even of a moderate kind, has brought unpopularity on its authors." No unpopularity attaches in Australia to a policy of local defence, even on a costly scale; and, on the contrary, the colonies are now engaged in devising increased measures of protection to be added to those, already in most cases ample, which their present system gives.

What is unpopular is paying Australian money in the form of what in the southern continent is called "tribute." The Soudan expedition is now unpopular in Australia, and the Naval-Defence Bill is unpopular in Queensland, but Australian defence by Australian forces, on a scale sufficient to render safe for the British flag all the adjoining seas, is popular enough.

In the main portion of his *Forum* article Mr. Goldwin Smith appears to be arguing rather against the protective policy of the Canadian governmental party than against my views ; and, as a Free-Trader, hostile to that policy, I do not feel called upon to defend it. But he comes then to Canadian defence, and admits that it is reasonable that, if Canada wants independence, she should be ready to defend it. He asks, however, how she is to afford the money necessary for armaments sufficient to protect so dangerous a frontier against a nation vastly superior in wealth and numbers. Switzerland is not defended by natural frontiers (as is popularly supposed), for her two great cities of Geneva, on the one side, and of Basle, upon the other, lie open to the invader, and the occupation of two or three points upon her railway system (which, but for her army, could be easily reached) would paralyze her defence. Switzerland is vastly inferior in wealth and in population to Germany and to France, but she is protected by her patriotism and her willingness to make sacrifices in order to keep on foot an admirable democratic army. If Canada desires to retain her independence of the United States, as a self-respecting country she should put herself in a condition of defence such as Switzerland occupies. But, as she will never be attacked by the United States if she shows a real desire to remain independent, she need not be "armed to the teeth" (to use the phrase of Mr. Goldwin Smith) or attempt to keep on foot a permanent army against a people who will not employ any such force against her, or ever attack her in a desire for the conquest of an unwilling people. I admit, however, the fairness and the weight of the main argument of Mr. Goldwin Smith, that, if Canada does not keep up a large organized defence militia, the inference may be drawn that there exists in Canada no very strong opposition to eventual union with the United States. Mr. Goldwin Smith thinks that the adoption of the French tricolor in the province of Quebec implies that the "alien nationality" is by no means a strength of British rule ; but he does not controvert the

argument that union with the United States would swamp the French Canadians, and is for that reason never likely to be sought by them.

Incidently, in the course of the same article, Mr. Goldwin Smith two or three times writes of the poverty of large parts of the Canadian soil. In this matter, he seems to me, I confess, to somewhat exaggerate. He speaks, for example, of the maritime provinces of Canada as being separated from Quebec "by a wide and irreclaimable wilderness"; and I am, therefore, the more glad to find that in his last paragraph he distinctly declares Canada to be "a country full of natural resources." That is a considerable admission for Mr. Goldwin Smith, and one which will encourage Canadians more than they will be discouraged or saddened by anything which has come from his pen.

In his article called "The Hatred of England," in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, Mr. Goldwin Smith mentions one subject upon which I had written in the Canadian part of "Problems of Greater Britain," and in which we take wholly different views as to the facts of the case. He tells his readers that "Anglophobia . . . drives British emigrants from American shores to Australia at a time when the self-governing element in this country is in danger of being swamped by alien elements." This passage clearly implies that British (that is, English and Scotch) emigration to the United States is decreasing in proportion to English and Scotch emigration to Australia. Yet so far is this from being the case that the very opposite is true. The English and Scotch emigrants to the United States have pretty steadily increased. In 1885 they were 87,000; in 1886, 99,000; in 1887, 132,000; in 1888, 130,000. On the other hand, the English and Scotch emigration to Australasia (and the deduction of New Zealand would not seriously affect the proportions) in the same years has been 33,000, 38,000, 29,000, and 27,000.

An interesting American article on "Problems of Greater Britain" was that in the Chicago *Tribune*, which, discussing at length my views upon the fisheries question, asked impatiently when the time might come when men should fish where they pleased and for what they pleased, and sell their products where and how they pleased, regardless of frontiers. The writer, however, failed to see that his excellent suggestion has no bearing upon the Newfoundland problem discussed by me, for the diffi-

culty there consists in the existence of foreign rights on shore, such as the United States would not tolerate in her territories were Newfoundland in her possession.

As a rule, the articles, and especially when favorable, as most of them have been, contain little of that kind of criticism which can lead to useful answer. The hostile criticism which proceeds from France, and, generally speaking, from France alone, has been based upon a misconception of the author's views. Where I have quoted Prevost-Paradol's "La France Nouvelle," and shown that the twenty years which have passed over our heads since the book appeared have only confirmed the justness of his prediction as to the dwarfing of the French, the German, and the other south, west, and central European powers, by the Americans, the British, and the Russians, French writers who have not read my book, or who have read it hastily, have been inclined to think that I was not only expressing my own views, rather than those of a French patriot, but wishes entertained generally by my fellow-countrymen. The stationary position of the French, the absorption of the Germans outside Europe by the Americans and the British, are scientific facts of the highest interest, and thoroughly worthy of careful investigation; but all interest in such speculations disappears when they are approached with loss of temper. It is then only possible with advantage to repeat the statement that the arguments which bear upon the point put forward in "Problems of Greater Britain" are unaffected by personal predilection.

The most useful criticism of the work bears upon a subject which would probably be of less interest to American readers than that which might have been aroused by almost any other portion of it—namely, upon British and Indian imperial defence. The Chicago *Tribune*, indeed, discussed in some detail the defence of India as presented in my book, but only to assure me that a single American county with which it was acquainted, Cook County, could furnish a larger force than could British India. *The Edinburgh Review*, in the course of a very favorable article on the book, went out of its way to make, incidentally, an onslaught against me for want of patriotism in revealing to our possible enemies the details of our military weakness. If we could secure adequate military reform in the British Empire without talking about our weaknesses, I should be the first to deprecate the practice of discussing them; but, unfortunately, this has been found to be

impossible, and the only chance we have of obtaining any remedy for a state of things absolutely deplorable, and dangerous even to the continued existence of the fabric of the British government, is discussion. The Hartington Commission has lately brought together an enormous body of the most competent evidence upon the subject, but I understand that little except the result is to be given to the world. The consequence will, I fear, be that this most important inquiry will remain sterile, and that once more "nothing will he done." I might answer the criticism in *The Edinburgh Review* by pointing out that the great semi-official newspapers of India, such as *The Pioneer*, single out the chapter on "Indian Defence" for special praise, and, representing, as they do, British-Indian military opinion, evidently believe that the chapter was calculated to do good, not harm, to the interests with the defence of which these journals in a peculiar degree feel themselves charged.

To us in England one of the most interesting notices which has been called out by my book is that in the *Novoye Vremya*, which contains these words :

"Yet a little while, and, by seizing Herat, we shall present a pistol at the very heart of English domination. . . . The Vistula, the Bosphorus, and Herat are the three points of the Russian strategical triangle. The English keep persisting in an unequal struggle only because they await the result of the issue on the two former points rather than that at the third position of Herat."

This passage, again, however, affects matters of interest rather to Britons than to the people of the United States.

Some naval officers in all parts of the world have objected to the views put forward in my chapter on "Imperial Defence." Those opinions, have, however, since been, as it seems to me, confirmed by the revelation of the line taken by Admiral Sir F. Richards upon the Hartington Commission. The report of that commission includes a naval protest against sailors being called upon to say beforehand what they could or could not do in case of war. The reason of their inability to do so is that our sailors have had hitherto no proper staff to work out such questions for them, for our Naval-Intelligence Department is too young and too weak. But the fact at least shows how necessary it is for the army administration to have ready in advance its system for garrisoning our colony stations, and this is plainly the opinion of even the naval member of the commission. It is difficult to

write upon such matters without becoming a pessimist upon the question of imperial defence. We in Great Britain own the most costly army in the world. We are continually pulling it about; and even during the few years in which I have myself taken a special interest in the question, blue books upon the subject have accumulated feet high.

The general public understands so little about defence problems that suggestions for remedy of present evils are easily met by criticism upon detail, when all that matters is the principle. For example, I have written in support of the proposal of the Hartington Commission for the creation of a general staff, which, indeed, I had advocated in advance. It may be admitted that the staff proposed by the Hartington Commission would differ in many important points from that German staff which has proved successful; and it is easy, therefore, to criticise the report, and even to pull it to pieces. But, on the other hand, the principle is there,—that the best brains which are to be found in an army should be allowed to come to the top, and that real power should be given to the men who know how to use it. The same result possibly might be achieved in a different way; but that which is incapable of defence is the present system, or absence of system, under which we spend far more than anybody else and have nothing to show for our money, and are not even safe in our island home. We spend on defence in the United Kingdom over thirty-three millions sterling a year of taxes, which is brought up to over thirty-eight millions a year by including expenditure out of loans; and in British India we spend about twenty millions. So that, when allowance is made for the Canadian, Australasian, Crown Colony, and Cape expenditure, we soon find that we have run to an expenditure well over sixty millions sterling a year upon British imperial defence.

Pessimist though I am upon this question of imperial defence, I am an optimist with regard to the likelihood of a general war. Never, to my mind, in our time has there seemed less chance of the outbreak of such a conflagration than during those three or four last years in which it has been continually prophesied by a portion of the press. One great influence on the side of peace, indeed, has lately gone, for Prince Bismarck in the last fourteen years has been a powerful factor on the side of peace preservation throughout the continent of Europe. At the same time, the fall

of Bismarck causes no startling change, so long as the Emperor William does not break up the alliance of the central powers in order to substitute for it a German-Russian alliance. Supposing the alliance of the central powers to continue, Austria will be a drag on warlike projects, and will, in fact, say to the young Emperor and to Italy: "Go on, gentlemen, if you like, but do not count on me to go with you."

While, however, no change of policy is implied in the dismissal of Prince Bismarck, and while, indeed, the Emperor declares to all who choose to listen that he retains the alliance of Austria and of Italy, and that friendship for England and desire for peace which were the base of the Bismarck policy of 1876 to 1890, the removal of the inventor of that policy is, of course, a certain cause of risk. I am no admirer of Signor Crispi, but I freely admit that that risk would be increased if he were not at the head of Italian affairs. Signor Crispi is a man who has learned to live alongside of Austria better than could most Italians, and who, on the other hand, as an ex-Garibaldian, is of an Italian patriotism which cannot be suspected. It must always be remembered, however, that in the alliance of the central powers, Prince Bismarck's main difficulties were two—the spirit of the Hungarians and the constant desire of the Austrians and Italians to fly at one another's throats. When the Hungarians feel that they have Germany behind them, their anti-Russian views are always on the verge of being pushed to an extreme so as to bring on war—danger No. 1. Austria looks upon Italy as a needy aristocrat looks upon a successful self-made man, and Italy wants something which, if it is to be obtained, must one day be obtained at the expense of Austria, —danger No. 2. The foreign affairs of Europe were lately in the hands of two men—father and son—who (whether they have great and obvious faults, as, according to their detractors, is the case, or whether they were heaven-born statesmen, as is thought by their admirers) were, at all events, men of vast experience, thoroughly skilled in the management of affairs, knowing and known to every statesman in Europe, and capable of weighing their men. They have been succeeded by the best general in the German Empire and by a public prosecutor from one of the smaller states. The general is one of the ablest administrators in the world, by the proud admission of the Chancellor whom he displaces; but while he is lost to Germany as a general, it is not certain that he is capa-

ble, by training or by experience, of bearing the load of civil responsibility which has now been thrown upon him. Of the public prosecutor who has become Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, without a seat in the cabinet, I know nothing, and my ignorance, I believe, is pretty generally shared; and all that I can say is that his former functions do not appear to specially fit him for the more delicate duties of his new post.

So much for the present; but as regards the future we cannot be without anxiety. The Emperor William does not desire to set up the German-Russian alliance as against the present league of the central powers. He is coming again to England, and he will once more express in this country that affection for us which is sincere; but he is a little rash, and he is about to once more visit Russia, and in his wish to make things pleasant to all his neighbors he may go a little far. It is always possible that, with her extraordinarily able diplomacy, Russia may one day succeed in replacing the alliance of Germany with Austria by an alliance of Germany and Russia, leaving Russia free to attack Austria, with a view to the ultimate completion of German unity by the absorption of the German provinces of Austria into the German Empire; and in this ultimate danger lies the greatest of those which will menace European peace.

CHARLES W. DILKE.

SUMMING UP THE TARIFF DISCUSSION.

BY ANDREW CARNEGIE.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW asks me to participate in the free-trade and protection duel, in which Messrs. Gladstone and Blaine were the first to cross swords. I comply with pleasure.

Anything that Mr. Gladstone writes is of great interest; but his contribution to this controversy does not seem to be specially instructive to the United States, because it does not touch the problem with which they have had and still have to deal. It is thoroughly British, and deals almost exclusively with Britain's mistaken policy of taxing food from abroad without the possibility of thereby increasing the home supply. Let us consider what protection and free trade mean to the Briton. Great Britain was too small to produce sufficient food to feed its people. The land being already fully under cultivation, the amount of food products derivable from it could not be increased; nevertheless, duties were imposed upon food from abroad. This constituted a monopoly in favor of the owners of the land, which was bound to raise the price of food as the population increased. Imagine what the price of food would be there to-day if the thirty-seven millions of her people had to be fed from the products of her own soil. They could not be so fed. Millions would have to starve. Free trade in Britain only means that the people of Britain compelled the landed aristocracy to open the ports to food supplies from other lands. It is for this reason that Mr. Gladstone thinks of "monopoly" and "immorality" whenever he speaks of protection; for protection to the produce of the land of Britain was perhaps the most effective monopoly ever established. By no possibility could it be evaded. All that Mr. Gladstone says in regard to the "folly" and the "immorality" of this attempt to maintain a monopoly and starve the people is true and well deserved.

But how different the meaning of protection when used by the American. We have in the United States, as Mr.

Gladstone says, "a world, and not a very little world," within itself. Previous to its severance from England, manufactures were prohibited by law in this world. It was an exclusively agricultural land, realizing the ideal which Mr. Gladstone paints for it now; growing the corn, the oats, the wheat, and the cotton, furnishing the pork and the beef, for other lands, but dependent for all its manufactured articles upon the parent country. When the colony obtained its political independence, it naturally wished to establish its industrial independence also. That great Scotchman, Alexander Hamilton, first struck the keynote of the second struggle when, as Secretary of the Treasury, December 5, 1791, he said:

"This idea of an extensive domestic market for the surplus produce of the soil is of the first consequence. It is, of all things, that which most effectually conduces to a flourishing state of agriculture." "To secure such a market there is no other expedient than to promote manufacturing establishments." "It is the interest of a community, with a view to eventual and permanent economy, to encourage the growth of manufactures. In a national view, a temporary enhancement of price must always be well compensated by a permanent reduction of it."

American statesmen have followed in similar strains. Thus Washington's last annual address, December 7, 1796, says:

"Congress have repeatedly, and not without success, directed their attention to the encouragement of manufactures. The object is of too much consequence not to insure a continuance of their efforts in every way which shall appear eligible."

President Madison's special message, May 23, 1809, says:

"It will be worthy, at the same time, of their just and provident care to make such further alterations in the laws as will more especially protect and foster the several branches of manufacture which have been recently instituted or extended by the laudable exertion of our citizens."

Thomas Jefferson, in a letter to Benjamin Austin, Boston, 1816, says:

"To be independent for the comforts of life we must fabricate them ourselves. We must now place our manufacturers by the side of the agriculturist. . . . Experience has taught me that manufactures are now as necessary to our independence as to our comfort."

President Monroe's first inaugural address, March 5, 1817, says:

"Our manufactures will likewise require the systematic and fostering care of the government. Possessing, as we do, all the raw materials, the fruit of our own soil and industry, we ought not to depend, in the degree we have done, on supplies from other countries. While we are thus dependent, the sudden event of war, unsought and unexpected, cannot fail to plunge us into the most serious difficulties."

President Jackson, August 26, 1824:

"Heaven smiled upon and gave us liberty and independence. The same Providence has blessed us with the means of national independence and national defence. If we omit or refuse to use the gifts which he has extended to us, we deserve not the continuance of his blessing. He has filled our mountains and our plains with minerals—with lead, iron, and copper—and given us a climate and soil for the grow-

ing of hemp and wool. These being the great materials of our national defence, they ought to have extended to them adequate and fair protection, that our manufacturers and laborers may be placed in a fair competition with those of Europe, and that we may have within our country a supply of these leading and important articles so essential to war."

Such are the teachings of the fathers. Pages could be filled proving their passionate anxiety to establish manufactures by legislation, which Mr. Gladstone thinks partakes of an immoral character. I quote these memorable utterances to illustrate the difference between an old land which has the best-equipped system of manufactures ever known already in operation, and produces more manufactures than it can consume, and a new land which has no manufactures, but is desirous of obtaining them. How different the point of view from which the statesmen of the old and the new land must regard the policy of protection! How different the problem with which they have to deal! To place this difference in the clearest light, I quote Mr. Gladstone's presentation of free trade (pages 9 and 10, NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for January):

"International commerce is based, not upon arbitrary or fanciful considerations, but upon the unequal distribution among men and regions of aptitudes to produce the several commodities which are necessary or useful for the sustenance, comfort, and advantage of human life.

"If every country produced all commodities with exactly the same degree of facility or cheapness, it would be contrary to common-sense to incur the charge of sending them from one country to another.

"But the inequalities are so great that (for example) region A can supply region B with many articles of food, and region B can in return supply region A with many articles of clothing, at such rates that, although in each case the charge of transmission has of necessity been added to the first cost, the respective articles can be sold after importation at a lower rate than if they were home-grown or home-manufactured in the one or the other country respectively."

The position of the new country desirous of industrial independence we will state in the words of an Englishman not unworthy to be classed as an economist with Mr. Gladstone himself —John Stuart Mill:*

"The superiority of one country over another, in a branch of production, often arises only from having begun it sooner. There may be no inherent advantage on one part or disadvantage on the other, but only a present superiority of acquired skill and experience. A country which has this skill and experience yet to acquire may, in other respects, be better adapted to the production than those which were earlier in the field; and, besides, it is a just remark that nothing has a greater tendency to promote improvements in any branch of production than its trial under a new set of conditions. But it cannot be expected that individuals should at their own risk, or, rather, to their certain loss, introduce a new manufacture and bear the burden of carrying it on until the producers have been educated up to the level of those

* "Political Economy," Vol. II., book v., chap. 10, section 1, pages 512, 513.

with whom the processes are traditional. A protecting duty, continued for a reasonable time, will sometimes be the least inconvenient mode in which the nation can tax itself for the support of such an experiment."

Here we have the whole question in a nutshell. I have heard Mr. John Bright say that Mr. Mill, by this paragraph, had done more harm than all the remainder of his writings would ever do good. But Mr. Bright confounded effect with cause. Mr. Mill's paragraph in itself has done neither harm nor good. It simply records the practice of every new country that seeks to develop its latent manufacturing powers. Mr. Mill's words were, no doubt, surprising to Mr. Bright, and to Britons generally—perhaps to Mr. Gladstone himself. The new doctrine differed from the policy which, being desirable for Britain, Mr. Bright naturally thought of universal application and desirable for all. The statesmen of the United States, however, had discovered, acted upon, and demonstrated by unprecedented success the wisdom of Mr. Mill's words long before they were written. 'It may be noted, however, in passing, that the "immorality" of a new nation's endeavoring to develop her resources by protective duties had evidently not occurred to the philosopher.

The only question, then, in which the United States are interested is this: Given a world within itself, with every requisite for manufacturing the various commodities required by its people, was it wise to give the necessary concessions and bounties to induce skill and capital to establish manufactures within this world? and, if it were found that the easiest and surest mode of building up manufactures was by taxing the manufactures of other nations, so that the product of experimental factories in the undeveloped land should be shielded from the competition of fully-developed factories abroad, should this protection have been given or not, and should it be maintained as far as may be found necessary? How interesting it would be to have Mr. Gladstone's answer to this problem—the only one which our country has to consider.

Even should Mr. Gladstone hastily reply in the negative, it is probable that he would scarcely utter the word ere he paused and reconsidered. First he might say to himself: "This is a problem with which I have never had to deal. It is new to me. I must examine. I must think." Then it might occur to him that all of his countrymen who govern English-

speaking people throughout the world have decided the question in the affirmative for their respective countries. The Gladstone of Canada, a thorough Scotchman like himself, Sir John Macdonald; the premiers of Australia, New Zealand, and every British colony; and, even in old Europe, Bismarck, and Tisza, and Carnot, and the Russian premier, all backed by public opinion, have been led to the conclusion that it is essential for their governments to levy protective duties in order to establish manufactures. It is significant that all these countries are desirous of developing manufactures to an extent sufficient to supply their wants at home; while Britain already manufactures more than she wants at home, and must send abroad. Perhaps this fact has, unconsciously, something to do with the differing views of those concerned. They look at it from opposite sides. All the civilized nations of the world answer this question in the affirmative, and confirm their opinion by their acts—if we except New South Wales, a pastoral land with slightly over one million of people, which is now about equally balanced upon the question in its legislature.

That thorough man of the world, Mr. Labouchère, has recently explained that the question of free trade or protection is one of condition; not a science applicable everywhere. It is good for some countries, bad for others. "As I am an Englishman," says he, "I am in favor of free trade; but if I were an American, I should be in favor of protection." Of course, it is quite possible that all these Britons abroad and all these countries may be wrong, and that the Briton who remains upon his little island, and has never seen a new country, and to whom the word PROTECTION means a tax upon a food supply which cannot be increased by protection, may be right. But, on the other hand, it is possible that all of these governing men and all these countries, having the advantage of intimate knowledge of the problem, may be right, and that it is the Briton in little manufacturing Britain who is in the position of the one stubborn man upon the jury.

At any rate, the policy of protecting manufactures in new countries, or wherever protection is necessary even in old countries, has in its support a consensus of the governing men and of the countries of the world. No statesman attaches more importance to such a consensus upon any question than Mr.

Gladstone. Nothing is proved to him more clearly, nothing is urged by him more persistently upon his adversaries, for instance, than that for his policy of home rule he has with him a consensus of the civilized world, as evinced by their words. For the doctrine of protection we have better than words. We have the acts of every country. If it be contended that a new discovery or a great improvement always has the majority against it at the beginning, this is true; but let us note that, while the progress of a new truth or discovery may be slow at first, yet it is steady, and keeps on conquering by its inherent power. If free trade for the world had really been of universal application, and best for countries developed and undeveloped in manufacturing, it must inevitably have proved so ere now; at least, the doctrine would have held its own.

What is the situation to-day? So far from progressing, the cause of free trade has receded, and is now confined to the little island of Britain itself and New South Wales, with its pastoral land and one million inhabitants. A recent morning paper (April 22, 1890) announces, for instance, that Newfoundland has just increased its tariff upon foreign goods. Canada increased hers largely last year. We need not speak of Germany, France, Russia; these countries are constantly at work upon the task of shielding their industries. Even the strongest tariff-reform paper in the United States, the New York *Times*, of a late date (April 27), begins an editorial thus:

> "All the signs point to the joining by France of the protectionist reaction that is now setting in over all Continental Europe. The Committee on the Budget of the new Chamber has been made up distinctly in the interest of the policy of terminating the treaties of commerce with foreign nations, and taxing food and raw materials. This will be a great experiment for France. Since 1860 her fiscal policy has been one of the widest reciprocity. Probably no other country has negotiated so many commercial treaties on a reciprocal basis."

And only the other day, as the cable informed us, Mr. Gladstone said to the Cobden Club that Free-Traders must recognize with keen disappointment how much ground had been lost by their doctrine within the last twenty-five years. Where has a great economical truth, a sound theory, ever lost ground once gained? The case against free trade as being of universal application is closed, for, after twenty-five years of struggle, it is to-day in full retreat all over the field. What is true never retreats. It holds the field against all comers.

In this consensus of opinion in favor of protection all parties in America are agreed. President Cleveland's famous message, Mr. Breckinridge's article in the April number of THE REVIEW, every platform of the Democratic, as of the Republican, party, confirm this. Mr. Gladstone will find ten Britons favoring protection in Britain to one American in the United States favoring free trade. It is not a question whether the doctrine of protection to manufactures be upheld, but simply a question of how much, if any further, protection is necessary. Convince the American people to-day that it is necessary to increase the duties upon iron, or steel, or silk, or woollens, show them that the manufacture of these articles at home cannot be sustained in competition with Europe without additional duties, and the additional duties will be promptly levied. Mr. Breckinridge truly says (April NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, page 506):

"Practically the present generation of statesmen will never meet the question of free trade. Whatever views may be entertained by those in public life or by the great body of the people, it cannot be that in our day free trade, even in the limited sense in which Great Britain has adopted it, can be made the system of the United States; . . . it is also freely admitted that it is impossible to 'raise the revenues' required by the United States under a system of tariff imposition without incidental protection to certain industries."

His position illustrates still further how little bearing Mr. Gladstone's article has upon the question of protection as it interests the United States.

Before leaving this part of the subject, permit me to consider another phase of it as presented by Mr. Gladstone. While it is quite true that protection has reduced the price of manufactured commodities to the consumer below what he would have had to pay if dependent upon the supplies of articles from abroad, there is, nevertheless, a vital part of the question of protection *versus* free trade which is not settled by the mere question of price. Presidents Monroe and Jackson touch upon it in their words already quoted. Even if Mr. Gladstone's contention were true, that region A could permanently supply certain articles cheaper than region B, it does not follow that it would not be wise for region B to incur the increased cost until the brotherhood of man comes upon earth; for to the statesmen charged with the safety and welfare of their country the danger of war must be ever present. Sad as is the thought, and

repugnant as it is to our ideas, nevertheless statesmen are bound to deal with what is, not with what they wish to be. No nation acts upon this principle more consistently than Britain. She has just passed an act devoting a hundred millions of dollars to increase her already enormous navy. Why? Because, being unfortunately dependent upon foreign nations for a supply of food, she must perforce so legislate that her ports cannot be closed by hostile fleets. Mr. Goschen, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, has just said that no nation ever existed to which absolute security was so essential. As the price of her existence she must keep command of the seas. Convinced of the necessity of this, were I in public life in England,—vice-president of the Arbitration Society as I am,—I should, nevertheless, be compelled to support any measures necessary to secure this end.

Applying this principle to the United States, it will be within Mr. Gladstone's recollection that not so long ago we were engaged in a deadly struggle for the preservation of the Union. In what condition did the country find itself then? Without the ability to supply clothing, arms, or ammunition for her troops. Iron and steel for railways and locomotives—articles almost as essential for subduing the Rebellion as any of those named—could not be procured at home. Agents were despatched to Britain and the Continent; and it was only by drawing from foreign countries that the Republic was able to triumph. If Mr. Marcellus Hartly, or Mr. Gilead A. Smith, or any of the other agents with whose experience I am familiar, could be induced to write the story of these negotiations and purchases, it would be most interesting reading indeed for every American. Think of the danger with which this country was confronted at that awful moment. When its agents were making these very purchases, the government of Britain was on the eve of entering the struggle against the Republic; and was only prevented from doing so by the unceasing efforts of Mr. Bright, Mr. Foster, Mr. Morley, Mr. Goldwin Smith, and other leaders of the people, as distinguished from the governing class, which was anxious then, as it is anxious now, and ever will be anxious, to strangle a republic which daily proves MONARCHY and ARISTOCRACY to be excrescences upon the body politic.

If I read aright the temper of the American people, they will never again consent to be subjected to dependence upon any

other power than themselves for all the means necessary to deal with either foreign or domestic trouble. It is significant that legislation for increasing the military and naval strength of the country invariably requires all the necessary material to be made within its own territory. No Free-Trader—not one—votes against this highly protective—nay, prohibitive—policy. The requirement passes unanimously in every case. Why do not Mr. Mills and Mr. Breckinridge vote upon such occasions in favor of buying where they can buy cheapest? Because they realize that in certain contingencies the safety of their country depends upon its being prepared to supply all from within itself. This necessity is somewhat less obvious in the case of clothing for troops, and still less so, perhaps, in regard to a prompt and full supply of steel in the cruder forms. Yet the enormous supplies of steel and iron which the Baldwins and other locomotive manufacturers obtained in Britain during the Rebellion contributed largely to the suppression of the Civil War. It could scarcely have been suppressed without a rapid development of our railway facilities; and this required steel and iron far beyond the capacity of the country then to produce. Even when aiding railways, the government invariably enacts that no foreign material shall be used in their construction.

To this policy England also strictly conforms. Mr. Blaine has shown that, in the case of steamship lines, she will permit no foreign steamships to compete even for carrying the mails. On the contrary, when the Postmaster-General of England had closed an arrangement with the North-German Lloyd, which gave much better service upon more favorable terms than the English steamship lines had it in their power to give, Parliament promptly compelled him to forego the arrangement. The people of England would not stand it. Take the recent test of armor-plate at Portsmouth. While the form of asking foreign manufacturers to submit trial plates was observed, the foreigners very properly answered: "We will do so, if you agree to give us the contract should our plates prove superior to the British, and if we agree to furnish them upon equal or better terms." The British government declined to do this, and therefore not a foreign manufacturer sent a plate for trial. I do not mention this protective action to dispute its wisdom; on the contrary, I should not consider any party in Britain or in the United States fit

to be intrusted with government which did not look to it that every pound of steel and every rivet in its war-ships were made at home.

If the present British government should accept armor-plate from a foreign nation for one ship, Mr. Gladstone would be in power within twenty-four hours. It would do more to dissolve the present coalition than all the speeches of my friends of the Liberal party, and more than all the by-elections in favor of the principle of home rule. Devoted to free trade as England pretends to be, no ministry dare give the patronage of the government to foreign steamships, or use for a single ship armor-plate which Britain itself does not furnish. My native land is given to preaching a good deal to less civilized lands, but when it comes to practice, her practical instincts may be safely trusted. The Briton has not lost his common-sense. There is, therefore, a large domain, the most vital of all, in which the question of dollars and cents does not enter. Mr. Gladstone's region A may offer any terms it pleases, but region B (Britain) and region U (the United States) will continue to supply their own arms, their own steel, their own armor-plates, their own guns, and their own ships, free-trade preaching to the contrary notwithstanding. In region U practice and theory agree. To region B we pay the rare compliment of saying that its practice is better than its theory. It preaches free trade, but practises protection. In everything, therefore, that is seen to affect the safety of a nation, —and more manufactured articles contribute to a nation's safety than might at first appear,—proof that region A could supply region B cheaper than region B could itself provide the necessary articles would have no bearing whatever upon the subject. One might as well prove that all flesh is grass.

Is it not significant that at this very moment the gravest danger to the peace of this continent arises from the refusal of Britain to arbitrate the difference which she has with our sister-republic, Venezuela? That any power will ever undertake to light the torch of war upon this continent, in the face of the recent action of the seventeen republics which occupy it, I do not believe. The attitude of England to-day, however, upon this question, and also in regard to the enormous increase of her naval power, deserves to be carefully weighed by every citizen of this continent; and here every

American will be glad to pay Mr. Gladstone the deserved tribute of saying that were he in power as the representative of the democracy, instead of the Marquis of Salisbury as the representative of the aristocracy, the offer of any power with which Britain has a difference to submit the question to peaceful arbitration would not be rudely repelled. The grandest work among many grand works in Mr. Gladstone's career is the settlement of the "Alabama" difficulty by peaceful arbitration. If he never did anything else, if he never does anything else,—which God forbid!—he will still for this work have earned an enduring place among the benefactors of mankind. Indeed, Mr. Gladstone is so grand a character and has a mind so open to the reception of new ideas that I entertain not the slightest doubt that, were he to spend a few weeks in this new country, he would recognize that his friend, John Stuart Mill, in the passage I have quoted, had rightly discerned the necessity for protecting new manufactures, and that all his fellow-countrymen intrusted with the government of English countries beyond the limit of his island are not wrong. He is right upon the question for Britain, and acquaintance with our different conditions would make him right upon it here.

To return to the main question. It may be assumed that all parties in this country desire the United States to continue as she is—the greatest manufacturing nation in the world; and also that there is no objection to Colonel Breckinridge's position, that its manufacturers must necessarily continue to receive incidental protection. The practical question, therefore, resolves itself to this: Has the infantile stage of our manufacturing system passed? Has it reached the full stature of maturity? Are we prepared to let down the bars and stand exposed against foreign manufacturers? These are legitimate questions. To the college professor and the student in his closet it may well appear that a nation which manufactures more tons of steel than Great Britain and almost as much pig-iron, and which furnishes so great a proportion of the woollens, silks, and cottons consumed by it, has outgrown the necessity for further protection. One can quite understand that this should appear reasonable. Let us consider it.

It is thirty years since the Civil War rendered it necessary greatly to increase duties upon imports. Up to that time and during the struggle, as I have shown, the country was dangerously depend-

ent upon foreign supplies for articles essential to its preservation. This is a fast country, and we expect much to be accomplished in thirty years; and we ask if this long period is not quite sufficient to develop manufactures to their utmost possible efficiency. Is it an easy matter, then, to introduce and establish in a new country an important branch of industry? What has been our experience? We will take the vital article of steel. When the duty upon steel was raised to a point which tempted capital to engage in the experiment of making crucible steel in this country, Mr. James Park, of Pittsburg, became the pioneer in the experiment. His repeated trips to Europe to secure skilled workmen, the enormous prices which he had to pay to induce them to leave their homes, and the grave financial and other difficulties which he encountered and surmounted, render the life of this man memorable. Even after he had succeeded in making good steel, it was years before he could induce consumers to fairly try the home-made article.

The effort to introduce Bessemer steel in the United States is nothing but a record of disaster for many years. The first attempt at Milwaukee ruined the pioneers. The works at Troy were sold for not many more hundreds of thousands of dollars than millions had been spent upon them. The Freedom Iron Company, of Pennsylvania, bankrupted itself in trying to introduce the process. The Vulcan steel-rail mills, at St. Louis, were twice sold by the sheriff. The steel-rail works at Joliet were also sold by the same official. The Pennsylvania Steel Company became embarrassed, but fortunately received aid to the extent of $600,000 from the Pennsylvania Railroad Company. Even the great Bethlehem Steel Company had to mortgage its plant. These efforts began in 1860, and all took place previous to the year 1873. It was not until that year that there was made as much as one hundred thousand tons of steel in all this country. Up to 1881 there never was a year during which the United States made a million tons. In that year the industry can be said to have taken firm root. The Bessemer-steel manufacture was, therefore, successfully introduced only after many years of effort and after millions of dollars had been lost. Now, this was only nine years ago. How has the rate of duty kept pace with this development? By successive reductions 40 per cent. of that upon rails has already been taken off, and the bill now pending

in Congress fixes the future duty at something less than one-half of the original duty imposed. Thus do we march through temporary shielding and protective care to such development as enables duties to be lessened from time to time.

Let us take another instance,—a very important one,—that of plate glass, in which the nation has made its most triumphant industrial success in recent years. It is twenty-one years since its manufacture was begun upon a small scale in this country. In New Albany, Ind., several hundreds of thousands of dollars were sunk in the experiment, which failed. A second attempt at Crystal City, Mo., ended in a final sale of the plant to St. Louis capitalists. Works were built in Louisville, Ky., in 1872, and in Jefferson, Ind., in 1875, but both proved failures financially. During all these years, from 1869 to 1875, there was nothing but failure for the pioneers, although glass then sold as high as $2.50 per square foot. A reduction of the tariff upon plate glass at this point must have indefinitely postponed future attempts. Fortunately, the tariff was not disturbed. The price still seemed tempting, and in 1882, ten years after the first trial, the Pittsburg Plate-Glass Works were erected. Success came at last. It is only through such struggles as these that a new branch of manufacturing is successfully established in a new country. To-day there are eight companies making plate glass in the United States, and the total production of last year amounted to something over nine millions of square feet. The importations were nearly six millions of square feet in 1888. Thus protection in America means something quite different from protection in Britain. So far from the manufactures of plate-glass being a monopoly, as the growing of cereals was under English protection, overproduction is threatened here, as in every branch of manufacturing. Seven new works are being built with great rapidity. When finished, America will be able to supply fifteen millions of square feet of glass per annum. The price last year fell in extreme cases to fifty-nine cents per foot. This was an article which, as has been seen, cost $2.50 before the United States entered the field. Protection has about done its work as far as large plates are concerned, the duty upon which could already be safely reduced.

Our friends who cry out that the manufacturing system of America has been fostered long enough should never forget that the struggle which the American manufacturer has in competi-

tion with Europe is severe. His labor-cost is more than double that of his competitor. Mr. Clark and Mr. Coats, manufacturers of thread, have factories of similar character in the old land and in the new. They have both testified that their labor-cost in Newark and in Rhode Island is slightly more than double what it is abroad.

The following statement was laid before Congress recently by the United States Commissioner of Labor, and as it gives the wages in a branch which has not yet been quoted, and which is in nowise affected by the tariff, it is well worthy of reproduction here. It "presents a table giving the average daily rates of pay and the yearly earnings for such railroad employees in Great Britain and the United States as are amenable to comparison," as follows:

Class of Employees.	Great Britain.	United States.
Engineers, per day	$1.46	$3.22
Firemen " "	0.51	1.79½
Conductors " "	0.97	2.63
Switchmen " "	0.85	1.50½
Flagmen " "	0.81	1.13
Engineers' yearly earnings	457.00	1,007.00
Firemen's yearly earnings	285.00	562.00
Conductors' yearly earnings	304.00	824.00
Switchmen's yearly earnings	266.00	471 00
Flagmen's yearly earnings	254.00	354.00

It is probable, and greatly to be hoped, that this great difference will be equalized by an advance in the wages of labor in Europe, and not by a reduction in the wages here. But the manufacturing system of America may be considered as not having fully outrun the necessity for protection so long as it is handicapped in the race with double labor-cost. Notwithstanding this, it is marching slowly but surely to a condition in which it will, with only incidental protection, have nothing to fear, even in competition with its most formidable rival.

We have seen that the introduction of a new manufacturing industry is no child's play. It means ten to fifteen years of struggle and loss. It may be estimated, therefore, that one-half the period since the protective duties were imposed at the beginning of the war has been consumed in establishing the new industries. During the remaining half some industries have reached a position in which less protection is now necessary; some will soon be able to stand exposure to the competition of older countries.

Other branches still require fostering care, and the only question for the legislator is, after examination and proof adduced, to determine how much, if at all, in each industry the import duties may be lessened, and whether, owing to errors in laws or in the construction thereof, changes in the other direction may be necessary.

Mr. Mills realizes that, if Mr. Blaine be correct in his claim that the steady competition of American manufacturers has reduced the price of manufactured articles, his case is desperate; therefore, in regard to steel rails, which were cited to prove this, he boldly says: "What competition was there among American manufacturers? It was a monopoly. The manufacturers owned a patent, and there could be no competition." Unfortunately for Mr. Mills, this is not correct. American Bessemer-steel manufacturers never owned the Bessemer patents. The courts of the United States adjudged Mr. Kelley, an American citizen, to have valid claims, even against Bessemer. And the persons interested in the Kelley claims settled with their English friends, and thus obtained control of the Bessemer process for the United States. They threw open the use of the patents to every individual in the United States, charging all alike one dollar per ton, and this all manufacturers paid. There always has been, and there is to-day, the most active competition between the manufacturers of steel. In seasons of great depression an inexperienced individual here and there has thought it possible that ruinous competition could be prevented; but it has been found impossible, and it always will be impossible until human nature changes. The American consumer has no cause to fear that any combinations among manufacturers can endure, for such never have endured either in Britain or elsewhere. Four pounds of steel in the form of a rail for five cents is conclusive proof that the severest home competition exists.

The statement is often made that, if we did not buy from foreign nations, we could not sell to them, and that the prosperity of our country greatly depends upon its exchanging products with other nations. I desire to meet this contention. Mr. Breckinridge says:

"A nation, like a man, can only grow rich by producing more than it uses, and accumulating year by year the value of that yearly surplus. If, also, there had been subtracted from the wealth of America all imports which were purchased by the agricultural surplus sent abroad, our industrial interests would be destroyed. There

can be no greater delusion than that of a possible 'home market' in which everything produced in America is sold and in which everything needed for America is produced here and sold here. The very existence of our industries depends upon commerce—that is, upon the power to import what we need and to pay for it by what we export; what we export being that surplus of our product which remains after our wants are supplied. He who buys must first have something to sell, and sell it; and his capacity to buy is precisely measured by what he obtains for that which he sells."

Mr. Mills says :

"There can be no surer test of the prosperity of a country than the increase of its foreign trade, and no surer test of the retardation of that prosperity than the decrease of that trade."

The first lines of Mr. Breckinridge's statement are true. A nation, like a man, can only grow rich by producing more than it uses, and accumulating year by year the value of that surplus. But when Messrs. Breckinridge and Mills go on to assume that the yearly surplus made in the United States depends upon or is measured by the amount of foreign commerce, they run foul of figures. The estimated yearly increase of the wealth of the United States, in 1880, was $1,050,000,000 ; it is now not less than $1,400,000,000. The total value of all articles imported and exported averages only this sum, $1,400,000,000, per year. If we estimate the profit of the business at 10 per cent. upon the total value of the articles exchanged, we have $140,000,000 profit from foreign commerce ; and as the foreigner takes his half of the profit, the United States are left with an estimated profit yearly of $70,000,000 properly to be credited to this exchange.

It is clear that, if the United States buy abroad to provide for their wants to the full value of what they sell abroad, no surplus remains to be added to the national wealth beyond the usual profit, for the articles imported are substantially articles for consumption, and are all consumed, with the exception of a trifling amount invested in works of art and other permanent treasures. It is only the surplus of our sales over our purchases abroad that augments the national wealth beyond the $70,000,000 annual profit from the business, and this has only amounted to an average of $63,000,000 during the last six years, the period embraced in Colonel Breckinridge's statement. In 1888 the balance was only twenty-seven millions of dollars. Nevertheless, no country has ever added so rapidly to its national wealth as the United States during those years, but the "surplus" is not to be found in what this country sells and buys abroad, but in every mile of railroad, every house built, every animal added to our flocks and herds, and every acre

reclaimed here at home. In the development of her own territory and its contents, the United States invests her yearly surplus of fourteen hundred millions of dollars. I say only fourteen because I wish always to understate, though quite aware that the experts expect the forthcoming census to show that in the decade from 1880 to 1890 not less than $1,900,000,000 was added yearly to the national wealth, and that now its augmentation is at the rate of two thousand millions per annum. What becomes of foreign commerce in the face of figures like these? If it were all profit, if every article we sent abroad cost nothing and every article obtained abroad were presented to us gratis, the total value would not be as great as the annual increase of the nation's wealth. Thus if we neither imported nor exported a dollar's worth, losing thereby a market for 4 per cent. of our products, this loss would only equal one year's gain.

I take issue with Colonel Breckinridge when he says that there "can be no greater delusion than that of a possible home market in which everything produced in America is sold, and in which everything needed for America is purchased here and sold here." I think that, instead of this being a delusion, it is sober truth; and, as far as the production of articles goes, we seem to have the gallant Colonel with us, for he says, quoting from Senator Morrill's able essay, that "the Senator admits" that we are able "to make an article 'superior to and cheaper than similar articles produced abroad.' . . . We agree with the Senator that we are capable of accomplishing this result. We have no doubt that, by removing the trammels upon the introduction of the foreign material needed, giving at once to the American workman equal advantages with his foreign competitor, *this could be said of all American manufacturers.*" We ask the Colonel, If this be true, what would become of our sacred foreign commerce as far as the purchase of manufactures abroad is concerned? And if the foreigner cannot buy our products unless we buy his manufactures, what would become of the other half of this foreign business which is said to be vital to our prosperity? Our free-trade economists would naturally predict that the Republic in that case must go to ruin; but no—it would simply make up the small percentage lost in one year's increase of its enormous domestic operations.

Will Colonel Breckinridge kindly look over the list of articles imported, and specify what cannot ultimately be made here? I

have done so, and with the exception of a very few trifling articles, which fancy and sentiment will always induce rich people to select, even if similar articles could be obtained at home, I know of nothing important. Can any one name one necessary of life, for instance, which the United States is not producing? We have seen that the amount that the country buys and sells from abroad is lessening every year in proportion to the amount supplied at home. As the Colonel says (page 526), only 5 per cent. of our products went abroad (census of 1880); now less than 4 per cent. What point in the descending scale would the Colonel fix as that where the descent should stop? If at 3 per cent., 1900 would surely show him to be wrong. If at 2 per cent., 1910 would disprove his claims to the gift of prophecy.

Then again, the population of the United States is increasing at the rate of nearly two millions per annum. If it continues to increase with even a little less rapidity than its normal rate, there are persons now living who will see the population under the Stars and Stripes more than 500 millions. The country will then probably require its food supply for its own people. If not then, it is at least certain that the population will increase here until it requires all the product of the soil. Colonel Breckinridge, in my opinion, does not realize the unique position of his country. It is, indeed, as Mr. Gladstone says, a world within itself; and nothing is surer than that in the near future it will play the part of a world, consume its own products, and supply its own manufactured articles. Even if every port of the United States were blockaded to-day, and remained so for ten years, the people of the United States would suffer only some inconveniences and disturbance of values. The products of the soil would be cheaper for a time, until the population increased enough to absorb the paltry 4 per cent. of them taken by the foreigner. The entire manufacturing interests of the country, on the other hand, would be increased. There would be abundance of food, clothing, and shelter. Sugar, tea, and coffee would be scarce and dear, but a good deal would evade any possible blockade. Many new and important sources of national wealth would be discovered, and substitutes provided for such things as we now import, to an extent which would surprise the world. And the country would emerge at the end of the embargo more self-contained, more powerful, richer, and more independent of other

nations than she is to-day. So far have our manufacturing industries developed; so far have we travelled upon the path which is making the United States in reality a world within itself.

No one desires the closing of our ports: the country is prospering too well to welcome any change; but it is well for us to know, and for other nations to understand, that it would only be disturbing and inconvenient, not serious, nor in any way dangerous to the life and prosperity of this world within itself. The outside world will do well to note that the assailant who blockades the ports of the United States will suffer ten-fold more by the operation than the Republic.

It may be doubted if a more erroneous statement was ever made than that for which Mr. Mills makes himself responsible when he says that there can be no surer test of the retardation of national prosperity than the decrease of foreign trade. Let us consider the situation. Foreign commerce is decreasing. The United States are more and more supplying their own wants, and importing relatively less from other countries. They are also consuming a larger portion of their own products, and exporting relatively less to other countries. Foreign commerce reached the highest mark in 1880, 1881, 1882, and 1883, averaging for those years $1,500,000,000 per annum. It has not reached that figure since, the average per annum since then being about $100,000,000 less. In 1888 it was $1,418,000,000.* If the gauge of the country's prosperity be the condition of its foreign commerce, as Mr. Mills asserts, one trembles for the forthcoming census when Mr. Mills next ventures to lift his powerful pen in support of his theory, for the census is to assert that during the ten years under consideration, when foreign commerce actually declined, no nation ever made wealth so fast. One wonders how Mr. Mills will reconcile this fact with his theory.

Great Britain is usually cited, and very justly so, by our Tariff-Reformers as wondrously prosperous. Next to the United States she is gaining fastest in wealth. How does Mr. Mills's theory work when applied to her? The foreign commerce of that great little giant for the decade 1878 to 1887, inclusive, did not increase, but it has actually decreased since 1880. The total was in that year £697,000,000; in 1881, £694,000,000; in 1882 it reached £719,000,000, and in 1883, £732,000,000, which is the

* American Almanac, 1889, page 72.

highest mark. In every year since, the foreign commerce of Britain has fallen, until in 1887, the last year given, £642,000,000* was the total. Thus the foreign commerce of both the great English-speaking lands has declined during years when the population and wealth of both have increased apace. The fact is that even in the case of Great Britain, the country which exports and imports most, and to which foreign commerce, therefore, is far more important than to any other country, it is not the chief cause of prosperity or of the increase of national wealth.

It is high time that this little braggart, foreign commerce, should be exposed and dethroned. Our exports only amount to 4 per cent. of our products, and yet make more noise than the 96 per cent. which does its far more valuable work quietly at home. If, therefore, the United States produced next year only what they produce this year, the year after next, according to the census, would find the total loss of foreign sales fully made up by increased consumption at home. Allowing for the temporary disturbance that would arise, it is safe to say that a very few years would restore the loss, so rapidly is our country increasing.

Mr. Mills represents a cotton-growing State. By taking cotton as an illustration, I can, perhaps, best enable him to understand why the reverse of his proposition is true; why the genuine prosperity of the United States requires that its foreign commerce shall year by year fall away, as compared with its home commerce, until it fades into insignificance. Even the puny 4 per cent. of the country's total commerce which our exports now represent—leaving, as Colonel Breckinridge says (page 526), unhampered 96 per cent. of our products for consumption at home—will be considered enormous when the census of 1890 is taken. Here is the reason: In 1830 the United States consumed only 52,000,000 pounds of cotton grown here. In 1880 they consumed 962,000,000 pounds. In 1830 the great crop of the South went to the foreigner, to swell the records of foreign commerce. Now, when we manufacture at home more of the cotton we grow, the credit is transferred from foreign commerce to domestic commerce. One gains; the other loses. It is precisely the same with all exports of grain, provisions, petroleum, and other articles, and with all imports of iron, woollen goods, plate glass, and manufactures in general. The true test of the pros-

* Statesman's Year-Book, 1888, page 269.

perity of this country is to be found in the increase of its domestic commerce, and the relative decline of its foreign commerce.

Now let me point out the difference between the two. All exchange is a matter of profit between the two parties thereto. If the manufacturer of New England send his product to Texas, and receive in return the product of Texas, what happens? The Texan is benefited, and the New-Englander is benefited likewise. They share all the profits of the transaction between them. If the Texan send his product to Britain, and receive in return the product of Britain, what happens? The Texan and the Briton are benefited. In the former case all the profit goes to ourselves—Americans; and in the latter case our people and our country receive only half the profit. The one transaction is as clearly commerce as the other: commodities are exchanged.

When Mr. Mills would measure the wealth and prosperity of his country, he must seek causes much more potent than its foreign commerce. The manufacturing development of the South, for instance, is a much greater factor in the creation of national wealth, which now reaches about $2,000,000,000 per annum. The exchange of commodities with the foreigner, which we dignify by the name of foreign commerce, and which does not to-day amount to 4 per cent. of our total products, is much too small a tail to wag so big a dog.

Figures are such strange things! When Colonel Breckinridge says (page 521, NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW) that "from January 1, 1884, to January 1, 1890, we exported of domestic products the enormous sum of $4,304,086,830," it no doubt seemed to him he had said something most impressive. Seven hundred millions per year! But when one whispers to him that the value of our home manufactures *every year* is more than $7,000,000,000, how foreign commerce shrivels! The best way to measure a pigmy is to put a real giant alongside. Exports are one foot high and home manufactures ten.

It is urged that, unless we buy the products of Britain, she cannot buy ours. Let us consider this contention, and see whether nations buy and sell with each other to an equal extent, or if what one buys influences what the other sells. Britain buys every year about $100,000,000 more from us than we from her, while we buy every year about $100,000,000 more from South American countries than we sell them. British North America sends to Britain 30 per

cent. more than she buys from her, the figures for 1886 being: exports, £10,000,415; purchases, £7,000,880. Ceylon has never bought from Britain much more than a quarter of what she sells her, the figures for 1886 being: exports, £2,083,636; purchases, £582,800. The Argentine Republic, being, like the United States, a growing country, only sells to Britain £1,646,000 per year; she buys from her £5,190,000—more than three times as much as she sells. British Guiana is in the same condition. She always sends to Britain nearly three times what she buys from her, the figures for 1886 being £1,383,379 exports, and £582,880 imports.

What is to prevent Britain from paying us every year if we did not take one dollar's worth of her products in return? or the United States, out of their enormous accumulation of wealth every year, from buying more from South America than they sell to it? It is said that, if one country imports more from another, it must sell more than it imports to some other. This is not necessarily true, because it can draw upon its annual increase of wealth to make good its greater purchases, just as Britain does, which has a balance against her every year of about five hundred millions of dollars; but even if it were true, what bearing would it have upon the question whether Great Britain and other countries would not continue to buy the petroleum, cotton, grain, and provisions of the United States as long as the United States could furnish these articles to the advantage of the buyer, as she does now? The merchants who buy cotton or provisions upon the Liverpool exchange are not the same merchants who sell the woollens and iron and steel of Britain. They scarcely know each other, and are totally ignorant of each others' transactions. The one does not care where or from whom the other buys. It is a simple question where they can buy or where they can sell to the best advantage. The merchant in Liverpool buying our products does not care whether the manufacturer of Manchester sells a pound of goods to the United States or not. As Major McKinley well says (NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for June, page 747), free trade would not increase the sale of our products abroad. Other countries buy of us what they need—no more, no less. Britain sends to the United States only from 150 to 180 millions of dollars' worth of goods per annum. Suppose she did not send one dollar's worth. The world grows so rapidly that the void would soon be

filled. She has only to cease expanding for a short season and her other customers would absorb her present production. Her American trade only amounts to about 10 per cent. of her total exports, and this could be easily made up. As for Britain not being able to pay for what she buys unless we take her products in return, what becomes of that contention when Mr. Giffen has just proved* that the annual increase of Britain's wealth exceeds $900,000,000? A nation with a net income like that is able to buy largely and is good for all she will buy.

It is said that, if free trade were adopted, so enormous would be the demands thrown by the United States upon European manufacturers that prices would advance to such a point as to enable American manufacturers to continue operating their works. If this be correct, let me ask what benefit would ensue to the American consumer? If the only result of a change of policy be that matters shall remain as they are as to prices, I submit that change in itself in our fiscal policy is a serious obstacle to prosperity. To justify change we should have decided advantages in view. It is, of course, a matter of opinion how far increased demand upon European resources would enhance prices. It would do so temporarily without question; but Europe hitherto has been able to respond to all demands made upon it by the world, and I believe such will be the case in the future. We are probably soon to see iron and steel in Britain as low as they ever have been. I know of no reason why the textile manufactures of Europe cannot be doubled or trebled. The belief referred to is, in my opinion, without foundation; but, assuming that it proved true, the foreign manufacturers would then run to their fullest capacity, and the American only be called upon furtively to make what his British competitor could not. He would cease to be the principal factor in supplying his own market, and be relegated to the position of humbly taking the crumbs which fell from the table of the foreigner, while the consumer would receive no advantage whatever. So that, if the theory be true that free trade here would cause prices to rise in Europe, this country would gain nothing; and if it proved unsound, the whole manufacturing system of America would be demoralized. Is it worth while for the United States to play with the foreigner the game of "heads you win and tails we lose"?

* Speech of Robert Giffen, British Board of Trade, at Leeds, February, 1890.

We have not yet noticed the charge that protection is artificial. Mr. Gladstone holds that all interference by the government in order to encourage a dearer method at home, in preference to a cheaper production abroad, may naturally be termed artificial. Those in favor of establishing new manufactures in a new country believe that eventually the price of articles produced will not only be less than the consumer would have to pay if his country did not produce these articles and he were dependent upon a foreign power for his supply, but that he will have a surer source of supply; that there are great incidental advantages in bringing the manufacturer and the consumer in close proximity. Freight can be saved, which augments profits; delivery can be hastened, mistakes corrected, and important consultations had between parties—an impossibility if they were thousands of miles apart.

We gladly admit the charge, however, that protection is entirely artificial—not less so than the protection given by the market-gardener to his young plants, which he covers with a sunshade through the day, and over which he thoughtfully throws a straw mat at night; as artificial as the frame in which the fond mother teaches her infant to walk, and not less so than the aid given by Mr. Gladstone to the young tree which he plants in Hawarden grounds, binding it to the artificial stake that he drives beside it, that the sapling may grow to a stately tree. What is there of man's triumphs in any branch of his activity that is not artificial? When applied as Mr. Gladstone applies it here, it seems to mean no more than cultivation when applied to the soil, and the United States have proved not only that the soil must be cultivated to produce agricultural products, but that a nation, as sagaciously understood by John Stuart Mill, can "cultivate" the production of many of the principal articles which are almost as essential to its rank, power, and prosperity as food itself. The Protectionist pleads guilty to the charge, and awaits sentence.

There remains the charge of monopoly. As I have explained, the only protection known to Mr. Gladstone constituted a monopoly. He has no experience of any other. He is to be excused. But what shall be said of Messrs. Mills and Breckinridge? What would Mr. Gladstone say to these gentlemen if they told him of a monopoly into which every dollar of the capital of the world is free to enter? —a monopoly in which many of the leading manufacturers of Mr.

Gladstone's country are busily engaged—the Clarks and the Coatses, of Paisley; the Nairns, of Kirkcaldy; the Salts, of Saltaire; the Sandersons, of Sheffield; the Kerrs, of Glasgow; the Barbours, of Belfast, and scores of others; a monopoly free to all, without regard to citizenship or residence; a monopoly to which there is no limit; a monopoly in which one hundred and forty-seven new and important competing manufacturing establishments are under construction to-day in one section alone, that of the South, so ably represented by these writers!

My capital is wholly invested in manufacturing, and if there be any monopoly in the entire domain, I should like to discover it. If unusual profits are being made in any branch of manufacturing, why do not Mr. Mills and those who think with him invest and share these grand returns, and by so doing strike down the "monopoly"? There is no branch of manufacturing into which they cannot put $100 or $100,000; the shares of silk and glass and wool and iron and steel concerns are freely bought and sold in the open market. Those who believe that any industry gives its owners great profits have only to select the industry and invest. Into the woollen industry, for instance, investors to-day can enter for much less than its present owners did. In that of glass splendid opportunities for investment are surely at hand. In the iron and steel branch, with which I am familiar, any citizen of the United States who has $100 can become part owner to-morrow; he can purchase the shares of almost all the steel concerns at much less than the capital actually invested. The shares of the Illinois Steel Company, the Bethlehem Company, Pennsylvania Steel Company, the Cambria Company, the Troy Company, as a rule, do not command in the market the actual number of dollars invested. But I must not be understood as advising any one to invest too largely upon the theory that the returns will meet his expectations. The charge that manufactures in America are monopolies is without foundation, although it may still pass current in a rural community when delivered from the stump in Texas. I should like to be present to see Mr. Gladstone's expressive face, and hear his response, if these gentlemen ever spoke to him of "a monopoly free to all." That word "monopoly" will do service no longer; our friends had better try Mrs. Malaprop's famous "allegory" at once. It would apply just as well, and have the advantage of being new.

Mr. Gladstone says that, when the United States get rid of the "barbarism" of protection, we shall get a copyright law. It is to be regretted that this most desirable result received such a blow at the moment when a copyright bill was pending. Mr. Gladstone will never get a copyright law in this country except through those who believe in protecting home industries. Strange as it may appear to him, the leaders of the Republican party are its strenuous advocates, and only that party can boast that a majority of its Representatives in Congress voted for the measure. The only protection of which Mr. Gladstone has had experience, however, was barbaric, just as it was monopolistic. But protection as we have it is a "barbarism" indulged in by every nation, and to some extent, as we have seen, by the nation of the statesman who uses the word and by all the component parts of that great empire itself, except one trifling dependency. The "barbarism" of France, the "barbarism" of Germany, the "barbarism" of the United States, the "barbarism" of Canada and Australia, the "barbarism" of all the civilized world, Britain alone excepted! Ah, well! I remember it was my fellow-countryman, as Mr. Gladstone is, who prayed, "O Lord, gie us a gude conceit o' oorsel!"

While believing in the wisdom of the policy which has been pursued by the United States for the past thirty years as being the policy best for her, I do not assume that the other nations and colonies of the world which are following our example are wise in so doing. This is a matter to be determined each for itself by a very careful study of its latent powers and possibilities and by judicious experiment. No stranger can be sufficiently acquainted with these countries to venture an intelligent opinion. An impression I have, however, that some of them, unfortunately, can never be made great nations — much less worlds within themselves — by any system of protection or by any effort. The protection offered may not induce capital to enter the manufacturing field. Their experience as to manufactures in general may be ours regarding sugar, or what it would be if we attempted to supply ourselves, as Mr. Gladstone suggests, with pineapples. It takes a world within itself to become independent of the outside world as to those articles which are essential to give it rank as the foremost power of the world. That free trade is not only one of the best policies, but the only policy possible for Britain, seems to me

indisputable. It may be, and probably is, the best policy for several of the new countries, for it is folly to protect unless the fruits of protection can be gathered.

Now, I believe, every point brought forward by our free-trade friends has been considered : First, the policy of protection in itself ; second, that the infantile stage has passed ; third, that if we do not buy from abroad, foreign nations cannot purchase from us ; fourth, that our nation's prosperity and wealth are to be best gauged by the extent of its dealings with other countries ; fifth, that protection creates monopolies. There remains now only to point out what seems the course of wisdom in the present position of affairs.

As stated by Colonel Breckinridge, it is not practicable to raise the necessary revenues for the general government without giving incidental protection to manufactures. If sugar be made free, as is probable, and the whiskey tax considered a fund from which pensions are to be paid, sufficient duties must be levied upon imports to give all the protection that is now necessary to maintain and develop our manufacturing industries. It is only a question how these duties can be most judiciously imposed; and here the legislator has a sure rule for his guidance. From it he need not be swayed, either to the right or to the left.

Let me illustrate. The principal articles protected are woollens, cotton, silks, and iron and steel. In 1880 our imports of woollens amounted to $33,911,000 ; in 1888 to $63,612,000. The natural comment is that there is something wrong here. The foreigner is gaining too fast. He has nearly doubled his business with us during eight years. We have not far to seek for the reason. By making the law express clearly what was meant by its framers, the McKinley Bill just passed by the House will restore to the American manufacturer that of which it was never intended to deprive him. Our cotton imports in 1880 were $29,929,000 ; in 1888, $28,917,000. The comment here is that the American manufacturer is holding his own, and obtaining the increase of business. Speaking generally, duties upon cotton should remain as they are, change in some details perhaps being required. The imports of silk in 1880 were $44,213,000 ; in 1888, $41,287,000. Here it is much as with cottons ; the American manufacturer is not being driven out of his market, but is holding his own. Of iron and steel in 1880 the imports were $53,714,000 ; in 1888, $48,992,000.

These figures prove that the American manufacturer is gaining in some branches upon his foreign competitor, and upon the articles which show decreased imports duties may be safely reduced. The McKinley Bill does this. There is no place for partisanship in this question. It is simply a matter of figures. They tell their own story, and it would seem that only a very obtuse legislator could fail to read correctly the lesson they convey. In all cases of doubt he should err on the safe side. Much better continue protection, even if it be a shade higher than actually necessary, than run the risk of crippling any branch ; because, as we have seen, it is not easy to establish new industries in a country, and it would be much less easy to resuscitate one which, having made a fair start, had gone down in the struggle.

Such are the wonderful resources of this Union of forty-two States, and such is the inventive genius of our people, that very few articles indeed will not eventually be produced within its borders and furnished to the consumer at prices substantially as low as they can be imported from Europe. Some leading articles are already as low, and others are fast approaching this standard. No branch of manufacturing can long reap more than the normal profit derivable from capital generally, for no power on earth can prevent the operation of the law of competition over a territory so extensive as the United States. We have only to be prudent, to avoid violent changes in our fiscal policy,—for change, or threatened change, is in itself a serious impediment to business,—to see that no promising branch of industry is permitted to die in the struggle with the foreigner, and to fight it out on the line we have hitherto followed with such success, even if it should take another decade or more to win the complete victory we have in view—the control of our own home market. The Republic may safely be trusted to do this, and thus prove the truth of one more of the many statements enunciated to the world by Mr. Gladstone, that it is, indeed, "a world, and not a very little world," within itself.

ANDREW CARNEGIE.

THE PRINCE OF WALES.

BY JUSTIN M'CARTHY, M. P.

I ATTENDED the meeting which was held in St. James's Hall, in London, to give the first welcome to Mr. H. M. Stanley on his return from Africa. The meeting was held under the auspices of the Emin Relief Committee—the committee who had got up the whole expedition, and who, therefore, had the first claim on Mr. Stanley's presence; and it was presided over by the Prince of Wales. The Prince was received with the utmost enthusiasm. He deserved the enthusiasm in his capacity of chairman; for I have seen a few public meetings in my time, and I do not think I ever saw a better chairman on such an occasion. He spoke well, but he was very brief of speech. Yet he managed to say something quite distinct and expressive. He was not the sort of chairman who gets up and merely announces that he does not propose to stand between the meeting and the orator of the occasion, and then collapses into his chair again. The Prince of Wales managed to give one the idea that he could say a great deal about Mr. Stanley and his expedition if only time allowed him, but that time did not allow him, and therefore he forebore to say most of that which he might have said. He spoke firmly, as if he were contending against a certain difficulty or reluctance. The tone of his voice and something about his utterance reminded me curiously now and then of Lord Hartington.

The whole occasion set me thinking—about the position of the Prince of Wales in English society and politics—about the place he is yet to hold—about the manner in which he is likely to hold it—about the duties of a Prince of Wales in the England of our day, which is a very different country indeed from the England of George the Second or George the Third, or even George the Fourth. My mind sometimes wandered away from the Congo and Emin Pacha.

The function of the late Prince Consort was once described as that of unofficial Minister of Education. The function of the Prince of Wales, as he and society between them have made it

out, is that of unofficial Minister of Ceremonial. No one could be fitter for the work or could perform it with better grace and greater good-will. Nor is it in a country like England by any means an unimportant function. The Queen has practically withdrawn from the business of social life, and the Prince has taken her place. If he were not there to do the social duties, the absence of the sovereign would become highly inconvenient and would lead to much disatisfaction. The Prince of Wales, however, has made himself thoroughly popular, and the Princess of Wales is the most popular woman in England.

The work which the Prince of Wales does in this social way is something amazing. He is always presiding at the opening of exhibitions and all manner of charitable, philanthropic, and educational institutions. He is always taking the chair at meetings; he goes down to the country to preside over ceremonials of every kind. He attends civic feasts and state balls. All the time he contrives to get a good deal of personal enjoyment out of life. He is a lover of the theatre and seldom misses an important "first night." He runs across to Paris every now and then—he is very fond of Paris and Paris is very fond of him. He sometimes—indeed, almost every winter—takes a trip to Monte Carlo. He loves living and enjoying himself, and must feel the functions and the pageantry a terrible bore very often. But if he is bored, as he surely must be, he has the art not to show it, and each crowd before which he appears is led to believe that his whole soul is for the time in the work he is actually doing. I must say that I think one main reason why he is able thus to wear the look of a man who likes the work is that he really does like it to a certain extent and in a certain way. Of course it must weary him fearfully sometimes, but I fancy that his genuine good nature enables him to throw himself so far into the spirit of each ceremonial as to derive an inspiration and an encouragement from it. Besides, there must be a great charm, surely, in the knowledge that all people think one charming—and I believe all who know him think the Prince of Wales very charming.

There was a time, of course, when hard things were said of the Prince of Wales. There was a time when I myself wrote some hard things of him in an American magazine. That was twenty years ago: so far as I knew then or know now, the censure given to him was just. But he is not now the man he was twenty

years ago, or anything like it; and although no admirer of his would claim for him a very lofty and heroic nature, yet I think almost every one would allow that he has improved in personal character and ways to an extent which was not observed among former princes of the House of Hanover. Every one says that he is a good friend to his friends. But perhaps not all of the men who belong to the Prince of Wales's set would be right in regarding themselves exactly as his friends. A pleasant prince will always have his jester or two to make him more pleasant still; and a self-conceited man in the prince's set might easily fancy himself a friend whereas he was in reality only a butt. Certainly I meet men now and then who are always reporting themselves to be among the closest friends of the Prince of Wales, and who are quietly smiled at by such of the listeners as happen to know better. I do not know that any of the really eminent men in letters or in science have much to do with the Prince of Wales's set. There is no Fox, no Burke, no Sheridan there. But then a champion of the Prince might well ask, Have we now a Fox and a Burke and a Sheridan anywhere?

The Prince of Wales is sometimes described by admirers as a brilliant after-dinner and ceremonial speaker. He is not a brilliant speaker; and those who describe him as brilliant do not, I venture to think, quite understand his real success in the business which he has to undertake. He speaks directly and to the point. He never obtrudes himself between the audience and the business of the occasion. He never uses the wrong word, and he never says a word too much. He puts as little of himself as possible into his speeches; and while there is always a firm and manful tone about him, there is never any indication whatever of a desire to impose himself and his position on his audience. I am quite sure that he has no such desire. But his speeches have no brilliancy of expression, no originality of thought. They are not eloquent in any sense. The Prince of Wales does not, I fancy, do what other princes have done—get his shorter speeches written for him. At least, I do not think he indulges in such a practice now—if he ever did. As to the longer speeches—well, I have my own ideas about them. Of course he could get a really brilliant and eloquent discourse written for him, and commit it to memory and deliver it to an audience. But the Prince, whether by deliberation or by instinct, understands his part better.

In England the public do not want an eloquent Prince of Wales. They do not want a prince whom we should all have to compare with Gladstone and Lord Salisbury and the Bishop of Peterborough. Prince Napoleon—"once feared, now forgot," like Will Watch, the bold smuggler of English ballad—the Prince Napoleon of the Second Empire—Plon-Plon—there was an eloquent prince if you like! I used to think him one of the most eloquent of all the orators of the empire—even in the days when Berryer was still to the front, and Jules Favre was in his prime, and Thiers grew old in unwaning power of debate. But in England we are precise and formal, and more than a trifle prosaic; and we should not like a prince who was really eloquent and was always getting compared with this and that renowned orator. We could not have our prince declaiming in the House of Lords as Prince Napoleon was wont to declaim in the Imperial Senate —and to declaim generally in opposition to the policy of his imperial cousin, the Emperor. The ordinary Englishman would think there was something rather unseemly in this sort of eloquence possessed and displayed by a royal prince. The Prince of Wales is, indeed, as far below the intellectual level and the artistic culture of Prince Napoleon as he is above him in tact and temper and personal integrity. He has somehow lighted on the very style of public speaking which suits the British public; and those who think to flatter him by calling him a brilliant speaker only show that they do not understand his part in life. The Prince of Wales must not go into rivalry with any one. When we hear him speak at a public meeting, we must not be oppressed with any idea whatever that he is as good as this speaker, or better than that, or not quite equal to this other. Agamemnon must not be put to the test of discharging his arrow.

It is permitted the Prince to be an excellent chairman; and an excellent chairman he is in every sense of the word. From the testimony of all who know him, I believe him to be in one sense a remarkably well-informed man. He is not a scholar, of course, but he speaks several languages admirably and he has a thorough knowledge of what is going on in the civilized world. He has travelled much, and he has a good memory, and he knows a great deal about the condition of countries he has seen, and he knows all about the public men of the various states. He has a desire to get information and a considerable faculty for acquiring it.

All this I have heard from ardent Radicals—even from Radicals who avow that they would rather have no throne and no Prince of Wales—as well as from devoted Tory loyalists.

I do not say that all men in England speak well of the Prince of Wales. There are many of the old *noblesse*, and the Catholic *noblesse* among the rest, who regard the prince's set, and Marlborough House generally, with something like a shudder. American visitors sometimes make the mistake of supposing that when they have got into Marlborough House they have got into the very best of English society. They have done nothing of the kind. They might as well have fancied in the old imperial days that when they had been invited to the Tuileries, and talked with the Empress Eugénie, they had got into the best of French society. Many of those who form the *entourage* of the Queen turn their eyes away from the circles amid which the Prince of Wales is supreme. The truth is that the Prince is a good deal of a social leveller. He loves to be amused, and though he can put up with solemn and formal dulness when there is some need for such endurance, he gets back all the more gladly to the society of those who can divert him and make him laugh. I have no doubt that many of the indiscretions of his younger and wilder days came from his delight in the companionship of those who amused him and helped to make life pass pleasantly for him. Therefore he surrounded himself with artists and actors and singers and the tellers of good stories and the makers of good jokes, and he delights in the theatres, is made gladsome by the burlesque, scorns not the ballet, has no conscientious objection to short skirts. He can be as friendly as any man among his friends, and has a curious aptitude for throwing off dignity and yet retaining his hold upon it, ready to wrap himself round with it again if any one should presume too far on his good-natured abandonment.

He does not profess to be a politician in domestic affairs, but yet I have no doubt that he keeps well up with politics, and he likes to know any public man who is at all interesting. Of late he has taken to cultivating the acquaintance of rather advanced Liberal politicians, and Sandringham has received many of the occupants of what we call here "the front opposition bench"—who are Radical Home-Rulers. Nay, more than that, when Lord Randolph Churchill lately entertained him at dinner, one of the

guests invited to meet him was a "whip" of the Irish home-rule party. Of course every one knows that no one invites a guest to meet the Prince of Wales without making very sure that the Prince is not unwilling to meet that guest, and therefore I take it that the paragraphs in the society papers describing that little dinner did really tell something of a certain public importance.

All this an American might perhaps say is ridiculous—what does it matter whom the Prince of Wales invites to dinner or meets at dinner? I can only say that in this country it means a great deal. It means that the future sovereign of England is alive to the fact that great political movements are going on and have to be recognized. I am satisfied that, by thus proving himself willing to mark the recognition in the only way really open to him, the Prince of Wales is fulfilling one of the most important functions of his station. If the monarchy is to hold in England, it can only be by the monarch ceasing to be a party politician or putting himself at the head of a party. The English people would never again endure a king who openly denounced the leaders of one party and declared that he rested all his hopes upon the leaders of another party. We could not stand even a "patriotic king" now—that is, a king who was kind enough to try to govern us for our good. How, then, should we endure a king who associated himself with one party only, and who shunned and denounced the others? The very name of a king's party now would be fatal to the popularity of any king—might bring down the throne itself. I have no doubt that the Prince of Wales understands all this as well as any statesman in the country. I have not the slightes doubt that he will prove himself a thoroughly constitutional sovereign, and that he will perform the business of royalty, such as it is, as well as any man could do it.

In the mean time there is nothing for him to do but to go on opening exhibitions and bazaars, presiding over public dinners, paying ceremonial visits to the provincial cities, and in the intervals getting out of life all the pleasure it can give him. I can well imagine a Republican being a little shocked at all this. I can hear him asking indignantly whether it is worthy the part of a great civilized and advancing nation like England to keep up a dynasty and a title merely for the sake of having a royal Master

or Mistress of the Ceremonies always at hand. I should not be surprised to hear such a question put. As a matter of abstract reasoning, I should say it certainly was not worth the while of such a nation to keep up such an office for such a purpose. But there is the fact. The Prince of Wales does for us all that we would allow him to do. He will, to be sure, have functions more wide and serious when he comes to be King. The sovereign undoubtedly does a good deal in the way of considering with the ministers what ought to be undertaken in regard to each important question that arises in home or foreign politics. It is well known that in foreign politics the influence of Queen Victoria has always counted for much, and that she has as thorough an understanding of Continental affairs as any of her foreign ministers. The sovereign is always consulted on the measures which the ministry are anxious to bring forward. The consent of the sovereign is always asked and obtained before any initiative step of a serious kind is taken. The sovereign has a great deal to say about each proposition. It is impossible that the arguments, the impressions, even the prejudices, of the sovereign should not have some effect upon the policy of a government. The great difference between the England of to-day and the England of the Georges is that, if a serious difference of opinion should arise between the monarch and a popular ministry, the sovereign of to-day would give way in the end without scenes and scandal; the sovereign in the days of the Georges gave way only after scenes and scandal.

Admitting all this, it is surely of great importance that the coming king of England should be a man of sense, of tact, of considerable knowledge of men and countries; a man of temper and an impartial man; not an ignorant, prejudiced, hot-tempered, meddling man. Nothing could be more absurd than to suppose that it does not matter to the English people whether their sovereign be a wise person or a fool—a man of equal mind or a muddle-headed partisan. But if I were a very eager and ardent Republican, I should wish that the Prince of Wales were not the man he is. I should wish him to be a hot-headed and muddle-headed partisan. I should wish him to be a dogged Tory and to be seen perpetually in the company of Lord Salisbury and Mr. Balfour. I should wish him, while he was yet Prince of Wales, to be seen at various Tory meetings and to preside over one of the

gatherings of the Primrose League. I should wish that when he became King he told Mr. Gladstone he would not have him and his pack of rascals at any price—and that then, when public opinion forced him to have Mr. Gladstone as his minister, he went to work to thwart every proposal made by his minister and to dissolve every Parliament which presumed to support the minister against the sovereign. If one could suppose such things happening in our time, one could then easily suppose the throne coming down and the republic coming up. But certainly, if we could suppose such things possible in our time, we could not suppose them possible with the Prince of Wales for king. The Prince of Wales will do nothing in that way to promote the growth of a republic in England.

If we are inclined to find fault with the office of the Prince of Wales on the ground that it is only the office of a Master of the Ceremonies, we must remember that that is what the function has grown to be with the natural development of constitutional liberty in England. A sovereign rules over a people who are not free. Lord Bramwell, one of our great lawyers and judges, said some time ago that he had a sneaking kindness for socialism. I have a sneaking kindness for the German Emperor. Perhaps it might be said of him, as Disraeli once said of Lord Salisbury, that "the young man's head is on fire." But I am taken by his determination "to be a man and not a thing," as somebody says in one of George Meredith's novels. I like his bold challenge to Europe in general to come and consult together over the labor question. I admire the self satisfied courage with which he assumed at once the right to take the lead of Europe. All this does very well for a German Emperor—but only imagine an English sovereign attempting to play such a part! Imagine the amazement and bewilderment of his ministers! Imagine the consternation of his people! It is possible for the German Emperor to assume such a part, for his people are not, in the English or American sense, a free people at all. They are merely the soldiers of an army. They are drilled rather than governed. The emperor of such a state may well suppose that he is bound to prove his title to be a leader and to mark out a distinct way for himself and to draw all the eyes of the world on him.

When Napoleon the Third was at the height of his fame, he issued invitations to all the great powers of Europe to assemble at

a congress for the purpose of coming to some understanding as to a settlement of peace and general disarmament. The European states for the most part distrusted and almost resented the invitation, believing that there was, to say the least, a certain arrogance about it—a claim set up to be recognized as the leader of European council. One power after another declined and the scheme dropped through, and unquestionably the failure did harm to the *prestige* of the Emperor. But the German Emperor found his invitations accepted all round without hesitation or objection. No wonder he is encouraged to set himself up as the light and leading of Europe. I doubt very much, however, whether even in Germany it will be possible for an emperor to play the old imperial part. The times are against it; the Germans are a highly-educated people, and they learn a good deal from their brothers and cousins in the United States. If there were no possibility of a war with France, the German Emperor would soon have to be content with reigning and not governing. But whatever may happen in Germany, it is certain that we could not have the King of England uprearing his crest in this ostentatiously heroic fashion. The Prince of Wales has shown, of late years at all events, that he thoroughly understands the nature, the duties, and the limitations of his function as heir to the throne. He will, I have no doubt, show, when he comes to the throne, that he understands his part in that more responsible position just as well.

The Prince of Wales is understood to be a great stickler for court etiquette. No one knows better the exact way in which every band and order and medal should be worn. He is very particular about good manners in princes and princesses, and I have heard that there is a near connection of his by marriage who is often lectured severely on the impropriety of losing his temper when giving directions to servants. The Prince is a social umpire of the utmost authority, and no end of personal disputes are settled satisfactorily by a reference to his good-natured and genial, but firm, counsel. I suppose he is happy in his position. A man of ambition would surely find it all but intolerable to see his whole life going by in that unceasing round of mere ceremonial. The Prince of Wales is not any longer young — he has long left youth far behind him. He is not a soldier — except in the sense in which he is a member of one of the Inns of Court; he has never done a soldier's

service. His brother, the Duke of Edinburgh, is a working admiral, and if we were to have a war, he would, of course, take his share in the naval work of it. The Duke of Connaught is a brigadier-general in the army and has actually seen service—was, at all events, "on the rough edge of battle" in Egypt; and if there were more wars, he would go to the wars again. But the Prince of Wales must not be a real soldier and must not go to any wars. No doubt he has the courage of his race. The Hanoverian kings and princes, even the worst of them, never wanted courage. But military ambition would be useless for the Prince of Wales. So, indeed, would ambition of any kind. We could not have him writing books like Napoleon the Third with his "Life of Julius Cæsar"; or volumes of poetry like the Queen of Roumania. It would not do for him to paint pictures and send them to the Royal Academy or the Grosvenor Gallery. I have shown how limited is the share he can now take in even the unseen work of politics. It must be, therefore, something like a relief and a satisfaction to have the ceremonial work going on sometimes. It has the appearance of a duty, and, indeed, in its sense it is a duty, and it gives him something to do. It would be hard to find a man better suited for the part.

A foreigner may think it curious that an intensely practical people, as the English are always reported to be, should pay so much money for keeping up such a part. But is not one reason for the course they take to be found in the fact that they are so intensely practical? The institution is there; it is working well enough; there are ever so many reforms that have to be carried out, ever so many other changes that have to be made: why should they waste time and trouble in trying to devise any improvement in an institution which, though costly, seems to give general satisfaction? The vast gulf between the rich and the poor—"the two nations" of Lord Beaconsfield's "Sybil"—is still further deepening every day. Luxury is growing more selfish and more ostentatious in London every year. The moral tone of society, as it is called, is lowering itself deliberately and wantonly with every season. Cynicism sits at every dinner-table. The sort of conversation which goes on openly and undisguisedly in society now would have been impossible twenty or thirty years ago. Men and women at dinner parties talk freely and at large on subjects which formerly were reserved for the men in the smok-

ing-room or the low whisper of the women to each other in the drawing-room. We have all manner of scandals which are reported in all the newspapers, and, we may be sure, are talked of in Bethnal Green as well as in Belgravia. The poor and the unemployed of the East End must begin more and more to chafe at the condition of things which, as Thackeray puts it, gives the purple and fine linen to one set of men, and to the other "rags for garments and dogs for comforters."

But I do not hear that there is any particular grumbling in the East End on account of the luxurious life which the Prince of Wales is supposed to lead. Indeed, it is much in his favor that almost the only movements of a really serious nature in which he has ever taken part were movements which had for their object the improvement in the housing and the condition of the poor. Not very long since he gave much time and close attention to a commission on this subject, of which Cardinal Manning was one member and Mr. Burt, one of the workingmen's representatives in the House of Commons, another. He has borne an active part in many other organizations for the same general purpose. These things get known at the East End, and they do unquestionably help very materially to make the Prince popular among the working classes and the poor. Enthusiasm in such quarters it would be hard for a Prince to excite who is restricted to so limited a field of action and display. But our royal institutions do not live on enthusiasm. They live on acquiescence. They are accepted. No one can say how long they may not continue to be accepted if they are managed in the same way as they have lately been, and are likely still to be. I am not myself a great enthusiast about royalty or royal personages, but I must say that, so long as we are to have an heir to the throne, I do not think we could find any one better able to conduct the business of the position than the Prince of Wales has shown himself of late years.

JUSTIN MCCARTHY.

Why not "D." ?

RAILWAY MEN IN POLITICS.

BY CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW.

THE railroad man in politics has been for some time undergoing an evolution. The presentation of the name of a railroad president before the last Republican National Convention brought the attention of the country to a railroad candidate, his possibilities and disabilities, and the question has since been working out its own solution.

In round numbers, there are about one million men employed on the railroads in this country, and probably as many more indirectly through railway supplies. But leaving out the latter class, who do not actually come under the head of railway employees, we still have an army of one million, who are all voters—comprising about one-thirteenth of the voting population of the United States.

Seventy-five thousand of this force of railway employees reside in the State of New York. Five or six thousand live in Connecticut, about twelve thousand in New Jersey, thirty thousand in Iowa, forty thousand in Illinois, and so on. There are nearly sixty thousand men on the pay-rolls of the Vanderbilt system.

The first appearance of railway companies in politics was in an effort to control the action of the political parties. To this end the patronage of the companies in the way of the purchase of supplies, of employment, and of favors of various kinds was largely used. The ablest representative of this period and type of railway man and politician was Dean Richmond, who was one of the shrewdest party managers we have ever had in this country, as well as an admirable business man. He was for years the dictator of the Democratic party, and had great influence with the Whigs, and afterwards with the Republicans.

With the entrance of Commodore Vanderbilt into railway management and ownership, the New York Central Railroad ceased to be a factor in politics as a corporation. Its purchases were made

in the open market. Its appointees were selected purely upon their qualifications for the service. Its promotions came only from merit, and all pressure of every kind upon the political action of the employees was not only withdrawn, but prohibited. This method spread rapidly all over the country, and now in no State does the railway company as a corporation take part in politics.

As to the feeling against railway men in politics, it never existed in New England. It became quite acute in this State during the protracted fight on what were termed at the time anti-monopoly issues, but disappeared after the Railway Commission was appointed. So far as politics in New York is concerned, the railway man does not differ from any citizen engaged in any other pursuit, in the consideration he would receive as the candidate for office. In many States in the West, however, a feeling of direct hostility towards or suspicion of railway men as such was cultivated by political leaders on both sides. It was a race for popularity, which at the beginning was an honest effort to secure the credit for the reformation of the abuses of railway management. In territories comparatively new, and with little responsibility on the part of the managers to distant owners, they became in many cases very arbitrary, and exercised favoritism and discriminations, which led to popular indignation and legislation; but in the effort to get the benefit of the hostility toward these abuses the orators of each party began to educate their constituencies in regard to railway ownership and the powers of confiscation possessed by the States in connection with it, and in regard to the devotion of railway employees to their companies as against the communities and the States of which they were citizens, which virtually raised a boycott against railway men as candidates for office.

It never has been decided by the test of a general election with a railway man as a candidate whether this sentiment would materialize into a serious defection of the voters of his party. But the managers of both parties have always been afraid to put a railway man on their tickets for any office in the States where this feeling existed; and in some communities they went so far that they were afraid to nominate them for city, village, or county offices.

The representatives of five States said at Chicago in 1888 that the candidacy of a man prominently identified with railroads as an officer or manager would certainly lead to a reduction

of their majorities, the loss of their legislatures and representatives in Congress, and probably of the electoral vote of their States.

The prominence given to the question of the availability of the railway employee for office by the dicussion at Chicago led to the matter being taken up in the various brotherhoods and organizations of railway men. While before there had been very little feeling on the subject among railway employees, because it is next to impossible for railway men to hold public office and attend to their duties, yet as soon as they thought that they were debarred from the opportunity for political honors which lawyers, doctors, farmers, merchants, and mechanics could receive, they got mad and wanted to know the reason why.

We then came suddenly to the second phase of the railway man in politics. In the first condition his vote was largely controlled by the officers of the company in favor of candidates supposed to be friendly to its interests. Then for many years railway men acted individually and cast their votes as they pleased and according to their own independent judgments. Since they have discovered that they were under a political ban, they have, through their organizations,—which are the most perfect labor and benevolent associations in the world,—without regard to party affiliations, in many instances supported or fought the candidates whom they thought favorable or hostile to their interests. Results which have astonished everybody, and for which no one could account, in State elections for governors and members of the legislatures in the past two years, have been due to this cause. Some remarkable cases have come under my observation, where the employees, with all their supposed hostility to capital, became its protectors. They quickly saw that certain measures against the companies were intended not to remedy evils, but to cripple the earning power ot the companies. They argued that this meant both a reduction of force and of wages, and their attitude towards the promoters became so threatening that the bills were either modified or dropped. The railway men were teaching the politicians the lesson that their votes were just as good as those of anybody else. Of course this could not occur more than once without the question, and its causes and remedies, being exhaustively discussed. It has led to a very remarkable revolution in sentiment not only in regard to railway men, but to railway corporations.

The violent prejudices against railway companies and their

management, many of which had good foundations in the beginning, no longer exist. Governmental and State regulations, and a radical change in the relations between the railway companies and the public, have led to kindlier feelings and a better understanding. The exceedingly rich and varied vocabulary of opprobrious epithets as against railway men has fallen into innocuous desuetude. Railway attorneys find that juries are treating them the same as any other litigants; and in legislatures and before railway commissions the companies have a fair hearing, and the merits of the case are generally impartially acted upon. Railway men in politics are gradually becoming no different from people engaged in any other pursuit.

I do not believe there are two States in the Union to-day where a railway man running for office would be cut by any considerable number of the members of his party on account of his business.

As to railway men becoming candidates for office, as soon as they know that they are not fighting against a boycott which imposes a stigma upon their patriotism and sense of duty to the public in official positions, few of them will be found willing to take office until they are prepared to quit business. All railway men are politicians, and active ones. Their constant contact with the public, and the habit of being actively interested in everything about them, make them such. But the railway is a most exacting master, and it would be very difficult for one of its officers or employees to hold a position involving his time and attention to any extent, and still continue in the railway service.

As the railways have increased in capitalization by consolidations, and by blending into great systems, concentration of ownership in few hands has become impossible. Railway shares and bonds, since the disappearance of government and State securities, have become almost the only form of investment for those who have any savings, and the proprietors of railways are numbered by millions, and found in every condition in life. The millionaire, the farmer, the artisan, the widow, and the orphan have their surplus, or their all, in railroad stocks and bonds. Hence the management of the railways, with one or two exceptions, has fallen into the hands of salaried officials who own very little of the property, but are retained and remunerated according to their ability in successfully managing the companies for the owners, satisfying the public, and meeting competition.

CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW.

SPEAKER REED'S ERROR.

AT THE opening of the present session of Congress the members of the Democratic minority in the House of Representatives sought to embarrass the progress of certain legislation which was objectionable to their party. The plan was to remain silent in their seats and refuse to vote during every call of the *yeas* and *nays;* and, the Republicans being unable to have all their members present, the vote on each roll-call would fall short of "a quorum of the House," which is required by the Constitution to be present "to do business." It must be remembered that the whole Republican vote, when the session opened, was only one more than a quorum.

The embarrassing device of silence had also been used by the Republicans in previous Congresses, when the Democrats held the majority. The public responsibility for this censurable course is, therefore, fairly divided between the two parties. Speaker Reed, on assuming the chair, determined to bring the disorderly practice to an end. He effected this by deciding that it was not necessary to have a quorum of the House answer to the call of *yeas* and *nays*, if, upon count by the Clerk of the House, the members who sat silent would, in addition to the members who answered to their names, make up a quorum. Under this decision, a fraction of the quorum, no matter how small, can transact the business of the House, provided an actual majority of the members be merely present. The tactics of silence were therefore rendered valueless.

The Speaker's success won great applause from his fellow-partisans in the House and in the country, as was entirely natural. But the correctness of his decision has not yet been demonstrated; and I venture the opinion that the ultimate and impartial judgment, both Parliamentary and popular, will be that, while the Speaker's design is praiseworthy, his method of carrying it into

effect not only reverses all the safe precedents of the House, but violates both the spirit and the letter of the Constitution of the United States.

Speaker Reed had power to arrange the Rules of the House in the precise form he desired. Indeed, every Speaker is able to exercise large influence in shaping the rules, but the general understanding is that the whole subject, for this Congress, was left practically to Mr. Reed's dictation. His principal reform, as he believed, was to embody his Parliamentary decision in a rule which I here quote :

Rule XV., Clause 3 : "On the demand of any member, or at the suggestion of the Speaker, the names of members sufficient to make a quorum in the hall of the House *who do not vote shall be noted by the Clerk and recorded in the Journal*, and reported to the Speaker with the names of the members voting, *and be counted and announced in determining the presence of a quorum to do business.*"

At the time the Speaker framed this Fifteenth rule he must have forgotten another rule, as old as the government, which he had already inserted in the code of the present Congress. I quote it literally :

Rule VIII., Clause 1 : "Every member shall be present within the hall of the House during its sittings, unless excused or necessarily prevented ; *and shall vote on each question put*, unless he has a direct personal or pecuniary interest in the event of such question."

This Eighth rule, it will be seen, makes it the imperative duty of each member to vote when present ; but rule Fifteenth permits any member who is present to refrain from voting if he prefers to remain silent. Instead of voting because present, the Fifteenth rule regards mere presence as a valid excuse for not voting. Was the Eighth rule inserted in the code of the House to remain unenforced, while Speaker Reed, in a spirit of plenary indulgence, invented the Fifteenth rule for the ease and convenience of members ? The two rules are absolutely contradictory and irreconcilable ! One cannot be enforced without destroying the other ! All publicists agree that nothing brings law into contempt so rapidly and so certainly as to fail, by mere neglect, to enforce it. But Speaker Reed is the first author of any code of law, Parliamentary, municipal, or public, who deliberately inserted a mandatory rule on one page, and then on the next page inserted a mandatory rule making proclamation that no one need obey the first. The illustrious *Dogberry* is the original authority for this

mode of making, or at least of enforcing, law. Speaker Reed appears to have taken him as a model.

Dogberry.—This is your charge! You shall comprehend all vagrom men; you are to bid any man stand in the Prince's name!

Second Watch.—How if he will not stand?

Dogberry.—Why then take no note of him, but let him go; and presently call the rest of the watch together, and thank God you're rid of a knave!

Speaker Reed.—This is your charge, under the ancient Rule VIII! That all members present shall vote when their names are called.

Member of Committee on Rules.—And how if the Democrats will not vote?

Speaker Reed.—Why then call together the rest of the committee and ordain Rule XV., by which they need not vote; and thank God that we're rid of a trouble!

Arguing in defence of his rule in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW of March last, Speaker Reed propounds a novel interpretation of the Constitution, and thence a novel foundation for his rule. According to the Speaker's argument, the Constitutional provision which authorizes the House "to compel the attendance of members" was merely intended to bring members to the House, who "by mere attendance" discharged their whole duty, while other members, perhaps more active and more conscientious, did the voting for the whole quorum. To quote the Speaker literally, "Attendance alone was and is necessary," by the Constitution. Is it not, then, most extraordinary, if "attendance alone is necessary," that Speaker Reed should have embodied in the code of the House the compulsory Eighth rule above quoted? If the Constitution declares that "attendance alone is necessary," whence does the Speaker derive the authority for a rule that declares that "every member" who is in attendance "shall vote"? The Speaker necessarily throws contempt on one of these rules whenever he enforces the other.

By the canons of logic two contradictory propositions may both be false, but by no possibility can they both be true. In this case the Speaker has merely the choice of which rule he will disobey and dishonor—the Fifteenth, which is his own device under partisan pressure, or the Eighth, which has been a rule in every House of Representatives since the organization of the National Government.* Is there any precedent of a Parliamentary body

* This rule was originally adopted on April 7, 1789, more than three weeks before Washington's first inauguration. It was then in this form:

"Every member who shall be in the House when a question is put shall vote on one side or the other, unless the House for special reasons shall excuse him."

Among the members of the Committee which reported this rule were James Madison, Roger Sherman, and Nicholas Gilman—three of the most eminent members

that compelled the attendance of members and then gave those members the privilege of violating its rules?

The Constitution declares that "a majority of each house shall constitute a quorum to do business"; and, in order to secure a quorum, each house is endowed with "the power to compel the attendance of members." Heretofore, and uniformly, it has been held that "a quorum to do business" means a quorum taking part in the business of the House. That seems to be the obvious—nay, the undeniable—meaning of the clause. Speaker Reed has decided otherwise, and his method of counting is fairly illustrated by the following: Suppose a measure pending and the House comes to a vote. A quorum is a majority of the House—one more than half the whole number of Representatives—the number made necessary by the Constitution "to do business." At present it is 166 members. If 129 members vote for a measure and only one against it,* Speaker Reed's ruling declares the measure carried, provided the Clerk of the House can fill the quorum by counting 36 members present in the hall in addition to the 130 who vote in response to the roll-call. These 36 members whom the Clerk counts are sitting in their seats, walking in the rear area, standing in the aisles, bending over desks, engaged in conversation on both the Republican and Democratic sides of the House, commingled with ex-members and with non-members of various classes, who to the number of at least 2,000 have the privilege of the floor, of whom at least 250 are constantly in Washington; and a considerable number of these are daily exercising their privilege. A vote rapidly counted in this way lacks the certainty and security of the call of *yeas* and *nays*. The wrong man may readily be taken, and, not hearing his name read, does not correct it; the vote thus becomes vitiated and the exact result is produced which the call of *yeas* and *nays* was Constitutionally provided to prevent.

The Constitution of the United States declares that the "*yeas* and *nays* of the members of either house, on any question, shall, at the desire of one-fifth of the members present, be entered on the Journal." It is not difficult to define the objects and pur-

of the convention that framed the Constitution a year and a half before. They and all their associates evidently believed that Congress has the right to compel its members to vote.

* This is the precise vote by which the bill "to admit Idaho as a State in the Union" was declared by Speaker Reed to be passed.

poses of this Constitutional provision. *First,* the call insures the absolute correctness of the vote; each member responding as his name is called and entered on the Journal—an invaluable safeguard when the two parties are nearly equal in the House. *Second,* the call was intended to secure to the constituents an accurate knowledge of the course pursued by their Representative on public issues; to let them know whether he voted *yea* or *nay* on any given question, or whether by silence he evaded his just and honorable responsibility. *Third,* the call was provided as a shield and guard to the Representative, by affording him an indisputable record of his own course, to which he can appeal against misrepresentation and misunderstanding. No one can read the Constitution and fail to see that a call of the *yeas* and *nays* means a call of the "quorum of the House" able "to do business." If the call discloses a less number, the first and only duty of the House is to secure a working quorum. To procure a record of less than a quorum and to "piece out" by some other method or process is clearly a failure to comply with the requirement of the Constitution.

If the Constitution does not mean that the *yeas* and *nays* shall represent a "quorum," then it does not guarantee, as was designed, an absolutely correct record of the vote. If the *yeas* and *nays,* as in the case supposed under Speaker Reed's ruling, show a record of only 130 members who respond to the call, and the quorum is made up by recording the names of 36 members whom the Clerk sees, or thinks he sees, in the hall, then the Constitutional provision is of no earthly value as a safeguard to the House, to the constituency, or to the Representative. Certainly the framers of the Constitution never provided for a call of the *yeas* and *nays* for a part of the quorum, possibly the minor part, leaving the Clerk to provide for the accuracy of the remaining vote by gathering up hastily the names of those scattered around the House, and recording them in the Journal as though they had responded according to the direction of the Constitution. If the Clerk can be trusted to count and record a certain proportion of the names, he should be trusted to count and record all the names! It was never designed that there should be two ways of counting a quorum on a *yea*-and-*nay* vote!

Speaker Reed cannot have failed to observe that there are two

directions in the Constitution for the calling of the *yeas* and *nays*. One we have already considered; the other is contained in Article I., Section 7, as follows:

"Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the President of the United States. If he approve, he shall sign it, but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. *If, after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill*, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, *and, if approved by two-thirds of that house, it shall become a law.* But in all such cases the votes of both houses *shall be determined by yeas and nays*, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively."

It is to be noted that the President's veto of any bill cannot be overridden *except by a vote of two-thirds of each house;* "but in all such cases"—I quote the Constitution literally—"the votes of both houses shall be *determined by yeas and nays*, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively." Let us suppose that a bill (Senate Bill No. 1129, for example) is vetoed by the President. It is returned to the Senate, and, coming up for reconsideration, is passed over the veto by a vote of 50 yeas to 24 nays. Two-thirds have thus voted in the affirmative, and the total vote (74) is undoubtedly a quorum of the Senate. The bill goes to the House and the House votes 90 in the affirmative and 40 in the negative. Two-thirds of those voting have thus voted to override the veto, but the total vote is only 130—36 short of a quorum and but 20 more than one-third of the House. It is precisely the same aggregate vote on which Speaker Reed declared that the bill to "admit Idaho as a State in the Union" had been duly passed. He did this on the declaration that the number of members present and "*not voting*" added to those "*voting*" made up a quorum of the House. Would Speaker Reed on the same principle declare that *the two-thirds vote of 90 to 40* had passed the bill over the President's veto?

The Constitution says that in passing a bill over a veto the votes of both houses "shall be *determined by yeas and nays.*" If "determined by *yeas* and *nays*," how can Speaker Reed count a class of members who voted neither *yea* nor *nay?* The vote given by *yeas* and *nays* lacks 36 of a quorum. Under what rule can the Speaker add 36 who did not vote to the 130 who did vote? On

which side will he count them? He cannot know how they would vote. If he divides them evenly between the two sides, it will give 18 to each, and the vote will then stand 108 to 58. That changes the result, because it does not show a two-thirds vote in the affirmative. Observe, further, that the clause in the Constitution says, "if *two-thirds* of the house [to which the bill is returned] *shall agree* to pass the bill, it shall be sent to the other House, and if *approved by two-thirds* of that house, it shall become a law." Two-thirds of "that house" must be two-thirds of a quorum. It is not a house until a quorum is acting. When Speaker Reed shall have recorded the thirty-six members, would he declare the ninety votes as the *approval* of *two-thirds* of the whole quorum of 166, as made up under his famous Rule XV.?

It would be interesting, when the Constitution declares that the "votes" shall be "determined by *yeas* and *nays*," to hear how the Speaker can "determine" the votes by any other process. In all other cases it will be observed that the *yeas* and *nays* can only be called on the demand of at least one-fifth of the members present, but in the case of overriding a veto of the President the Constitution itself directs the calling and recording of the *yeas* and *nays*. The purpose of this specific direction is to guard against all doubt in "determining" the result of the vote, for it is not only the interest of every one to have a correct result, but it is the special right of the President to know with exactness the vote by which a bill is passed over his veto and made a law against his consent.

How would Speaker Reed communicate to the President the supposed result of 90 yeas to 40 nays, when a quorum is 166? It would seem very lame and awkward for the Speaker to state the simple facts of the case. He would be compelled to frame his communication somewhat as follows:

FIFTY-FIRST CONGRESS,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
WASHINGTON, ——— ———, 1890.

TO THE PRESIDENT:

In the vote of the House to determine whether "Senate Bill No. 1129" should pass against your objections, the *yeas* were 90 and the *nays* were 40—more than two-thirds in the affirmative. You will observe that the total vote falls short of a quorum, but under Rule XV. the Clerk of the House has entered on the Journal the names of 36 members who were present in the hall at the time the *yeas* and *nays* were called, *but declined to vote*. Under Rule XV., however, they are permitted to maintain silence and are held to form part of the quorum, just as if they had voted. No one can tell what their votes would have been if they had obeyed Rule VIII, which commands that "every member present within the hall of the House during its sit-

tings shall vote on each question put." The enclosed extract from the Journal will give you the names of the voting and of the non-voting members of the quorum. Of course the number of names recorded as voting does not answer the Constitutional requirement to override your veto, but you are probably aware of my decision that "attendance alone is necessary." Your obedient servant,

THOMAS B. REED, Speaker.

It is highly probable that in his reply the President would indicate to the Speaker his belief that a quorum made up in that way is not the quorum authorized to pass a bill over the objections of the President. He would very likely remind the Speaker that in the Senate of the Thirty-fourth Congress, on the 7th day of July, 1856, there was a long debate as to whether the number of Senators and Representatives required to override the veto was not two-thirds of the entire bodies voting in the affirmative. Senators A. P. Butler, of South Carolina, and James M. Mason, of Virginia, both made very strong arguments in support of that view. They estimated the weight of the President's dignity so high that nothing less than literally two-thirds of the whole number of each house should be able to override his veto. It was finally decided, however, that two-thirds of a quorum could overcome the President's veto; but it was left for Speaker Reed to decide that, if a majority of members were present, only two-thirds of those who might choose to vote would be sufficient to destroy the President's power. When Speaker Reed shall have succeeded in persuading any President that two-thirds of a minority of either house of Congress can pass a bill over his veto, it will be the duty of the majority of Congress to institute an inquiry into the mental condition of a President who would so readily surrender the Constitutional rights and powers of his office.

There are several other instances in the Constitution where a two-thirds vote is required in Congress—in all, I think four in the House and six in the Senate. In every one of these Speaker Reed's method of forming a quorum is obviously impossible, and a violation of the plain letter of the organic law. Let us subject some of them to a test, viz.: Article V., where two-thirds of both houses, "whenever they deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to the Constitution"; Article I., section 5, where two-thirds are required to expel a member; and Article II., section 2, where two-thirds of the Senate are required to confirm a treaty.

It requires no argument to prove that two-thirds of a mi-

nority, no matter how many non-voting members may be looking on, would not be deemed sufficient to propose an amendment to the Constitution of the United States. To attempt to settle so important a question as that with a minority vote would be as fatal to Constitutional regularity as to change the number of States necessary for ratification. That two-thirds of a quorum should actually vote is as imperative as that the number of States ratifying shall be three-fourths of the States in the Union. The philosophy of the Speaker's rule would not require three-fourths of all the States. If only four States voted, and three of them supported the amendment, Speaker Reed, if he adhered to his logic, would be compelled to declare the amendment adopted.

Again, it would certainly be a travesty upon the Constitutional rights of a Senator or Representative in Congress to assume that any fraction, whether two-thirds or three-fourths or nine-tenths or ninety-nine-hundredths, of a minority could expel him. It must be two-thirds of a quorum—two-thirds of a majority of the house. The Constitution says that "each house, with the concurrence of two-thirds, can expel a member." Observe that it is the concurrence of two-thirds of "each house"; not of *two-thirds of a minority of each house.* Concurrence means the action of the members present, and two-thirds must concur. It has, indeed, been argued by able Constitutional lawyers that under the letter of the Constitution a member could not be expelled except with the vote of two-thirds *of all those borne on the roll.* The final conclusion, however, is that in all cases a quorum of the house is held to be the house.

Still further, it can hardly be conceived that any man would contend that a treaty could be confirmed by a minority of the Senate. A treaty is the supreme law of the land, and it is a tremendous power conferred on the Senate for two-thirds of its members to confirm a treaty without the coöperation of the House. But by Mr. Reed's rule the votes of two-thirds of a minority of the Senate—if a quorum were in the chamber—could bind the United States against the possible wish of a majority of both branches of Congress.

It will be seen, on trial, that it is impossible to apply the Speaker's rule to a two-thirds vote on any subject. His rule always contemplates a minority vote. It has no application to a majority vote; for a majority vote is always definite, self-explana-

tory, and needs no rule. *It must be the majority of a quorum.* But a minority vote is less than a quorum, and no one can tell how much less it may be. It may be ten less, or fifty less, or one hundred less, if by the Speaker's rule there be in each case a sufficient number of idle members present to make a quorum. There is no limit to the smallness of a voting minority under the Speaker's rule as he has explained it and enforced it. Hence, on one day two-thirds of a minority may be less than the majority of a minority may be on the next day. The Constitution meant that certain measures are so important and so grave that a mere majority of each House cannot enact them, but that two-thirds of each House shall be required. But Speaker Reed's rule would pass the measures by the votes of two-thirds of a minority, however small that minority might be,—pass them by a vote even far below a majority of a quorum of the House,—while by the Constitution a majority of the whole House is declared incompetent to do it, and two-thirds thereof are required. It has already been shown, in discussing the question of overriding a veto of the President, that the idle members who do not vote, but help by Speaker Reed's rule to make a quorum, cannot be counted in a two-thirds vote without destroying its arithmetical ratio or proportion.

If, in addition to his quickness and brightness in the law, Speaker Reed possessed a little more of the judicial faculty, he would not have failed to appreciate the fact that the Constitution in only two cases recognizes any power whatever as residing in a minority of the House. The first case is that "one-fifth" can authoritatively demand the calling of the *yeas* and *nays*. The second case is that less than a quorum of members can "compel the attendance" of other members; but this compulsory power *is given solely for the purpose of securing "a quorum to do business."*

Precisely at this point the error of Speaker Reed began. He assumed that the Constitutional ability to "compel attendance" was merely for the sake of "attendance," and that the member discharges his full duty to his Government and to his constituents by merely being present. Surely the obligation and duty of members are equal under the Constitution. The duty of one is the duty of all. What one need not do no other need do. If one member fulfils his duty by "mere attendance," another does the

same—all do the same. Suppose all members should conclude, with Speaker Reed, that "attendance alone" is necessary; what would the Speaker do? He thinks it impossible that all should do the same thing which, under his Rule XV., he has allowed 40, 50, 100, or 150 members to do. In other words, the Speaker relies on the doctrine of chances that all will not do it, and that if he can get a minority of members, however small, with a sufficient number of silent members to make a quorum, he can "do business," though the Constitution declares that "a quorum" is necessary "to do business," and that the business of the House is to be done by the quorum and not by the Speaker.

In legislative bodies where no salary is allowed to members there may be some excuse in popular judgment for non-attendance and neglect of duty. But the Government of the United States believes in just payment for labor done, and has always deemed it wise to make a fair recompense to its Senators and Representatives. Assuredly that is a judicious policy, and nothing can bring it into disrepute except the wilful neglect of duty by Members of Congress.

Our Government is not only just in pay to its legislators, but it is liberal under the Constitution respecting the "attendance" of members. Allowing for sickness, for casualties, for all manner of detention, for the imperative calls of business, for the demands of family, the Constitution provided that only one more than half the whole number of the House should be required for "a quorum to do business." But apparently Speaker Reed thinks that this Constitutional requirement is too hard an exaction to lay on 166 members in a House of 330. He has, therefore, ameliorated the demands of the Constitution which require that the whole quorum shall "do the business" of the House. The Speaker substitutes himself and a small minority of a quorum, and maintains that they can do the business of the entire House of 330 members!

For the peculiar mode in which Speaker Reed dispenses with a quorum in calling the *yeas* and *nays*, he quotes no Constitutional authority to justify his departure from all the precedents of both Senate and House. Neither from his official chair in the House of Representatives, nor in his free expressions in the public magazines, has the Speaker deemed it proper to sustain his position by even one quotation from the learned commentators upon our Constitution. Yet the subject is one which has not

passed unobserved in the Parliamentary and Constitutional fields. On the contrary, it has been learnedly examined and clearly construed by the great authorities of the legal profession. Men from whom there is seldom an appeal have spoken. Let us hear them. Judge Cooley, in his "Constitutional Limitations," page 171, referring to the provision for calling the yeas and nays, both in the National and State constitutions, says :

"Such a provision is designed to serve an important purpose *in compelling each member present to assume as well as to feel his due share of responsibility in legislation;* and also in furnishing definite and conclusive evidence whether the bill *has been passed by the requisite majority or not.* 'The Constitution prescribes this as the test by which to determine *whether the requisite number of members vote in the affirmative.* The office of the journal is to record the proceedings of the House and authenticate and preserve the same. *It must appear on the face of the journal that the bill passed by a constitutional majority. These directions are all clearly imperative.* They are expressly enjoined by the fundamental law as matters of substance, *and cannot be dispensed with by the legislature.*'"

It is curious to note how frequently and how directly these high authorities condemn the whole scope and purport of Speaker Reed's rule. Instead of allowing a fraction of a quorum to answer the call of *yeas* and *nays,* the remainder to be made up by the Clerk counting the silent members, on the Speaker's assumption that "attendance alone is necessary," Judge Cooley declares that the Constitutional provision was intended "*to compel each member present to assume as well as to feel his due share of responsibility in legislation*"; and, further, each member present must aid "in furnishing definite and conclusive evidence *whether the bill has been passed by the requisite majority or not.*" It is also declared that "it must appear on the face of the journal that *the bill passed by a constitutional majority.*" "These directions are *all clearly imperative*"; are "matters of substance, *and cannot be dispensed with by the legislature.*"

The position of Judge Cooley is strongly corroborated by the eminent Judge Story, the favorite associate of Chief Justice Marshall on the Supreme Bench of the United States. In his great work on the Constitution, Judge Story, referring to the clause of the Constitution which requires the keeping of a journal by each house, and the insertion of the *yeas* and *nays* therein at the desire of one-fifth of those present, declares in Section 838 of the "Commentaries":

"The object of the whole clause is to insure publicity to the proceedings of the

legislature, *and a correspondent responsibility of the members to their respective constituents.* . . . Votes are ascertained *not by vague conjecture, but by positive facts.*"

It is evident that Judge Story's opinion sustains the same conclusion. Story sees a "correspondent responsibility of members," just as the other commentators do, and he evidently describes Speaker Reed's mode of "piecing out" a quorum as ascertaining votes "by vague conjecture"—assuredly "vague" as to those who do not vote at all under the Speaker's rule, but who are considered as performing their whole duty by "attendance alone."

With these learned commentators Speaker Reed is in direct antagonism. His declaration is that, if a quorum of the House is present in mere bodily form, any number of votes, however small,—even ten against five,—can pass any measure. The *reductio ad absurdum* seems complete when ten members voting *yea* and five voting *nay* (and idle members enough to make a quorum looking on) can enact any bill into law. And to make the absurdity complete and keep close to Mr. Reed's rule at the same time, two votes in the affirmative and one in the negative, with 163 members present as witnesses, can pass any bill, however grave and important. This only shows that folly has no limit, but wisdom is held within fixed lines.

Nor are the English precedents to be overlooked. The country which, as the late Mr. Conkling was fond of declaring, "has maintained a Parliament for eight hundred years," and from which we originally derived our Parliamentry rules, ought to be heard and heeded on an organic question of Parliamentary law. Mr. Jefferson when he prepared his "Manual," which has become the common law of parliaments in America, declared that "the rules of the English House of Commons are probably as wisely constructed for governing the debates of a considerative body, and obtaining its true sense, as any which can become known to us." It is, therefore, with good reason that we recognize May's "Parliamentary Practice," by the late Sir Thomas Erskine May, long the Clerk of the House of Commons, as a work of commanding authority. It has been and is esteemed on this side of the water as highly as in Great Britain. It is so justly appreciated in our House of Representatives that ever since the Speakership of Robert C. Winthrop, 1847–'49, it has been kept on the Speaker's table as a guide and authority on all difficult

points of Parliamentary administration. I quote, therefore, a most weighty judgment bearing on the point at issue from the 355th page of May (edition of 1873), where it is distinctly stated that "those who are within the House must vote." Illustrating the force of the rule, Sir T. Erskine May narrates, among others, the following cases :

"On the 31st of March, 1848, a member having been found in the House who had not voted on either side, he was brought to the table and was informed by Mr. Speaker that he must vote, whereupon the question was stated to him and he declared that he voted with the *ayes*. On the 1st of July, 1856, three members who had been in the House when the question was put, but had not voted, were required to declare themselves, and the Speaker desired their names to be added to the *ayes*."

At some future day, perhaps, Speaker Reed will deem it wise—nay, deem it necessary—to show a single shred of authoritative Parliamentary ruling to justify a practice so extraordinary! Up to this time the highest authority the Speaker has quoted is that of Governor David B. Hill, when, in a partisan exigency, as President of the New York Senate, he gave a decision that a senator present was a senator voting. Two or three other legislatures are quoted, and some town councils and boards of aldermen. But is it not unprecedented for the presiding officer of a National House of three hundred and thirty members, representing a continental nation of 65,000,000 of people, to rely for his Parliamentary guidance on a partisan precedent of David B. Hill, or on an adjusted dispute between a town council and a gas company, or on a decision of the Tennessee Legislature? Prior to Speaker Reed's decision it was not uncommon—nay, it was common—for disputed legislative questions in Parliamentary bodies throughout the Union to be settled by appeal to the Rules of the National House of Representatives; often by direct personal appeal to the Speaker. In some cases State legislatures have adjourned until a Parliamentary decision could be obtained from the Speaker of the National House on some embarrassing point that had arisen. Speaker Reed has reversed the practice, and we now witness the extraordinary spectacle of the House of Representatives deriving its Parliamentary law from partisan decisions in State legislatures and from the ruling of town governments in adjusting village controversies!

The Speaker certainly finds no example among his predeces-

sors in the chair to justify his course. Those predecessors include some of the eminent names of the Republic; men from the North, from the South, from the East, from the West! Federalists, Democrats, Whigs, and Republicans! men of every political creed! These Speakers have gone through seasons of threatened revolution, of unbridled party rancor, of foreign war and civil war, involving great national peril, when the very foundations of the government were shaken! Yet not one in the entire number ever suggested that the Constitution contained the strange power which Mr. Reed has induced the House of Representatives to insert among its rules, where it never had place before; nor did any one of them find in the angry partisan contests of State legislatures a guide and rule for the conduct of the National House of Representatives.

In defending his new rule in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, Speaker Reed permits himself, on one important point, to be strangely misled—I might better say self-deceived! I quote from his article:

"Every day for a hundred years the House has passed bills, in the total innumerable, without even a count, by mere determination of volume of voice. Even when a more certain method of decision was demanded, and members stood in their places and were counted, thousands of bills have gone through on a vote confessedly less than a quorum. When the writer of this article recently declared that he had heard Mr. Carlisle announce such bills as duly passed a hundred times, he was altogether too guarded. He ought to have said a thousand times."

The first rule adopted in the code of 1789 is the same that Speaker Reed has placed in his code. Both in effect say that on the assembling of the House each day nothing shall be done "until the appearance of a quorum." After the Speaker has announced the presence of a quorum, it has always been the Parliamentary presumption that a quorum is present the whole day, unless the Speaker or some member questions the fact and demands a count of the House. When a bill is passed by "mere determination of volume of voice," it is simply because there is no practical opposition to it in the House. If there is just enough opposition for a few members to demand a division, and a division shows an overwhelming majority for the bill on the part of those rising, its opponents either abandon opposition or call for the yeas and nays. There is, indeed, no conclusive test known to the House except the call of the *yeas* and *nays*.

Mr. Reed, as a member of the House, may have seen ten thousand bills passed as he has described; but in a Parliamentary sense they all passed by unanimous consent of a quorum. All opposition was withdrawn, and the presumption of a quorum was absolute. Every member, including the Speaker, declares a quorum to be present so long as he does not demand a count of the House. Every member is responsible for a quorum being present, because by Jefferson's "Manual" (Section VI. and Section XVIII.) any member has the power to demand a call. Jefferson's "Manual" constitutes part of the rules in Speaker Reed's code. All proceedings of the kind described in Speaker Reed's paragraph above quoted, so far from justifying Rule XV., pointedly condemn it. For the vindication of Rule XV. and the Parliamentary practice under it, the Speaker must show just one case where a bill was passed by a minority of the House on a call of the *yeas* and *nays* duly entered on the Journal. If between the installation of Speaker Muhlenberg and the installation of Speaker Reed, affording a round hundred years of Parliamentary precedents, such a case can be found, all the Parliamentary authorities of England and America must be rewritten.

In the order of this discussion we have now reached the crucial test of the whole argument. At this point, to quote a favorite expression of Colonel Benton, the "knife is upon the nerve." Here Speaker Reed may naturally say: "Admitting all criticisms and objections, what can be done when the Democratic members refuse to vote and rigidly maintain silence, and when it is impossible to secure a quorum made up of Republican members alone? The Republicans are, indeed, in the majority by a few votes, but the accidents and incidents of life render it impossible to have 166 Republican members steadily in their seats. There are perhaps 225 or 250 members usually present, out of a House composed of 330 members; but, when they deem it their interest, on certain questions the Democratic members decline to vote and persist in keeping silent. What, then, is the Speaker of the House to do, placed between a Republican party that cannot always muster a quorum and a Democratic party which by silence endeavors to break a quorum?" And it is out of this precise situation, no doubt, that Speaker Reed felt himself driven to the

Parliamentary decision which the Republican majority of the House has indorsed and embodied in Rule XV.

If it were merely a question of the "absence" of the Democratic members from the hall, Speaker Reed knows that he could quickly secure their presence. Even a minority of either house can "compel the attendance of absent members in such manner and under such penalties as each house may provide." This power is one of special efficacy, and the reason for its special efficacy is that "penalties" can be levied by the house for "absence," to whatever degree each house may in turn direct. The first House of Representatives provided by a rule adopted November 13, 1789, and amended to make it stronger December 14, 1795, that under "a call of the House" the absent members, as they appeared, should "be taken into custody," and "might be sent for and taken into custody wherever found" by special messengers provided for the purpose. By the provisions of this rule the members could be fined for their absence, and for many years they were compelled to pay the expenses of their own arrest, unless relieved by a vote of the House. In fact, the House by a majority vote can levy any penalty it chooses upon a member for being "absent." The power to "compel attendance" is thus irresistible. By the decision of more than one Speaker, and by accepted Parliamentary law, a member fined for being absent "is not at liberty to address the Chair or make a question of order" until "he has paid all fees assessed against him."*

While, therefore, it is no wonder that Speaker Reed feels competent "to compel the attendance of members," it is, on the other hand, inexplicable that he does not feel equally competent to compel members "to vote" when present. The power to do the

*During the first session of the Thirty-sixth Congress, on June 6, 1860, the Speaker *pro tempore* (Mr. Colfax) decided that an absent member brought to the bar and fined could "neither address the House nor appeal from the Speaker's decision until his fine was paid." He decided also that "the fact of a salary remaining in the hands of the Sergeant-at-Arms does not pay the fine." Mr. John Cochrane, of New York, was the member involved, and, being unable to make an appeal, Mr. Florence, of Pennsylvania, said that he would make an appeal on the gentleman's behalf. Mr. Florence thought it "a monstrous proposition that, because a member owed a fine of two dollars and a half, his constituents should be deprived of his services on the floor under an arrest by the Sergeant-at-Arms." He therefore appealed from the Speaker's decision and asked for the *yeas* and *nays*. He was not sustained by a sufficient number to secure the calling of the *yeas* and *nays*. The decision of the Chair was then approved without a division. Decisions to the same effect were made as early as the Speakership of Mr. Macon, 1801–1807.

one is as direct as the power to do the other. If there be any difference, it is in favor of the power to compel a member to vote. The clause of the Constitution which directly follows that relating to "compulsory attendance" is the following:

Article I., Section 5, clause 2: "Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, *punish its members for disorderly behavior*, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member."

How or why Speaker Reed could ever have overlooked this clause, how or why he could ever have failed to apprehend its deep and far-reaching significance, how or why a mind as elastic and alert as his did not at a glance measure its sweeping Parliamentary value, must remain a marvel to those who know him! The Constitution authorizes the House to levy "penalties" on the members who "absent" themselves from the House, and the same Constitution authorizes the House to "punish" the members for "disorderly behavior" in the House. "Disorderly behavior" comprehends almost every form of offence; it is the opposite of "good behavior," on which rests the tenure of the Federal Judiciary, as defined in Article III., Section 1, of the Constitution. But, primarily, "disorderly behavior," used in a Parliamentary sense, means *the intentional, defiant violation of a rule or order of the House.* This is and has always been held to be a contempt, and ranks highest in the order of its guilt respecting the just authority of the House. It is a breach of privilege, and uniformly held as such whenever it has been brought to a judgment both in the United States and Great Britain. May's "Parliamentary Practice," page 85 (edition of 1873), says:

"Wilful disobedience to orders, within its jurisdiction, is a contempt of any court, and disobedience to the Orders and Rules of Parliament, in the exercise of its constitutional functions, is treated as a breach of privilege. Insults and *obstructions* are by the law of Parliament breaches of privilege. It would be in vain to attempt an enumeration of every act which might be construed into a contempt, . . . but certain principles may be collected from the Journals which will serve as general declarations of the law of Parliament. Breaches of privilege may be divided into: 1. *Disobedience to general orders or rules of either house;* 2. *Disobedience to particular orders;* 3. Indignities offered to the character or proceedings of Parliament; 4. Assaults or insults upon members, or reflections upon their character and conduct in Parliament, or interference with officers of the house in discharge of their duty."

It will be specially observed that members of the House who maintain silence when their names are called, who defiantly re-

fuse to vote and thus violate Rule VIII., which commands that "every member shall vote on every question put," who thus place "obstructions" against the discharge of the regular order of business, are guilty of "disorderly behavior," as the American Constitution terms it, or of "contempt," as the British Constitution terms it, of the very highest and most offensive type. The House, under the clause of the Constitution I have quoted, may "punish" the offending member even by expulsion, if a vote of two-thirds can be commanded, or he may be punished with the concurrence of a mere majority by fine, imprisonment, or certain deprivations of Parliamentary privilege. The House need not inflict the "punishment" each time by special vote, but can adopt a rule conferring upon the Speaker the power to inflict the punishment on each and every offender, within certain specified limits. Sir T. Erskine May, in the volume from which I have already quoted, shows that "the cases are numerous in which members of the House of Commons," under a power precisely like unto that which our House of Representatives possesses, "have been called to account and punished by admonition and imprisonment." These punishments were inflicted for offences of less mischievous character than those which Speaker Reed failed to punish and correct, even with the large power placed in his hands by the Constitution.

But high as the British authority is on the Constitutional and Parliamentary point at issue, it is fortunate that we are not compelled to rely upon it wholly or even mainly. The American authorities are numerous, full, and conclusive. Judge Cooley, whom I gladly quote again, for his authority is always clear and exact, declares, on page 161 of his "Constitutional Limitations," as follows:

"Each house has also the power *to punish members for disorderly behavior*, and other contempts of its authority, as well as to expel a member for any cause which seems to the body to render it unfit that he continue to occupy one of its seats. This power is generally enumerated in the Constitution among those which the two houses may exercise, *but it need not be specified in that instrument, since it would exist whether expressly conferred or not. It is a necessary and incidental power, to enable the House to perform its high functions, and is necessary to the safety of the State.* It is a power of protection."

The Federalist strongly sustains the italicized portion of Judge Cooley's opinion above quoted. No. 44, page 354, referring to the clause in the Constitution authorizing Congress to

make "all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States," says :

"Had the Constitution been silent on this head, there can be no doubt that all the particular powers requisite as means of executing the general powers would have resulted to the government, by unavoidable implication. No axiom is more clearly established in law, or in reason, *than that wherever the end is required, the means are authorized ; wherever a general power to do a thing is given, every particular power necessary for doing it is included.*"

Judge Story speaks in his "Commentaries" with great positiveness on the point at issue—so positively, indeed, that he did not recognize any ground for doubt as to the meaning of the clause of the Constitution. I quote his Section 835 :

"The next clause is, 'each house may determine the rules of its proceedings *punish its members for disorderly behavior*, and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.' No person can doubt the propriety of the provision authorizing each house to determine the rules of its own proceedings. *If the power did not exist, it would be utterly impracticable to transact the business of the nation either at all, or at least with decency, deliberation, and order.* The humblest assembly of men is understood to possess this power; and it would be absurd to deprive the councils of the nation of a like authority. *But the power to make rules would be nugatory unless it was coupled with a power to punish for disorderly behavior, or disobedience to those rules.*"

Under the plain construction of the true meaning of the Constitution thus laid down by Judge Story, where "disorderly behavior" is really held as synonymous with "disobedience to the rules," a member of the House who refuses to vote when there is a plain and positive rule directing that "he shall vote on every question put" (Rule VIII.) *may* at once be punished, and *should* at once be punished, in whatever form and to whatever degree the House may adjudge proper, by its own direction, or, more conveniently, by clothing the Speaker with full power to administer the punishment under a general rule adapted to the cases likely to arise.

Can there be any doubt that the refusal of a member to vote when the *yeas* and *nays* are called, and when he is admonished to do so by the Speaker, should be punished ? Suppose that Speaker Reed, instead of resorting to the new and forced construction that "attendance alone is necessary" to make a quorum, and thus relieving members from their equal obligation to vote and take part in the business of the House, had proposed an effective rule, in-

stead of Rule XV. In other words, suppose that the Speaker had made his Rule XV. read as follows:

Rule XV. If a member shall refuse to vote on a call of the *yeas* and *nays*, after being requested by the Speaker to do so, he may be fined by the Speaker, not exceeding $50; and until said fine is paid said member shall not be allowed to take part in debate in the House or in Committee of the Whole, nor shall he be allowed to present any question of order to the Speaker.

This rule would be as directly and indisputably in accordance with the clause of the Constitution which I have quoted as is the rule "compelling the attendance of absent members." The two clauses are side by side in the Constitution, refer to the same general subject, are explicitly adapted to similar needs in administering either branch of Congress, and are interpreted, explained, and sustained by the most eminent authorities that have defined the limitations and illustrated the powers of the Constitution.

If objection be made to the form of "punishment" proposed in the new rule, I have only to say that other punishments perhaps more effective might be devised. I have aimed only to get rid of Speaker Reed's Rule XV., and to frame a rule as a substitute which, simple as it is, would prove completely effective. But each house could adopt a rule of the kind peculiar to its own needs, as those needs might be developed. How full and varied are the powers of the House in this respect may be inferred from an extract from Chief-Justice Marshall's celebrated opinion in the case of *McCulloch vs. the State of Maryland*. Not originally relating to the subject, but plainly referring to the great powers of the Government, its clear logic and principle have so direct a bearing on the matter under consideration that it must prove instructive. Here are Marshall's words:

"Our Constitution was intended to endure for ages to come, and consequently to be adapted to the various crises of human affairs. To have prescribed the means by which government should, in all future time, execute its powers, would have been to change entirely the character of the instrument and give it the properties of a legal code. *It would have been an unwise attempt to provide, by immutable rules, for exigencies which, if foreseen at all, must have been seen dimly, and which can be best provided for as they occur.*"

Does any one doubt that the proposed rule would prove effective and produce the desired result? How often would any member refuse to vote with the penalty of a $50 fine for each refusal, accompanied by the complete deprivation of the right to address the House, or raise a point of order, until the fine was paid? The roll might be, as it often is, called several times in one day, and

the obdurate member, determined to defy the authority of the House, would do so at the expense of his own pocket to an amount that would render the luxury of "disobedience" an expensive one. In fact, if the rule were adopted by the House to-morrow, there would never be a fine collected or even levied under it! The effect would be the same as under the kindred rule which is applied to the cure of absence. It would be obeyed promptly, cheerfully, and gladly. The majestic power of the House, when asserted in its own government, has never been defied, disobeyed, or successfully evaded!

If this clause be so simple and so easily applied, why, it may be asked, were its force and aptitude not long ago applied to the effective control and government of the House? It may be confidently answered that it has, in fact, been so applied from the foundation of the Government. It was under this clause that members of the House have been expelled, and that, far oftener, they have been called to the bar of the House and publicly censured by the Speaker. The power under this clause has not been evoked for the cure of those members who refuse to vote and maintain a dogged silence when the roll is called, because both parties have been resorting to it, and because it is only within the last two years that the evil practice has been carried to intolerable extremes. But the power must be used. Indeed, the discipline of the House would be destroyed, its government would be in chaos, if the practice of breaking a quorum at will by the refusal of members to vote could not be suppressed. The Constitution, when the evil is at its height, plainly points the way to its utter extirpation.

The practice itself, bad as it is, is not a worse evil than the remedy which Speaker Reed has induced the House to adopt. To violate the Constitution; to demoralize the House by allowing less than a quorum to do its business; to destroy thereby the safeguard, the vigilance, and the responsibility of Representative Government; to pass over the offence of members who bring the authority of the Speaker into contempt, and the business of the House into anarchy,—these are the defacements of order which the enforcement of Rule XV. will in time stamp upon our Parliamentary history. May we not believe that Speaker Reed is strong enough and wise enough and brave enough to retrace his steps and correct his error?

X. M. C.

CONTESTED ELECTIONS.

BY THE HON. THOMAS B. REED, SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

It is easier to find fault than to find a remedy; and yet finding fault is the essential prerequisite to any remedy whatever. If, therefore, this article seems to more vigorously complain of existing abuses than to clearly show how those abuses can be speedily remedied, it must be charged to the nature of the case, and not to any doubt that the abuses need remedy.

The Constitution prescribes that each house of Congress shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and under that clause the House of Representatives is the final tribunal for the decision of contested-election cases. It cannot divest itself of its power in that regard, and has not the same freedom to make laws upon the subject which is enjoyed by the British House of Commons. This power of final decision as to its membership became vested in each house from causes which were entirely natural. We embodied in our Constitution the English idea, and that idea had its origin in the fact that in the earlier days there was no other place to lodge so great and essential a power. The crown could not have it, for the House of Commons often represented a people entirely antagonistic to the king, and always a people who on some points differed from him, and whose control over taxation could not be suffered in any way to be taken from them. The power could not be vested in the judges, for in those days the judges were but representatives of the king himself, doing his work by his appointment and holding office at his will. Hence there was in early days no place where the right to judge of the elections could be lodged except with the elected body itself.

Of course there was always a possibility that the elected body

might find itself in the position of the House of Representatives which was electrified by the statement of John Quincy Adams that he would put the vote himself. At that time the mere clerk of the former House had assumed to pass in a preliminary way upon the right of members to their seats. And to-day at the opening of each Congress we have the anomaly of a clerk of a House which has ceased to be, calling to order the House that is to be, and determining the membership of that House for the purposes of organization, with all that that implies. Whatever doubts there may be as to the power of any law to so order the organization of the House of Representatives, the law has thus far been acquiesced in because of the fear that any other course might lead to chaos. It is true in theory that the House, upon organization, may at once proceed to correct all the mistakes and usurpations of the clerk; yet, in fact, such mistakes and usurpations having been committed in the interest of a party and for the very purpose of putting that party in power, he would be a sanguine man indeed who hoped to see a wrong repudiated which was thus premeditated and profitable. If the members of a court of law, grave and reverend, can almost always find reasons for deciding either way, a mere politician would hardly be at a loss for excuses in time of political stress.

Prior to the year 1770 the House of Commons determined its election cases as party questions by a vote of the whole House, and on most occasions little attention was paid to the views entertained by the constituents or to the votes they might have given. In one instance the party element in the decision was so pronounced that the ministry resigned because they were beaten in an election case. This system is largely our own to-day, and brings back to memory the reply of Mr. Robinson, of Massachusetts, then Representative and afterwards Governor, when asked what were party questions. "I know of none," said he, "except election cases." The Governor's epigram, though not absolutely accurate as fact, describes the attitude of the House towards election cases. It is an attitude which has so much of human nature in it that nothing will ever change it in the vast majority of cases. Men have no time to examine evidence, and no inclination. To conceive anything more dreary than would have been the task of examining the evidence before the present House surpasses human imagination.

Think of reading, amid intervals of letter-writing and errand-doing for constituents, fifteen thousand pages of evidence as a preliminary to the perusal of the arguments of counsel learned in the law. Think of the weary hours and the aching eyes; and think also how little time would be left for even that attention to other public business which we really have to give not merely to save the country, but to keep the constituents in reasonable humor. However often the fervid eloquence of some member who has read the evidence may exhort us to act as "judges and not as partisans," we are utterly unqualified to do so, and utterly incapable. Whether prior to 1770 the English House had the advice of a committee who had examined the case, I do not know, but I should judge from all the accounts that they proceeded upon knowledge which must have been very general. In the American House all the cases are examined by a committee, and are really examined with much care and in a most exhaustive manner. Nevertheless, the committee usually divide on the line of party, when they divide at all, and the House usually follows in the same way. To any thinking man this is entirely unsatisfactory. The decision of election cases invariably increases the majority of the party which organizes the House, and which herefore appoints the majority of the Committee on Elections. Probably there is not a single instance on record where the minority was increased by the decision of contested cases.

It is not the intention to assert that the majority of the Committee on Elections is always followed in servile fashion by the majority party. But the exceptions are sometimes more ludicrous commentaries on the House system than the regular cases. One case can be called to mind, not twenty years ago, where all the testimony except the member's own declaration seemed to show that he had not been naturalized. But the question got into such shape that a decision adverse looked like a decision that no man could be regarded as a naturalized citizen who had lost his certificate. As soon as that happened, it was amusing to see how men in districts full of adopted citizens rose above party and blossomed into language of the loftiest and most disinterested non-partisanship. If the member had not been naturalized by the courts, he soon was by the House of Representatives itself, and by a large majority. Not only are the decisions of contested-election cases very unsatisfactory, but they consume the

time of the House to the exclusion of valuable legislation. Each case takes from two to five days for discussion. While the discussions are for the most part able, and cost those who speak much time and long-continued effort, they are never listened to by even a third of the members; for, knowing nothing of the testimony, the members can see but little of the bearing of what is said. Sometimes, of course, though rarely, the case may turn upon some single principle or upon some great central facts. In that event the House may become deeply interested, and may even take the case into its own hands for decision. Such instances are rare, and the incoming of an election case is a leave-of-absence for three-quarters of the House.

The methods of taking testimony are very tedious and exasperating. Each party is limited as to time, and has to take his testimony in writing before magistrates, and sometimes must have a score of lawyers obtaining evidence in different places at the same moment. There is but little to restrain partisanship, and nothing to keep the lawyers within any limits. Everything is dragged in which the whim of a lawyer may call for. You can object, to be sure, but the testimony goes in just the same, and is printed just the same; and you must make answers to it, however irrelevant you may deem it and however wasteful it may be of your time. So great at one period became the expense to the government that a law was enacted, which is still in force, that only $2,000 should be granted to any contestant or contestee to pay his expenses. If he spent more, it must be out of his own pocket. This law has worked very grave injustice, for the range of testimony is not within the control of the parties to the contest. They must each meet the attacks of the other, and each must prove his case exhaustively. In the somewhat celebrated case of Governor Curtin and Mr. Yocum, even after the passage of this law, both parties were paid $8,000 each, and that sum did not pay their expenses within thousands of dollars. In that Congress (the Forty-sixth) $59,567 was paid to members and contestants, and in the next Congress $71,285 was the large total; twenty-four men receiving the full amount allowed by law and two members $3,500 each. During the last eight Congresses $318,000 has been paid for contests in the House, making an average of about $40,000. Large as is this expenditure, it is not large enough in reality, if the present system is to be maintained; for the restriction to $2,000 is very hard

upon contestants of limited means. If they enter upon a contest, especially in the midst of unfriendly officials, as is the case in some districts, no one can tell where the expense may end. In fact, it may be doubted if the restriction was not suggested and put on with that view, though it is very certain that the Congress which passed the law did not appreciate what it was doing.

It may be asked why men should be paid at all for struggling for a place which will belong to the one who gets it. Why should the people be taxed to determine which of two men shall have $5,000 a year? It is precisely because it so much concerns the people to determine who is to rightly represent them that even money becomes of no consequence. In truth, to determine who shall so represent them is the cause of all elections, the reason itself of all the turmoil we make and the expense we incur. When we say of the man who is elected, but is defrauded of his seat, "This is his affair alone," we make office a private perquisite, and not a public duty. So much, indeed, is the public concerned that it has always been deemed worth while to pay the expenses of both sides so that the truth may not fail to be brought out. If, then, we are to pay at all, we must pay all it costs. And if it costs too much, we ought to devise some plan to lessen the cost.

What our present system costs in the time of the House has already been adverted to. It would be difficult, without much labor, to state exactly in days how much time is consumed each session in arriving at our very unsatisfactory conclusions; but the nine cases decided thus far in the present House have consumed sixteen days, or more than one-ninth of the time of the session. Of these nine cases, it must also be borne in mind, the reports in three were in favor of the sitting members; two of these excited no debate, and the other consumed but part of one day. In the Fiftieth Congress four cases took nine days, and in the Forty-eighth thirteen days were consumed by six cases. It may be safely said that more than two days of the House on an average are spent on each contest.

The fault of unsatisfactory results does not rest on the committees. Some of the best men of the House have been on the Committee on Elections. As to the members of the present Committee on Elections, it might not transcend the agreement of all if it should be said that they are a set of men whose character,

ability, legal knowledge, and uprightness it would be difficult to surpass, or perhaps parallel, in this or any other House. Yet whenever the decision has been against the sitting member, the division has been upon party lines; and whenever the two wings of the committee have agreed in favor of the sitting member, it has always, or almost always, been on different grounds. Of course this sharp line of demarcation may in some measure be caused by the strong party feeling which has prevailed during the session. Nevertheless, in other years there have been similar results.

To sum up the whole situation, it may be said that our present method of determining election cases is unsatisfactory in results, unjust to members and contestants, and fails to secure the representation which the people have chosen. In addition, it is costly to both the parties interested and to the people of the country, and is costly not only in money from the treasury, but in the time of the legislative body.

In England, in 1770, the system of determining election cases by a vote of the House had caused so much dissatisfaction that George Grenville proposed that the final determination of each case should be left to a jury of members chosen by lot, and Parliament agreed to the plan. After a time, by a change of the law, thirty-three men were chosen by ballot, and from this list of thirty-three, eleven names were stricken off by each party, and the case was decided by the remaining eleven. These methods of deciding, though there was still great complaint, worked in a manner much more satisfactory than the decision by the full House, and continued in vogue until 1839, when the dissatisfaction broke out again, and a bill was introduced by Sir Robert Peel increasing the power of the committee and also its responsibility. This bill became a law. Notwithstanding Sir Robert Peel's sanction, which, from his experience and unrivalled parliamentary knowledge, might have been deemed a sure guarantee of the efficacy of the law, it was repealed after a trial of only two years. In 1848 the House transferred its entire authority to the Committee of Elections, which was composed of six gentlemen appointed by the Speaker by his warrant, but subject to the approbation and sanction of the House. These gentlemen acted under oath and were men of the highest standing and attainments. Nevertheless, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in 1868, was forced to say that "that tribunal

had not proved satisfactory": expenditures had increased; corrupt practices had not declined; the decisions had been uncertain and contradictory. From all this the Chancellor inferred, and the House was of the same opinion, "that there is something in the principle upon which the jurisdiction of the House in regard to controverted elections rests which is essentially vicious." Acting upon this opinion, it was determined to free the decision of contested-election cases from all Parliamentary entanglements; to take them from the hands of the unprofessional men who could only hear testimony and could not preserve continuity of principle or plan of action, and place them in the hands of the judges, who could and would establish plans for determining the facts and principles of law which should guide their decision of the cases. It was further provided that the judge in charge of the case should, if he saw fit, investigate the election where it took place and determine the facts on the spot. This system has been in operation for many years and has worked well. The judges who have charge of these cases were selected under the law of 1868, one from each of the great divisions of the Law Courts, Queen's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, and others were added to the list if the number of the cases required it. One judge without a jury sat in each case.

It will be seen that there are many difficulties in the way of our following the example of Great Britain. Parliament is a constitution unto itself. It can divest itself of any of its powers. Nothing but a constitutional amendment, ratified by three-fourths of all the States, could place the House of Representatives in the same position. We could not divest ourselves of our right to be the judges of elections, even if we would. Nor would any statute enacted by both houses serve the purpose. The election-contest laws which we have now do not bind us except by our own consent. Yet in practice they do bind us; and here may be the solution of our difficulties. There is probably no doubt that, if some tribunal were selected by Congress and its decisions were acquiesced in for a few years, there would spring up such a consensus of opinion that ever afterwards the House would cease to do more than record the decisions of the tribunal established in part by itself, or, to speak more accurately, by its predecessor and by Congress. Any law which made the decision *primâ facie* would certainly be respected and would certainly work the cure.

The determination as to what tribunal should be taken is by no means free from difficulty. When in 1868, as has been said, it was resolved by Parliament to divest itself of all authority as judge of the election of its own members, the Select Committee of a previous year, composed of very eminent men who had given the subject much consideration, were decidedly of the opinion that no less a tribunal than Her Majesty's judges would serve the purpose or be august enough to be the substitute for the House of Commons. Accordingly, the government had promised to bring in a bill with that provision therein. The judges were communicated with in order to obtain from them any suggestions they might wish to make as to the details of the measure which was to confer upon them this new power and exact from them this new duty. Somewhat to the surprise of the government, the judges did more than respond to the inquiries made of them, and volunteered the suggestion that they did not wish to have the power or to perform the duty. The debate in Parliament does not disclose the communication made by the judges, nor exactly define the grounds of their objection ; but I infer that they had a natural fear that, if they became involved in transactions relating to party politics, even if the question to be determined was one of law and fact simply, their usefulness in the discharge of their general duties might be impaired. Though this objection has some force, and was so treated, Parliament seems to have finally determined that, without impairment of their usefulness elsewhere, the duty of determining contested-election cases might well be devolved upon the judges.

This objection would be urged in the United States against any tribunal which could be selected among those now in existence. But such an objection would not exist in practice. The true safeguard against partisanship and against the charge of it would be the openness and necessary publicity of all the proceedings. It is easy enough for a man to be a partisan, surrounded, supported, and sustained by others who act with him ; but on the bench, alone by himself, face to face with the community, a judge would be true to his duty and true to his office.

There is one danger, that of undue influence, which would arise from the relations which a judge has with the community in which he lives. We are none of us isolated in this world, and it is doubtful whether we would become better judges if we were,

Nevertheless, there are influences which ought to be guarded against. If it were possible to detail judges of rank corresponding with those selected in England, it would be fortunate for us beyond a doubt. If the Supreme-Court judges could try such cases, their high character and sound learning would not only be a safeguard in themselves against injustice, but would inspire that confidence which is half the battle. But with the present number of judges and the volume of work imposed upon them, such detail would not be practicable, even if there were no other objections.

There remain the circuit and the district judges. The latter would have the advantage of being upon the spot, of having familiarity with the ways and manners of the people immediately concerned, and could perhaps make the needed examination into the cases with less waste of time than any one else. The objection would arise from the possibility of undue local influence. By this is not meant, of course, any influence of which the judge would be conscious. But the desire to be well with one's neighbors is one of the most powerful controllers of men.

If the new bill to relieve the Supreme Court, which has already passed the House, should pass the Senate and become a law, there would be a large number of circuit judges, and from that number three or six, or even more, could be detailed to act as judges of elections of members of Congress. Each judge could take testimony, make investigations on the spot, and pronounce his opinion, which could certainly be made *primâ facie*, and which the House would not be likely to disturb.

Such a tribunal, empowered to make rules and regulations, and to establish in the light of growing experience rules of evidence which should be applicable to contested-election cases, would save much cost of money and spare much time of the legislative body, and give the country assurance of sound and safe decisions on the very vital question as to who have been chosen to make the laws and direct the fortunes of the Republic.

THOMAS B. REED.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

I.

ANOTHER VIEW OF GAMBLING AT SEA.

I AM amazed at some of the statements in Captain Kennedy's article in the June number of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, for I am in a position to know that not only is gambling not encouraged by the steamship companies, but that every effort is made to suppress both gambling and every other breach of law and order. To enforce the rules made by them for the purpose, and for the protection of passengers, they look to the commanders, who are always sure of receiving their moral support in the maintenance of law, order, and discipline. A little consideration will show that the most vital interests of steamship companies are involved in preventing vice of all kinds. All know that it is not the gambler or the drunkard whose patronage is valuable. If these were known, they would have difficulty in obtaining a passage in any first-class steamer, but, unfortunately, they are not; it is only when their character is evident at sea that they come under the surveillance of the commander and officers, who are usually competent to suppress drunkenness entirely and keep gambling within limits.

But is it really true that gambling is practised on board Atlantic steamers to the extent that Captain Kennedy would have us believe? I do not believe it. If it is, it is known only to those who play high. It would, indeed, be singular if high play could be kept long a secret; it must surely become known. I have, in a rather long period of service, known very few instances. It would, judging from my experience, be impossible to praise too highly the obedience to rules for the maintenance of order and discipline displayed by passengers crossing the Atlantic. Of course this must be considered in relation to the number carried. In the large numbers carried there must be the usual relative proportions of the virtuous and of those who have the smaller vices of humanity in a greater or less degree. Some, even the most virtuous and exemplary, will play cards for small stakes, will bet on the distance run by the ship each day, the number of the pilot-boat, etc.—such gambling as is usual among any similar association of men wherever they may be. This is about the extent to which gambling is carried on within the knowledge of the authorities on board ship, and it is tolerated to this extent because no law can prevent gambling in this mild form. Sometimes a professional gambler will be a passenger, but he is usually soon known, and as soon as known, he is scrupulously avoided by all sensible men.

I have no doubt the instances cited by Captain Kennedy are true; and they were clearly cases for his interference. He should have known, in the first case he cites, that unusual gambling was going on in the smoking-room, and he should have interfered to prevent it—by force, if necessary. In the second case, he should have protected the young man by insisting on having his money returned by the men who had robbed him, or, if not, he should have given the swindlers in charge on his arrival in port, and prosecuted them for fraudulent practices on board his ship.

It is almost incredible that Captain Kennedy could pen the following sentence: "But when I considered that I had no authority to prevent gambling, I concluded that it was better for me to remain silent, and I did so." What erroneous conceptions he must have of the power and authority of the commander of a ship! To pre-

vent vice, protect the weak, maintain discipline, the commander is all-powerful on board his ship. It is only when he is unjust or tyrannical that he is powerless. The great majority of law-abiding passengers, and his employers, will give him their moral support, and aid him in the preservation of law and order. It is only the weak and vacillating commander who will tolerate any breach of law of which he has proof.

In the last paragraph of Captain Kennedy's article he repeats the question, "Why is gambling permitted?" and answers it—satisfactorily, no doubt, to himself—without taking the "moment's consideration" he recommends. "All Atlantic passenger steamers are furnished with a large supply of wines and liquors, which are not included in the price of passage. Men who gamble drink, and largely, too. The profits derived from the sale of these wines and liquors during the travelling—or, I may say, the gambling—season are so great that it is not to the interest of the steamship companies to abolish gambling," etc.

If Captain Kennedy had taken the "moment's consideration" which he recommends, he might, with his knowledge and experience of the expense of running Atlantic steamers, have surmised that the expensive space required for wines and liquors, smoking-room and bar, the wear and tear, breakage, waste, and attendance might possibly reduce the profits to such an extent as to put them beneath the consideration of the managers and directors of large corporations like steamship companies. If he were impartial and just to the managers and directors he has known, he would have said that some of them consider the bar a blot on their fine ships, and one they would willingly remove were it not that the habits of men who travel make it necessary to maintain it. The legitimate purpose for which the wines and liquors are carried is to supply the temperate with the quantity they are accustomed to take, and which it would be inconvenient for them to carry. The punishment the passenger incurs by exceeding the bounds of strict temperance is the immediate stoppage of his orders. I am happy to say that but few have, in my experience, incurred this punishment.

I sincerely hope that when Captain Kennedy again attempts to bring to public notice the abuses that, he imagines, exist on board Atlantic steamers, his assertions will at least be made with due regard to truth, with more liberality of spirit, and with more charitable judgment.

H. PARSELL, R. N. R.,
commander of the White Star steamer "Majestic."

II.

FRETTING ABOUT THE CONSTITUTION.

ONE who should attempt to make a list of those who, voluntarily and without hope of fee or reward, have assumed the duty of helping the President to "preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States," would find himself transcribing many eminent names. Hamilton, returning from the convention of 1787, is reported to have foreseen and to have remarked that everything depended upon the interpretation put upon the Constitution that had just been framed. Even then there were those who feared, as well as those who hoped. Beginning with that great objector, Jefferson, the inventor of the idea and the name of nullification, there has been an almost unbroken succession of statesmen and politicians who have been disquieted in their righteous minds lest the Republic should receive an injury by an infraction of the Constitution—as they understand it.

Far be it from us to deprecate or to belittle the conservative spirit which resists innovation and the assumption of new and—to the objector—dangerous powers, and thus affords the people an opportunity to consider deliberately whether or not they wish the extension of power to take place. Even pessimism is useful at times. But in by far the largest number of cases the anxiety of the temporary statesmen who flash upon Congress as constitutional lawyers, like *stellæ novæ*, lest the Constitution should be violated, is frivolous. It is stirred by trumpery causes; or it is based upon an illogical reading of the great instrument of our liberties; or the constitutional

view advanced reduces itself, by its consequences, to an absurdity. The only use of the objections which are included in this class is afterward to afford the student of political history an occasional quarter of an hour of amusement in his otherwise dry reading, when he stumbles upon one of these defunct controversies.

To illustrate: There is perhaps no more delicious bit of unconscious constitutional humor extant than the argument by Senator Jones, of Florida (whose misfortune every one deplores), to the effect that if General Garfield, the elected President of the United States (who, at the time the argument was made, was physically unable to discharge the duties laid upon him), were to yield his office to the Vice-President, and were afterward to recover from the disability, he would not have a right to resume the functions to which he was called; but that Mr. Arthur, the Vice-President, having succeeded to the duties of the office, having in turn been compelled by disability to relinquish those duties, and having subsequently recovered, would be capable, under the Constitution, of resuming the Presidential functions.

There are several recent instances of most unnecessary worry about the Constitution that deserve mention. As is well known, there are many honorable Senators and members of Congress who announce themselves as "friendly to silver," and who denounce their opponents as "enemies of silver" and as engaged in "a conspiracy to degrade silver." It is not worth while to inquire whether or not silver reciprocates the affection and appreciates the loyalty of these devoted champions; that is not the point. But it may be asserted that in more than twoscore and ten speeches made in Congress by the "advocates of silver" during the last half-dozen years, this argument may be found: it is unconstitutional for Congress to discriminate against silver in its coinage laws, because the two metals are linked together in the language of the Constitution. "Gold and silver coin," they say, in effect, "is the money of the Constitution, and you cannot divorce them without violating the spirit of the Constitution." What the Constitution does really say is that no State shall "make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts." How this can be transformed into a requirement that the United States shall grant free coinage to both metals is a logical mystery. It is to the credit of those who do not believe that something can be made out of nothing by a mint die that they have never noticed or answered this argument. As well might one undertake to prove that the prohibition upon the States to issue letters of marque and reprisal does not lay upon Congress the duty of establishing a uniform system of piracy.

A few weeks ago the Supreme Court, to the surprise and consternation of the country, decided that, since intoxicating liquors are an article of commerce and of commerce between the States, any State law which forbids the sale in the original package of liquor brought from another State is unconstitutional, since the Constitution has lodged in Congress the exclusive right to regulate commerce between the States. That decision practically rendered nugatory all the laws of all the States, whether prohibitory, local-option, or license in restraint of the liquor traffic; and it led to an early consideration by the Senate of the United States of a bill intended to concede to the States the right which they had always exercised without serious question.

Not to take note of a very few exceptions, the condition of things established by the decision was universally deemed intolerable. The conceded right of Congress to regulate the inter-State commerce in liquor was manifestly a right that could not be exercised, since no law having uniform application throughout the country would be either acceptable or equitable, considering the diversity of public sentiment in the several States on this subject. But when a practical measure, intended to remit the regulation of the traffic to the States, came under discussion, the chronic anxiety lest the Constitution should be infringed was manifested in some amusing forms.

"Mr. President," said Mr. Call, of Florida, "the question would occur again, Are intoxicating spirits exempted? Was it intended that they should be exempted

by the makers of the Constitution from the subjects of commerce?" "Well, no; and probably Alexander Hamilton never supposed that the clause relating to commerce between the States would be held to have any application to the question of free railroad passes or the 'long and short haul.'"

Mr. Morgan, of Alabama, contributed to the debate another choice bit of the same sort, in offering opposition to the theory that the right of regulation might be conceded to the States as a necessary police power. "They call them police laws, and police regulations. I do not find these phrases anywhere in the Constitution—'police laws' or 'police regulations'!" Certainly not.

Mr. Coke, of Texas, urged that "a strict adherence to the Constitution as it is, and an amendment of it in the mode provided by itself when an amendment is needed, is our hope for the perpetuation of our government, with its attendant blessings." Mr. Eustis, of Louisiana, maintained that the proposed enactment was "simply a declaratory law by Congress—a law to interpret the Constitution of the United States differently from the interpretation which it has received from the Supreme Court of the United States—a law which, by its declaration and interpretation is a nullification, in my judgment, of a provision of the Constitution." Both these gentlemen were in the Confederate army.

Expressions similar to these might be multiplied, but it is unnecessary. The fact is, as every candid person will admit, that there is not a State in the Union which does not desire the right to regulate, by legislation of some sort, the traffic in intoxicating liquor. By the decision of the Supreme Court there is one form of the traffic which no State may prohibit or regulate, and unrestrained liberty therein may render quite useless all regulating laws that are permissible. Yet we find Senators of the United States solemnly anxious lest an injury may be done to the Constitution by the remission to the States of a right which Congress does not want and cannot exercise, and which the States do want—a right which the States have used for forty years; which neither Congress nor the people suspected to be reserved exclusively to Congress until the Supreme Court discovered and announced the fact.

One extra-Congressional instance, briefly referred to, shall end this present list. For some unexplained reason, certain busy-bodies thought it expedient—if they thought about it at all before acting—to make what is called, in the slang of the day, a "kick" against the questions in the population schedule of the census relating to insanity, chronic diseases, and bodily defects. Almost the same questions were asked ten years ago by the enumerators, and were addressed to physicians, four-fifths of whom made replies. So far as any one now remembers, there was then no serious objection to the inquiry. But on this occasion the opinions of constitutional lawyers were requested by an over-enterprising journal. Mr. George Ticknor Curtis, whose name may be found affixed to many a "constitutional opinion" quite different from that of the Supreme Court, regards all "questions of scrutiny into diseases with which the persons enumerated have been afflicted," and also the inquiries relative to mortgage indebtedness, which Congress requires to be put, "as inquiries altogether outside the Constitution," etc. Mr. David Dudley Field evidently holds the same opinion, and expresses it in more sweeping terms. "The power to take the census is simply a power to enumerate the inhabitants of the country, as defined in Art. VI., Sec. 2, of the Constitution," and outside of this "the government has no right" to oblige a citizen to answer questions.

These expressions are quoted, not to argue against the view presented, but merely to exhibit the state of mind into which gentlemen of large mental grasp and high attainments, who also know as well as any one the value to social science of vital statistics, can bring themselves, when they are in a mood to fret about the Constitution. And that, indeed, is the sole purpose of this note. Until human nature is radically changed, there will always be men who will borrow little bits of trouble about what they cannot help; and until the Constitution itself is swept away, there will always be people to be afraid that it is to be broken up and carted away piecemeal.

EDWARD STANWOOD.

III.

WARLIKE EUROPE.

THE most remarkable incident in the recent debate in the Reichstag on the bill for the increase of the German army was the speech of Count von Moltke in its favor. With an impressiveness which carried conviction to all who heard him, he spoke of the "inevitable conflict" which had for more than ten years hung suspended over their heads like a Damocles sword. In his opinion, it would not necessarily be a short struggle, but "there can be another Seven-Years' War, or even a Thirty-Years' War, and woe be to him who sets Europe on fire by hurling a brand into the powder-cask." At the same time he asserted that it would be a people's war; that "in these days of ours it was neither sovereigns nor governments which brought about wars. The period of cabinet wars was over, and there were only left national wars [Volkskriege], with all their incalculable issues."

How far this latter statement of the veteran field-marshal is true it is not our purpose to inquire, but simply to attempt to show that at present peace or war in Europe depends upon other than purely political considerations. No doubt when war is finally declared, there will be found some political pretext; but the true cause will, in all probability, lie elsewhere. So far as one can judge from the external relations of the great powers to each other, there is less reason to look for a great war to-day than at any time during the past ten years. Although there has been a two-fold change of rulers in Germany, the Triple Alliance remains unshaken. The Czar of Russia is evidently anxious to maintain the peace. The Balkan states are unwontedly quiet; and in France it is apparently more than ever true that the republic "*c'est le paix.*" Count von Moltke is right: neither sovereigns nor governments desire war to-day.

But while the political relations of the great powers are unaltered or have even become more peaceful, their relations as military powers have undergone a tremendous change since the establishment of the German Empire. And here it is that the venerable soldier-statesman discerns the inevitable conflict. This change can, perhaps, be best shown by comparison. Ten years ago, only, the standing armies of Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, and Russia, on their peace footing, as nearly as can be ascertained,—accuracy is, of course, out of the question,—numbered about 1,580,000 men. To-day, with the same boundaries to defend, with peoples apparently more wedded to peace than ever, and with rulers certainly anxious to avoid conflict, these armies on their present peace footing amount to at least 2,180,000—an increase of 600,000 men; which, in case of war, means an addition of between two and three millions of fighting men to the forces that can be engaged. Yet with this enormous increase, each of the powers is straining every nerve to make it still greater in the coming years. To state the case differently and more particularly, in 1870 France was able to put into the field 300,000 men; at Metz 150,000, at Strasburg 100,000, and at Châlons, in reserve, 50,000. When the war broke out, Germany had 360,000 men under arms; but this number was increased to over a million before the war had lasted many weeks. In 1890, within three weeks after the declaration of war, France could send into the field five armies of 200,000 men each, and have in reserve two others each 150,000 strong; all men who have been trained from three to five years—not merely an armed mob. That is, in other words, France, as a military power, is five times as strong as she was when Olivier and his master "with a light heart" entered into the conflict with Germany. In numbers, in fact, and in the length of the training which her soldiers have received, she is probably superior to her hereditary foe.

When Russia fought with Turkey in 1877, her war strength was given as 1,831,617 men. Should she be brought into conflict to-day, she could enter the campaign with two lines of trained troops, according to a competent military authority; the first numbering 1,400,000 men, the second 1,100,000—or 700,000 more than she had thirteen years ago. The dual empire of Austria is not far behind these figures. Her total war strength—that is, of trained soldiers—is nearly two millions, or, to speak more accurately, 1,800,000, with more than 200,000 able-bodied and trained soldiers in reserve. As to Germany, it is more difficult to speak with certainty, as her military

authorities are very reticent in regard to the condition and numbers of the army; but an English military writer says that within twenty days after the outbreak of hostilities she could place 1,500,000 armed men in the field and leave half a million more trained soldiers in their homes.

Now, it is unnecessary to waste words in the attempt to prove that these enormous armies are a menace to the peace of Europe, and that their constant increase only apparently hastens the time of the inevitable collision. The extreme limit is rapidly approaching when all, without exception, who can bear arms will be in the ranks, and then, further preparation being well-nigh impossible, Germany will strike. For there is no reason to doubt that the policy of Bismarck, so frankly declared in 1871, still prevails—that when Germany is convinced of the necessity or inevitableness of war, she will "select the moment when war can be made with the least sacrifice and the least possible risk for the nation."

The danger, however, does not consist wholly in the increase of the size of the armies, but possibly even more in their proximity, their closeness of contact. In nothing has the military art so improved within a century as in the rapidity with which great bodies of men can be mobilized, or formed into armies, and brought into the field. What in the first Napoleon's time it took weeks and months to accomplish in the preparation for a campaign, can be done now in as many days. Strategic railroad construction has taxed the energies of the various powers for the past few years with results which are certainly marvellous. Germany, by means of her twelve railways to her western and eleven to her eastern frontier, could mass more than half a million men in seven days at any threatened point. France could do the same in eight days, while Austria would take fourteen in bringing her troops by her six railways to her Galician frontier. Russia alone stands at a great disadvantage with the other powers in this respect. But she has been and still is busy with important railway and road construction, which will greatly aid in the rapid transportation of her troops from one part of her vast empire to the other. Germany, still further, is divided into seven distinct theatres of war, in each of which are depots of *matériel* and magazines of provisions which can be filled in three days. Every corps, division, brigade, and regiment in the army, together with their respective reserves, know, in the event of war in any quarter, without definite orders, to what point they should go and even the road they should take; every conceivable detail being provided for. Mr. Gladstone was certainly right when he said that the German army was "the most tremendous weapon the skill of man ever forged." The possession of such a weapon greatly heightens the probability of its being used promptly in case of need. A man who has a revolver in his pocket is much more likely to draw it on a chance adversary than he would be to go home and get a blunderbuss to fire at him.

There is a still greater danger to the peace of Europe, however, than that which arises from the size of the armies of the four great powers, or their excessive mobility. It is to be found in some recent movements and disposition of great bodies of troops. The probable theatre of a general war has shifted of late from the French to the Russian frontier of Germany. While the French have exerted themselves as no other nation has done to form an efficient army, they have not so disposed it as to be an actual menace to their former antagonist. Their task has been to fortify the eastern frontier for defensive, not offensive, operations. They have constructed vast intrenched camps, supported by outlying forts, along the line of the Meuse and the Moselle. Some military critics, both English and German as well as French, hold that these works detract from the efficiency of the French army, since they will require at least a million of men adequately to garrison them in time of war.

On the Russian frontier, on the other hand, the military situation is very different, and is also constantly changing. This frontier, separating Russia from Germany and Austria, is a line about 1,200 miles in length. The greater part is due to the fact that Poland is thrust forward, as it were, 400 miles into the German Empire. A glance at the map will make it evident, therefore, that an army in Poland threatens the German provinces of East and West Prussia on the north, of Posen and Silesia on the west, and the Austrian province of Galicia on the south. Strategically, then,

Russia, holding this position, has a great advantage over the allies in being within a half-circle the perimeter of which they are obliged to defend. The region bordering on this frontier has been divided by the Russian staff into three military districts, those of Vilna, Warsaw, and Kieff respectively. Two years ago, when a movement of Russian cavalry toward the frontier caused intense alarm in Vienna and thence throughout Europe, it was made public that she had then massed an army 200,000 strong on the frontier, which in large part is a mere line designated by painted pillars. The rest of the Russian army was scattered throughout the empire, especially in the central and eastern provinces, two corps being stationed in the Caucasus. Opposed to these Germany had four and Austria two army corps, or together 143,390 men—about 56,000 less than Russia's eight corps. At the opening of the spring of 1890 the Russian troops on the frontier had been increased to 250,000, while the allies had added only 17,000 men to their forces. Thus there are now, figuratively speaking, 208 Russians on every mile of the frontier to 133 German-Austrians —75 more men for every mile. But this is not all. There has been a rapid concentration of the rest of the army within supporting distance of the forces in the frontier military districts. A division has been transferred from the Caucasus to Kieff. The troops have vanished from many of the eastern and central provinces and garrison towns, and, to quote the words of a recent English military writer, "Poland and Volhynia, with the towns on the Lower Dwina and Middle Dnieper, are alive with troops." In other words, the Russian army is being massed as rapidly as is possible in time of peace upon her southwestern frontier.

This highly menacing movement, it should be said, does not necessarily mean war on the part of Russia. It is simply an absolutely necessary measure in order to have the troops ready to hand when they are needed, arising from her great inferiority to her neighbors in railways and highways passable for troops, as well as in the vast distances to be traversed. Still it cannot be doubted that, when "armies of men stand scowling into one another's eyes across a fanciful frontier marked by a few parti-colored posts," war can never be far distant.

JAMES M. HUBBARD.

IV.

LIGHT OR SHADOW?

IN THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for May, Mr. George Parsons Lathrop urges as a most desirable thing audacity in female novelists. The word audacity, as employed in our vernacular, is a strong one, and repulsive to the instinctive delicacy of every true woman. We should hope that Mr. Lathrop used the term with a better significance did he not plainly urge the claims of our sex in arguments and illustrations which leave no doubt of his meaning. His great regret seems to be that in the present state of affairs "the utterances of women in books must always be more bounded and guarded than those of men"; for which condition of literature we believe the world is devoutly thankful.

This is Mr. Lathrop's position: maiden innocence is not to be kept in ignorance; woman has a right know all that is going on concerning her; the right to know gives the right to talk and to write. Since, says he, we "live under the shadow of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil," we are to "make the best of our lot, and to throw as much light as possible into the shadow"; in other words, get from the tree of forbidden knowledge as many apples as possible, toss to other Eves as many as possible, and then, instead of hiding, like Mother Eve, our disobedient heads, go out and throw light into the shadowy world by full and free discussion in words and books of all we have learned by eating the forbidden fruit.

Throwing light is a praiseworthy occupation, provided always that one is so permeated with the pure element that the shadow may not creep into one's own soul. Just what Mr. Lathrop means by throwing light into the shadow is not clear, but the *shadow* is dense in this passage quoted from Mrs. Stoddard as an example of the ability of one woman novelist to lighten the world's shadow: "I do not see what a profound love has to do with principle or reason. If love was not a separate power, impregnable to conscience, human nature would be a feebly-sustained thing"—a sentiment which shames all womanhood, though expressed, as Mr Lathrop says, by a

"moral, obedient, and kindly woman." It seems to us fit companion for the brute described in another passage, justly quoted as proof of Mrs. Stoddard's "audacity."

To many of us such sentiments and characters appear to cast a shadow rather than to throw light, and we are loath to believe with Mr. Lathrop that they shock the public any less now than when published twenty-five years ago. In this way has begun that emancipation from "the narrow bounds of mere conventional identity" which he regards as a healthful change. May it not be, rather, an evidence of some insidious disease in the growth of woman's life and work?

Mr. Lathrop confesses that "many aberrations and extravagances of the feminine mind will occur in the course of the new development which it is taking," but consoles himself with the reflection that when women "write vicious books they really lower only themselves, and not their sex collectively." He might as well say that a pure and beautiful life elevates only itself, and has no influence on its sex collectively. One cannot help being, in some sense, his "brother's keeper": each life touches some other life for good or evil; and a vicious book has multiplied power in reaching where the author's spoken words could not.

But our champion goes further, saying that in this emancipation of women's minds there is a possibility that in the future "we shall have some female Shakespeare who will defy decency as much as the greatest of English men poets defied it": still, says he, "we should have to face it." God forbid such emancipation! It is well that Mr. Lathrop so candidly forewarns us of the end to which such freedom leads. To rise, as he pictures, "out of this little individuality into the larger one of a free observant, independent mind," is, indeed, desirable; but if it be true that woman can thus rise only by making stepping-stones of her delicacy and modesty, it will be at too fearful a cost to herself and to the world.

Yet we are told that the world is eager for more freedom of expression among thinking women; that its morbid taste is gratified by Marie Bashkirtseff's diary, albeit a "somewhat abnormal affair," but acceptable and approved simply because it "throws light." The world is eager for many things not entirely wholesome. It may be our duty to hold that eagerness in check rather than pander to such "abnormal appetites" by encouraging young women to know and talk and write what can in nowise benefit them or the public.

When Mr. Lathrop tells us that women are to "lessen bestiality and crime" by learning, talking, and writing about them, he forgets that their influence for purity is owing in large measure to their ignorance of the impure. The very presence of an innocent girl holds crime in check, and arouses worthier ambitions than arguments or reproaches from a woman learned in the code of criminal life. Profanity is silent before her, crime abashed, and many a husband or father or brother is stirred to nobler impulses by the daily life of one such trusting and, if you please, ignorant woman.

Has not woman quite room enough to expand without overstepping the bounds of her womanly identity? All fields of literature welcome her; all nature invites her study; in her home there is open a page in the science of life wherein her womanly heart may find work and wisdom. She complains of no censorship, desires no wider range of knowledge or freedom of expression than that which satisfied her noble sister, Mrs. Browning, whose intellect, says Mr. Lathrop, was "strong and direct beyond that of the average of her sex," but to whom he could never apply the term "audacity," as he has applied it to Mrs. Stoddard, with the half-apologetic remark that "there are times when such audacity is needed."

After all," says he, "one must go deeper than the word and the letter, and build upon the spirit of the young woman, in order to make her safe from contamination." There we may agree with him, though as to the method of building we turn for instruction to an old-fashioned book, to the words of such an one as "Paul the aged": "Whatsoever things are pure; whatsoever things are lovely; whatsoever things are of good report—if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things."

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August, 1890.

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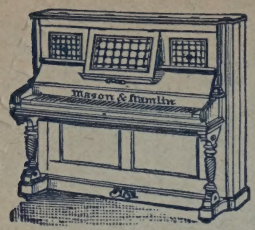

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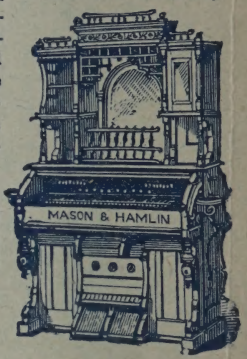

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AUGUST, 1890.

OUR ARMY AND MILITIA.

BY GENERAL WILLIAM T. SHERMAN.

FIFTY years ago, when I was a cadet at West Point, a bright young lad came from his fond parents, as fresh and innocent as a lamb, duly appointed to dedicate his life to the glorious cause of his country, and to receive the necessary instruction at that national school. He passed through the usual ordeal of admission, and at a suitable moment applied to the commandant of the new cadets with the question, "What must I do to excel in my profession?" He received the blunt answer, "Obey orders." The sequel was that he graduated in the following January, went back to his home, studied law, rose in his profession, and became a judge in one of the United States courts in a western territory.

There is no doubt that to "obey orders" is a large factor in the problem of military life, because subordination to lawful authority is the bond which holds together the parts which compose all armies, and makes them powerful instruments for good deeds; but something more is required. There must be some to give orders; and it is for these that instruction is chiefly needed.

In every profession is found an epitome of the knowledge requisite for success. Every religious denomination furnishes a "*vade mecum*" which teaches the believer what he must do to be saved; but the military profession offers only the articles of war, which amount to "You'll be damned if you do, and you'll be

damned if you don't"—nothing to answer my friend's inquiry what he should do to *excel* in his profession. The task is a difficult one; yet it must be undertaken, and military men should undertake it, because it is their exclusive business.

There can be no question that recorded history illustrates the science of war better than any abstract treatise, because what men have done in the past they may do again, and every army contemplates the use of physical force to achieve some result at the least cost of life and treasure and with the largest promise of success; but the study of recorded history is too long, too complicated and massive, to be undertaken by the common officer or soldier; therefore condensation is necessary, if not imperative.

Say what we may of the immortal part, man is at best an intellectual and combative animal, and the history of the world is chiefly made up of wars—conflicts of self-interest or opinion. The Bible on which is founded modern religion—"Peace on earth and good-will to men"—records the deeds of military heroes, of bloody battles and fearful slaughter; and subsequent histories are full of war, its deeds and alarms. Yet philosophy and experience teach that each century has brought about an amelioration. Statesmen, lawyers, and doctors of all degrees find germs of the modern professions in the examples of Greece and Rome; while many good soldiers believe that brave men and skilful generals "lived before Agamemnon," and find in the Greek phalanx and Roman legion the counterparts of the modern battalion and *corps d'armée*.

My own reading and experience, however, convince me that modern governments and modern armies have their origin in the so-called dark or middle ages, between the downfall of the Roman Empire and the discovery of America—a period of a thousand years of fermentation, resulting in great good to the mass of mankind. Students of the military profession may therefore safely begin with the chronicles of the middle ages, "England, France, Spain, and Adjoining Countries," 1320–1461, by Sir John Froissart—a book of world-wide renown, which is filled with graphic accounts of the deeds of the knights-errant, and from which Walter Scott has drawn largely in his "Ivanhoe" and "Quentin Durward." Froissart's "Chronicles" are more valuable to the military student by reason of the faithful description of the habits, customs, and thoughts of that period than for the record of indi-

vidual feats of arms; and from them can be traced many of the usages and customs which now prevail in all armies.

Gunpowder was known to the Chinese as early as the year 80 of the Christian era, and the knowledge of its destructive powers passed to India, Persia, and Africa, whence the Moors carried it into Spain and used it in sieges as early as 1238, though the world generally gives to Berthold Schwartz, of Germany, the credit of its discovery about 1330.

The battle of Crécy, August, 1346, between the English and French, marks the first recorded use of gunpowder in a field battle; it enabled a few thousand English to rout and destroy four-fold their own number of valiant knights, and absolutely revolutionized the whole art of war as then practised. Among the first instruments used were cannon, smooth-bores and breech-loaders, soon followed by the arquebus and rampart gun with a tripod, or "rest," fired from the shoulder, with a pad to distribute the shock. The bullets, or projectiles, were of stone, iron, lead, or some other metal; samples of which are common in the arsenals of Europe and America.

At all events, in that century the knight in steel armor, with bow, lance, and spear, gave place to the musketeer, and the barons with their retainers made way for the regular captains, lieutenants, sergeants, corporals, and privates, all bound by oath to serve their sovereign for specific periods, and with regular pay and allowances.

In that epoch of transition there lived in Europe great men, great statesmen, great scholars, great soldiers. I need recall no name other than that of Shakespeare, who lived in England from 1564 to 1616, whose knowledge of the human heart and brain, and whose comprehension of the motives which impel human action, have never been equalled in these modern times, with all their inventions and all their professions of superior knowledge. Shakespeare referred to gunpowder in his "Henry IV.," wherein he makes *Harry Percy* say (Part I., Act I., Scene 3):

> "It was great pity, so it was,
> That villanous saltpetre should be digg'd
> Out of the bowels of the harmless earth,
> Which many a good tall fellow had destroy'd
> So cowardly; and but for these vile guns,
> He would himself have been a soldier."

If any of the present generation flatter themselves that they are better and wiser than their ancestors, let them read Shakespeare;

also the second chapter of Dr. Draper's "Intellectual Development of Europe," Volume II., wherein it is demonstrated that learned Moors brought algebra and the mathematical sciences into Spain centuries before Columbus was born, had measured on the shores of the Red Sea the exact length of a degree of the earth's meridian and the obliquity of the ecliptic, and knew enough of astronomy to prove the rotundity of the earth. While the professors of England, France, Italy, and Germany were teaching that the earth's surface was flat, the Spanish Moors were teaching geography in their common schools from globes. Nevertheless, the modern world was not yet ready for the refined, superior civilization of the Asiatics.

In the fifteenth century occurred three great events—the application of gunpowder to the uses of war; the invention of printing; and the practical discovery of America. Gunpowder gave rise to the modern science of war; printing to the universal dissemination of knowledge; and America gave room for the then overcrowded, discontented, and adventurous population of Europe. Out of that chaotic period the present states of Europe crystallized, resulting in clearly-defined boundaries of territory, the population of each state similar in language, manners, and customs, and each governed by a sovereign, a parliament, and a judiciary.

The reign of Louis XIV. of France, "*le grand monarque*," 1638—1715, was rich in brilliant men and great events. Two famous soldiers, the Prince of Condé and Turenne, graced this period. The former has left us some wise advice, which may well be pondered by every young officer and soldier:

"There are some things which a young man is absolutely obliged to know when first he goes to the wars, and some others which he may be ignorant of without any reflection upon his honor. He must know he is bound to respect all his superiors, to be civil to his equals, to be courteous to all officers, and to have charity for all those under his command. But this charity must not extend so far as to slacken in obliging them to perform their duty to the full, for he can never be too severe on that point. The knowledge of these matters will prevent his falling into many errors. He cannot fail in point of respect to his superiors without being reprimanded, and perhaps punished, because all generals take care that every man have his due, not according to his own birth, but to his post. Therefore a young gentleman must not think that because he is of great quality he can pay the less respect to a soldier of fortune; he will never be in the wrong in giving him all manner of honor, and should he fail in that particular, he will be compelled to it. In the next place, if he is civil to his equals, all men will value him, for civility wins the heart, whereas everybody hates pride. Thirdly, if he is courtly to all the officers, they will all speak well of him, and he may hope to advance his fortune that way, as well

as by his brave actions; reputation in war being as necessary as any other thing. Lastly, if he has charity for all under his command, he must certainly be beloved, which will be no small advantage to him, for soldiers never forsake an officer they love upon action; and he gains much honor by their sticking close to him; whereas those who are hated by their men are often abandoned by them, and thus shamefully disgraced, soldiers sometimes preferring their revenge before their honor."

"As for the lieutenant, he ought to know full as much as a captain, his duty being almost the same. He is often detached to command a party in chief, or a guard that might be a captain's, and, having nobody there to advise with, he must have experience; for, wanting it, the consequences may be fatal. I have seen lieutenants committed to the provost for having behaved themselves like mere novices in the fight. Therefore I would never advise a young man to be a lieutenant at first, because, being a lieutenant, there will not be so much connivance towards him as if he was a cornet. Besides, all the troops depend on him and the quartermaster; so that if the troopers once discover his weakness, which certainly they will, they will neither value nor respect him; and it were better for him to be no officer than to be so contemned. Besides, his ill name will soon spread throughout the whole army, the common discourse of troopers being about their officers, whom they extol to the very skies if they value them, and run them down as fast if they undervalue them. In short, if a man would have an account of any officer, he need only set his troopers' tongues a-running upon that subject, and they will tell him all the good or harm they know with unspeakable ingenuity."

Every word of this is as true to-day as when it was written two hundred years ago. At that date the battalion was composed of an even number of companies, and these were grouped into brigades, divisions, and armies.

The unit, or common soldier, was without armor, clothed for protection against the weather, and armed with the match-lock, a muzzle-loader, with ball or buckshot, and fired by a match brought to the pan of powder by his own hand or by a simple trigger, such as was used by the Chinese up to a recent period. Any soldier of to-day, regular or volunteer, will recognize the following picture. The manual for loading and firing the musket in 1707 was:

"Join your right hands to your muskets: Handle your matches: Blow your matches: Try your matches: Guard your pans: Blow your matches: Present: Give fire: Recover your arms: Return your matches: Blow your pans: Handle your primers: Prime: Shut your pans: Blow your pans: Cast about to charge: Handle your charges: Open them with your teeth: Charge with powder: Charge with bullet: The wads from your hats: Draw forth your rammers: Hold them up: Shorten them against your breast: Put them in the barrels: Ram down your charge: Withdraw your rammers: Hold them up: Shorten them against your breasts: Return your rammers: Your right hand under the pan: Poise your muskets: Shoulder your muskets: Rest your muskets: Order your muskets: Lay down your muskets: Take up your muskets: Rest your muskets: Club your muskets: Rest your muskets: Shoulder your muskets: Make ready: Present: Give fire."

In 1779 was published in America the volume of Baron Steuben's tactics, which contains the manual of arms for our

Revolutionary army. The musket was then a flint-lock muzzle-loader, with single ball or ball and buckshot, effective at about one hundred yards, with a recoil as dangerous to the soldier as to the object aimed at. For firing and loading the commands were, the musket being loaded and at a shoulder: "Poise fire-lock: Cock fire-lock: Take aim: Fire." "Half cock fire-lock: Handle cartridge: Prime: Shut pan: Charge with cartridge: Draw rammer: Ram down cartridge: Return rammer: Shoulder fire-lock."

Up to 1840 we had the same old flint-lock, smooth-bore musket with paper cartridges, and loaded by twelve commands: "Load: Open pan: Handle cartridge: Tear cartridge: Prime: Shut pan: Cast about: Charge cartridge: Draw ramrod: Ram cartridge: Return ramrod: Shoulder arms."

About 1845 the percussion cap, previously used by sportsmen, was adapted to the smooth-bore muzzle-loader, and it was loaded in "*ten* times" or motions; gradually reduced to four motions, and finally to one: "Load at will."

Now, in 1890, every recruit knows that he can load his rifle and fire it from five to twenty times a minute, thereby exhausting his supply of sixty rounds in a few minutes, whereas as late as our Civil War forty rounds in the cartridge-box and twenty in the haversack were a full allowance for a day's fighting. To supply an army engaged in battle will henceforth tax the supply train, for it is well known that recruits measure a battle by its noise, whereas the veteran measures it by the effect; hence the increased value of experience. There are hundreds of most valuable patents for modern rifles; and in this connection I will only venture the statement that the invention of the metallic cartridge was the parent of all, and that the mechanism of the breech is of less importance than the accurate preparation of the barrel.

Meantime, corresponding changes have occurred in cannon from the original bars of iron held in place by rings, to the mortar, howitzer, field and siege guns, sea-coast and naval guns, all of them rifled and some of them so heavy that steam or hydraulic power is required to load and fire them. Armor plates of steel twenty inches thick are used to protect the vital parts of ships, and even the gunners. It seems to me that, no matter how powerful naval guns may be fabricated, our land guns, resting on the solid earth, can be built stronger, while steam and hydraulic

power may raise the gun, fire with precision, and lower away behind the invulnerable earth; so that the old ratio is not changed, that five guns on land are equal to a hundred afloat.

Anything which attempts to limit danger to person in war is a mistake. In my judgment, the engine of a man-of-war should be protected as far as possible by armor, but the fighting-decks and bulwarks should be thin, so as to encourage the shot to go through as quickly as possible. The same of our sea-coast forts. A few twelve-inch rifles at the salients bearing on sea channels, with steel casemates, an abundance of cheaper ten- or fifteen-inch barbette or embrasure guns, with spherical cast-iron shot well handled, supplemented by entanglements and torpedoes, will make our chief seaports comparatively safe against any modern fleet.

The progress made in naval and seacoast guns in the last twenty-five years has been very great, and the establishments for their manufacture have kept pace with the demand. These guns and this ammunition are very costly and will add largely to the expenditures of the next war. They also demand much time in their fabrication, and therefore a supply should be obtained and stored where needed. In like manner, field guns should be provided in advance and stored in the usual arsenals. A new army requires as many as six guns to a thousand men, but after experience these may be reduced to three or even one, as was the case in my long march from Atlanta to Raleigh in 1864–'65.

The cavalry of the world have probably passed through more transitions than the infantry and artillery. They are the immediate successors to the knights templars. They have discarded the casque, cuirass, and coat of mail, rendered useless by the modern pistol and carbine, and they dress like other soldiers, only clinging to their horses and sabres. They take their place in line of battle usually on the flanks, often detached as "the eyes of the army." They can make a circuit of forty or fifty miles a day, while the infantry and artillery plod their fifteen or twenty; but in a march of a thousand miles, as is recorded of Alexander the Great, the infantry arrive first. A man is a more perfect animal than a horse. He can live on two pounds of food a day, whereas the horse and rider must have twenty; therefore in all times, ancient and modern, the infantry have composed—and they will continue to compose—the great mass of all armies. The chief use of the cavalry in a modern army is to supply information;

to watch flank movements; to fight on foot, and, when the enemy is in retreat, to pursue and gather the fruits of victory.

Having thus rapidly sketched the three "arms" into which all modern armies are resolved, I now desire to give my readers the benefit of some personal thoughts and experiences in partial answer to the question, "What must an army officer do to excel in his profession?"

We all know what he must *not* do; and the real question is what he should do.

The army of the United States is older than the present government, some of the companies antedating the Revolutionary War. It has always been officered by men of marked ability, whose examples are the precious inheritance of their successors. They have been the advance-guard in the settlement and civilization of this continent. Therefore I say to the young officer, Attend with scrupulous fidelity to the duties of the garrison or post to which you are assigned, with the assurance that these duties are based on the experience of your predecessors, as good men as yourselves, and no better. The government provides the officer and soldier with reasonable liberality, so that they must not embark in trade, business, or speculation; for a man cannot be a good soldier if his thoughts and interests are elsewhere. The condition of the junior officers and enlisted men of our army has been largely improved. They are better paid, better clad, have better food and infinitely better quarters, than fifty years ago.

Railroads have obliterated the old frontiers with their long and dangerous routes of supply, and the telegraph has superseded the long courier lines which cost the government many fine horses and mules, and many a brave fellow his life.

As to the subaltern, I repeat that he must devote his whole time to his daily duties and to his studies, which will the better prepare him for the accidents of war that always come suddenly and unexpectedly, especially in this country; and, above all, he must never harbor a thought of doubt as to the allegiance due to his government and the officers appointed to administer it. With its politics he has nothing to do whatever.

There is no doubt that this world has been undergoing a series of changes, physical and intellectual, according to some law not yet discovered, and that it is sometimes disturbed by aberrations such as happen to light, electricity, and the motions of the planets;

yet generally the world moves in a direction of "betterment." Nations, like individuals, have had their birth, youth, manhood, old age, and death ; to be succeeded by others with larger proportions, generally with better opportunities to indulge in liberty of thought and action, the enjoyment of their inheritance, and the fruits of their own labor.

To this class of men the discovery of America gave great stimulus, and the facility of spreading news by means of the art of printing made the exodus from Europe universal, resulting in many colonies of every type and kind of people more or less independent of the states from which they had come and of each other ; yet all obeying the general law that like races come together for mutual protection and social advantage.

Every army officer is now required to know the history of his own country and of its institutions, of the colonies, of the War of Independence, the subsequent war with Great Britain, the Mexican War and the Civil War, all of which were conflicts of arms made necessary by social and political causes, all resulting in a step forward ; and he further knows that *his country* extends 3,000 miles from the Atlantic to the Pacific, 1,000 miles from the lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, wholly within the best latitudes for civilization—latitudes producing the types of men of the largest physical and mental strength, possessing the largest measure of liberty ever enjoyed by any people on earth, and therefore most liable to civil convulsions. We have no personal sovereign : our sovereignty remains with the people, whose will may be theoretically ascertained by fair means under a written constitution, symbolized by a common flag known the world over as the "Stars and Stripes," with the motto "*E Pluribus Unum*"—one nation composed of forty-four States, each with exact boundaries, and with powers as clearly defined as can be done by words.

Under this system, though wrong may be done to individuals and even to communities for a time, tyranny and oppression are impossible. With us, as with all other governments, monarchical or imperial, the actual administration is subdivided into legislative, judicial, and executive. These may at times create a conflict with each other, but there is less liability of it with us than under any other form of government. Yet as every court must have its marshal or sheriff, so must every State and the general government have an armed force to compel obedience to its de-

crees. On this branch of the subject there can be no better authority than the Constitution itself, the judgments of the Supreme Court, and the precepts of Washington.

Army officers cannot be expected to follow all the decisions of the Supreme Court, but they may easily master the two volumes of Bancroft's "History of the Formation of the Constitution of the United States," published in January, 1882, which describe with great precision the confusion that prevailed in the old Continental Congress during the Revolutionary War, the utter failure of the confederation of the thirteen colonies, with all their impracticable prejudices and diverse interests, and the final adoption of our present Constitution, of which Mr. Gladstone has written: "As the British Constitution is the most subtile organism which has proceeded from progressive history, so the American Constitution is the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man."

By our Constitution the power to declare war, create an army or navy, make rules for the government of the land and naval forces, call forth the militia, etc., is committed to the national Congress, and when these forces are called into the service of the United States, the President becomes the commander-in-chief thereof. Of course he cannot be expected to command in person a navy on the high seas or an army in the field: these duties must be committed to subordinates, and it is to these subordinates that I address this paper.

During our Civil War many a young lieutenant became a colonel, brigadier, major-general, corps or army commander, in one, two, and three years, without a book save the "Army Regulations"; and hundreds, if not thousands, commanded detachments, with power over life and death, with little knowledge of the great laws of war. Of the valuable treatises on this subject I always prefer that of "The Rights of War and Peace," by Hugo Grotius (born in Holland), translated into English and published in London, 1738—a book which ought to be found in every good library. Every army officer should make Grotius his text-book, just as every lawyer makes Coke and Blackstone his.

In time of war the armies of the United States are rightfully and lawfully invested with extraordinary powers, always subject to the national government, and in time of peace, being composed of citizens, they are further subject and subordinate to the civil

code of the locality; but when the storm comes, when Congress, the Supreme Court, and the President are defied, insulted, and maligned, as occurred in 1861, then comes in that new, but long-existent, code of war; and it is to the interest of every citizen of the United States that the army officers should be not only honest and patriotic, but intelligent and learned enough to understand the nature of the power thus imposed on them. No officer of the United States army has ever questioned or ever will question the fundamental principles of our Constitution; but when the Congress has declared war, has provided the ways and means, and the President, as constitutional commander-in-chief, has indicated the measures, then the soldier goes in with confidence to restore *peace*. Of these measures the commanding officer on the spot must often be the sole judge. The law then becomes the law of war, and not of peace.

In England and America there exists a jealousy of the military power totally unwarranted by the facts of history. In the past century of most exciting events in our country, the military has never attempted usurpation. It achieved our independence in 1781; it asserted and maintained all our rights as an independent power on land and on the high seas in 1812; promptly crushed nullification in 1831–'32; extended our territorial limits to the Pacific in 1846–'48; and in 1861–'65 settled *forever* the dangerous doctrine that a State could secede from the Union at its own will without the consent of the aggregate whole—the nation. The military code is as much the law of the land as the law merchant, and is now so recognized by the Supreme Court of the United States. Courts-martial are statutory courts of record, as much as are the district courts of the United States; the only question being, "Does lawful war or peace prevail at the place and time of the cause of action?"

In the case of Pryor N. Coleman *vs.* the State of Tennessee, in the October (1878) term of the Supreme Court of the United States, Mr. Justice Field delivered the opinion of the court.

"This case comes before us from the Supreme Court of Tennessee. The plaintiff in error, the defendant in the court below, was indicted in the criminal court for the district of Knox County in that State on the 2d of October, 1874, for the murder of Mourning Ann Bell, alleged to have been committed in that county on the 7th of March, 1865. To this indictment he pleaded not guilty, and a former conviction for the same offence by a general court-martial regularly convened at Knoxville, Tennessee, on the 27th of March, 1865; the United States at that time, and when the offence was

committed, occupying with their armies east Tennessee as a military district, and the defendant being a regular soldier in their military service, subject to the articles of war, military orders, and such military laws as were then in force by their authority. The plea states that before the said court-martial thus convened at Knoxville, then the headquarters of the military district, the defendant was arraigned upon a charge of murder in having killed the same person named in the indictment, and that he was afterwards, on the 9th of May, 1865, tried and convicted of the offence by that tribunal and sentenced to death by hanging, and that the said sentence is still standing as the judgment of the court-martial, approved as required by law in such cases without other or further action thereon. In consideration of the premises, and by reason of the said trial and conviction, and of the jeopardy involved in said proceedings, the defendant prays that the indictment may be quashed. . . .

"During the Civil War, Congress enacted that in time of war, in districts occupied by the armies of the United States, the fifty-eighth article of war should be extended to the crimes of murder, assault and battery with intent to kill, manslaughter, mayhem, wounding by shooting or stabbing with intent to commit murder, robbery, arson, burglary, rape," etc., etc.

Judge Field in this case proceeds :

"Previous to its [fifty-eighth article of war] enactment the offences designated were punishable by the State courts, and persons in the military service who committed them were delivered over to these courts for trial. . . . We do not mean to intimate that it was not within the competency of Congress to confer exclusive jurisdiction upon military courts over offences committed by persons in the military service."

The final decree was

"that the judgment of the Supreme Court of Tennessee must be reversed, and the cause remanded with directions to discharge the defendant from custody by the sheriff of Knox County on the indictment and conviction for murder in the State court. But as the defendant was guilty of murder, as clearly appears not only by the evidence in the record in this case, but in the record of the proceedings of the court-martial,—a murder committed, too, under circumstances of great atrocity,—and he was convicted of that crime by that court and sentenced to death, and it appears by his plea that said judgment was duly approved, and still remains without any action having been taken upon it, he may be delivered up to the military authorities of the United States to be dealt with as required by law."

And the prisoner was delivered into the custody of the military authorities, his sentence was modified by the President to imprisonment for life, and he is, I believe, so imprisoned at the Albany Penitentiary, New York.

Recurring to General George Washington, the fountain-source of so much that is distinctively American, I find that under date of September 24, 1776, he wrote from the Heights of Harlem :

" From the hours devoted to sleep I will borrow a few moments to convey my thoughts on sundry important matters to Congress. . . .

" The jealousy of a standing army and the evils to be apprehended from one are remote and, in my judgment, situated and circumstanced as we are, not at all to be dreaded ; but the consequence of wanting one, according to my ideas formed from the present view of things, is certain and inevitable ruin. For if I was called upon to declare upon oath whether the militia have been most serviceable or hurtful

upon the whole, I should subscribe to the latter. . . . But experience, which is the best criterion to work by, so fully, clearly, and decisively reprobates the practice of trusting to militia that no man who regards order, regularity, and economy, or who has any regard for his own honor, character, or peace of mind, will risk them upon this issue."

And again from Valley Forge, April 21, 1778, he wrote to John Banister, delegate in Congress:

"Before I conclude, there are one or two points more upon which I will add an observation or two. The first is the indecision of Congress and the delay used in coming to determinations on matters referred to them. This is productive of a variety of inconveniences; and an early decision, in many cases, though it should be against the measure submitted, would be attended with less pernicious effects. Some new plan might then be tried; but, while the matter is held in suspense, nothing can be attempted. The other point is the *jealousy* which Congress unhappily entertain of the army, and which, if reports are right, some members labor to establish. You may be assured there is nothing more injurious or more unfounded. . . .

"The distinction, the jealousies set up, or perhaps only incautiously let out, can answer not a single good purpose. They are impolitic in the extreme. Among individuals the most certain way to make a man your enemy is to tell him that you esteem him such. So with public bodies; and the very jealousy which the narrow politics of some may affect to entertain of the army, in order to a due subordination to the supreme civil authority, is a likely means to produce a contrary effect; to incline it to the pursuit of those measures which they may wish it to avoid. It is unjust, because no order of men in the thirteen States has paid a more sacred regard to the proceedings of Congress than the army; for without arrogance, or the smallest deviation from truth, it may be said that no history now extant can furnish an instance of an army's suffering such uncommon hardships as ours has done, and bearing them with the same patience and fortitude. . . .

"There may have been some remonstrances or applications to Congress, in the style of complaint from the army (and slaves indeed should we be if this privilege were denied) on account of their proceedings in certain instances; but these will not authorize nor even excuse a jealousy that they are therefore aiming at unreasonable powers, or making strides dangerous or subversive of civil authority. Things should not be viewed in that light, more especially as Congress in some cases have relieved the injuries complained of, which had flowed from their own acts.

"In respect to the volunteer plan, I scarce know what opinion to give at this time. The propriety of a requisition on this head will depend altogether on our operations. Such kind of troops should not be called for but upon the spur of the occasion, and at the moment of executing an enterprise. They will not endure a long service; and of all men in the military line they are the most impatient of restraint and necessary government."

Washington loved order and system, and consequently held the militia and even volunteers in low esteem; but he always favored a *well-regulated* militia, like our modern State guard, as auxiliary to the national or regular army. In his speech to Congress, November 19, 1794, he uses this language:

"It ought not to be forgotten that the militia laws have exhibited such striking defects as could not have been supplied but by the zeal of our citizens. The devising and establishing of a well-regulated militia would be a genuine source of legislative honor and a perfect title to public gratitude. I therefore entertain a hope that the present session will not pass without carrying to its full energy the power of organ-

izing armies and disciplining the militia, and thus providing, in the language of the Constitution, for calling them forth to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions."

Again, December 7, 1796, in the last address he made personally to Congress, he said :

"My solicitude to see the militia of the United States placed on an efficient establishment has been so often and so ardently expressed that I shall but barely recall the subject to your view on the present occasion, at the same time that I shall submit to your inquiry whether our harbors are yet sufficiently secured."

And, finally, in that same speech he laid the foundation for the Military Academy at West Point. In response to his advice, Congress has generally been liberal to the Military Academy, but for some reason the "well-regulated militia" has been sadly neglected. These now number 8,104,028 men, of whom not one in the hundred is armed, equipped, and organized, or even professes the least knowledge of the art of war. Of course Congress can do no wrong ; but surely, a whole century having passed since the Father of Our Country gave such admirable advice, there has been neglect somewhere.

Let me here quote from the Revised Statutes of the United States the present law of the land :

"Section 1625. Every able-bodied male citizen of the respective States, resident therein, who is of the age of eighteen years, and under the age of forty-five years, shall be enrolled in the militia."

"Section 1628. Every citizen shall, after notice of his enrolment, be constantly provided with a good musket or fire-lock, of a bore sufficient for balls of the eighteenth part of a pound, a sufficient bayonet and belt, two spare flints, and a knapsack, a pouch, with a box therein, to contain not less than twenty-four cartridges suited to the bore of his musket or fire-lock, each cartridge to contain a proper quantity of powder and ball, or with a good rifle, knapsack, shot-pouch, and powder-horn, twenty balls suited to the bore of his rifle, and a quarter of a pound of powder, and shall appear so armed, accoutred, and provided when called out to exercise or into service. . . . Each commissioned officer shall be armed with a sword or hanger and spontoon."

"Section 1632. . . . The officers [of cavalry] should be armed with sword or hanger, a fusee, bayonet, and belt, with a cartridge-box to contain twelve cartridges. . . . Each dragoon shall furnish himself with a serviceable horse, at least fourteen and a half hands high, a good saddle, bridle, mail-pillion, and valise, holsters, and a breast-plate and crupper," etc.

I do not believe there are a dozen officers in the New York militia who know what a spontoon or mail-pillion is, and any captain of the 7th Regiment would swear worse than *Falstaff* if he were compelled to march his company down Broadway armed and equipped as the law provides. Yet all officers are supposed to obey the law and respect the law-makers.

This antiquated and most ridiculous statute should be revised *in toto*, and the "law of the land" brought down to the present epoch. The regular army should be made, in organization, discipline, and equipment, the best possible; and the State guards should have identically the same organization, drill, uniform, and equipment, so as to constitute the reserve to the regular army, subject, of course, to State authority, but ready, as far as can be, if called into the service of the United States.

And inasmuch as the Constitution requires Congress to provide for calling forth the militia to "execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions," and to "provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia," it is only just to the States and the young men who will compose this "well-regulated militia" that the cost of "organizing, arming, and disciplining" should be borne by the nation.

Of course it is simply impracticable for the general government to arm and equip the eight millions of "enrolled militia," but out of them can easily be organized, say, one man in each hundred of those at present subject to militia duty, to be distributed *pro rata* among the forty-four States. To these the national government should supply arms, equipment, tents, uniforms, and the same pay as regulars when called into active service, all moneys and properties to be receipted for and accounted for to the officers of the treasury; and these "*select militia*" should be subject to inspection by the officers of the Inspector-General's department of the national army.

The States will, as many do already, supplement the provisions of law by exempting the men from jury duty and militia tax; by providing them with armories, heated and lighted, transportation and pay while in camps of instruction, and other like advantages to encourage the young men, who have a natural fondness for military life, to embark in it. Such State troops will prove of infinite advantage to the States themselves, and in case of sudden necessity may be of infinite advantage to the national government.

In a report on army organization made by the Military Committee of the House of Representatives, February 26, 1869, is embodied the testimony of nearly every prominent officer who had served throughout the Civil War. It is entitled "Report No. 3, H. R., Fortieth Congress, Third Session." But more satisfactory to me are the two articles published in THE NORTH AMERI-

CAN REVIEW by General Garfield, before he became President, in the March–April number and that of May–June, 1878. Every army officer should possess these papers and study them closely.

I believe in the general principles of Senator Manderson's bill, which recognizes the three-battalion system as peculiarly suited to our country. All regiments, whether of infantry, artillery, or cavalry, should have three battalions of four companies in time of peace. If economy demands it, the third battalion may be reduced to a mere skeleton and utilized at a recruiting rendezvous, or as a guard to a fort or depot, and to the muster-rolls of the companies of this battalion might be transferred the names of officers absent from their professional duties at civil colleges, on signal and recruiting stations, and on the many demands for detached service. No military company liable to be called on at a minute's notice should have less than two commissioned officers, ten non-commissioned officers, and sixty privates. Allowing twenty-five enlisted men for the companies of the third, or reserve, battalion, there would be 29,600 enlisted men in all, or about the strength of one of our *corps d'armée* in the late war.

I prefer not to trespass further on the domain of Congress, as I know there are many members with ample experience who are likely to be on the military committees, who can reduce to the form of a bill the ideas I have endeavored, in the most general terms, to point out; and for these I would again emphasize the words of General Washington (already quoted) in his speech to Congress of November 19, 1794. How Congress has thus far responded to this noble appeal and aspiration can be inferred from Sections 1625, 1628, and 1632 of the present Revised Statutes of the United States, to which every officer and soldier are compelled to swear obedience. I, for one, will honor the member of Congress who will make even an effort to repeal these laws and substitute in their place others more in accordance with the spirit of the age.

This world is far from being finished. Many things have occurred in the past century which Washington did not foresee. During the next century many things will occur which President Harrison cannot foresee. But from the beginning good men have always sought "life, liberty, and happiness." For this purpose governments are established among men, and any government which fails to secure these must "perish from the earth." Now is

the time for the United States to so organize the machinery of government as to make these vital principles an actuality instead of a theory, and as our Constitution declares that a well-regulated militia is necessary to the security of a free state, I say, with the sailor, "Make it so." This work will give ample employment to the young aspirants of the next generation.

In this article I have purposely abstained from treating of general and staff officers. In my judgment, a good, well-managed garrison on the frontier, or anywhere, is the best possible school for generals, and even staff officers; and I shall regard it as a fatal mistake if the cavalry and artillery shall be withdrawn from the school of application at Fort Leavenworth, because the three arms of the service should be associated in daily duties, on drill, and on the march, so that when war compels them to be assembled in the same army, as must inevitably be the case, their habits will be already established. Out of these will come the natural leaders, who can select the necessary staff or assistants.

W. T. SHERMAN.

SOCIETY WOMEN BEFORE CHRIST.

BY GAIL HAMILTON.

PRINCIPAL DONALDSON, of St. Andrew's, an eminent Christian scholar, has startled the Christian world by recanting or recalling his belief that woman owes her present high position to Christianity. He finds that the first three centuries of Christianity, so far from having any favorable effect on women, tended to lower their character and contract the range of their activity.

Yet the world need not have been startled. Principal Donaldson himself is more surprised than the occasion requires. He confounds the Christianity of Christ with the Christianity of the church of the first three centuries. He admits that in the gospels no special doctrine was propounded with regard to women, while principles were uttered, influences were set astir, which mean ultimately the highest feminine development. It is subsequent churchmen who missed both principle and influence, gave a literal and misleading sense to words, and cramped the energy of woman to a narrow and degrading subjection.

If there lingers a doubt as to whether, on the whole, Christianity has improved women, we ought first to ascertain what were the character and position of the women whom Christianity found. By a rare combination of circumstances it happens that the leading women of pagandom's proudest era are as familiarly known to investigation as the leading women of Washington, of London, of Paris, in this last decade of the nineteenth century. The valley lands of many generations between are shrouded in impenetrable fog, but above the fog and beyond the intervale shines the glory of the Cæsars on their far mountain tops, and in its light we may still see the breathing forms of their beautiful women; the grace—and the grime—of their domestic life through the open doors of home.

If one were asked to name a group of representative men in

the sphere of politics, literature, government, war, for the culminating era of paganism, he could hardly fail to give the names of Sylla, Cæsar, Pompey, Cicero, Cato. The first of the imperial Cæsars, the great Julius, was born one hundred years before Christ. The world's birthday gift to him is the name of the seventh month of the year, and every man who dates a transaction in July swells the tribute of nineteen centuries to the Pontifex Maximus of pagandom. A priest of Jupiter at the age of fourteen, of an hereditary aristocracy that dared to proclaim descent not only from kings, but from the immortal gods, Julius Cæsar was endowed with every ability and eager for every accomplishment. Handsome, elegant, so fastidious in dress and manner that the luxurious drooping of his tunic fringes and the picturesque looping of his æsthetic girdle have defied the ravages of time, his rough countrymen saw but the finical exterior, and only the keen eyes of Sylla flashed warning to Rome to look sharp after the youngster with the artistic *ceinture*, for in him were met many Mariuses. Even Cicero, long afterwards, when Cæsar's ambition had so expanded and manifested itself as to menace his country, was baffled by the fine gentleman, and whimsically protested that he could not make him out. "I see in him an inclination for tyranny in all he projects and executes; but, on the other hand, when I see him arranging his hair so elaborately and scratching his head with one finger, I can hardly think he can conceive so fatal a design as the overthrow of the Republic." Orator, linguist, poet, author, and admirable in all before he was a soldier or statesman, Cæsar represents more than fairly the highest social achievement of Roman life, the highest physical refinement and mental culture of the civilization which we inherit.

Cæsar opened his eyes upon a society of which Sylla was the acknowledged head. A man of learning and letters as truly as a man of ferocious vengeance, a lover of the arts, a legislator, a statesman, a general, Sylla was as eager for books as he was for blood. When the boy Cato was wont to visit Sylla's house, he was horror-stricken at seeing there so many political victims that it seemed like a house of torture and execution. But when Sylla's son Faustus grew up and became business partner and personal friend of Rome's best lawyers, one of his pleasures was to be a near neighbor of Cicero in his luxurious country-house near Puteoli, on the Bay of Naples; and one of the attractions of

Faustus's home was the great library that he had inherited from his father. Here Cicero was free to burrow, and these treasured books he pictures himself as devouring in preference to the famous Puteoli oysters. It was a freedom which Cicero could all the better appreciate because he could gain access to the library in Sylla's day only by bribing the librarian, whereas Faustus permitted him not only to burrow, but to borrow.

Yet we must not be too severe even on Sylla. Book-lovers are not the most trustworthy folk in the world, and Cicero was a fervid book-lover. Moreover, it was a priceless library. It had originally belonged to Aristotle, who had beqeathed it to Theophrastus. That accomplished scholar had enlarged it with many contemporary works, including his own, which Cicero valued so highly that he could not invite Atticus to visit him without bidding him bring his Theophrastus with him. The heirs of Theophrastus, ignorant of its nature, but aware of its value, buried the treasure for safe keeping where it came near being ruined by damp and mildew. Discovered and rescued by the learned Apellikon, Sylla found it in Athens and brought it home, guarding it henceforth perhaps—and perhaps not—too jealously.

But what came by plunder went by poverty. Poor Faustus, plunged in debt, was obliged to put up public bills of sale, and Cicero, who could never miss his joke, remembering Sylla's long lists of Roman citizens proscribed for slaughter, came to his friend's defence against charges of extravagance and degeneracy with the pointed plea, "I like these bills much better than his father's."

Pompey, handsome, eloquent, sympathetic, brilliant, and beloved; Cato, priest, philosopher, patriot, reformer; Cicero, the man of genius with the temperament of genius, sincerest of Republicans, the dawn of a Christian conscience shedding over his pagan soul a light strong enough to give him the torment of vision, but not strong enough to minister the triumph of faith—these are great men not only of the ancient but of the modern world. It is to the wives of such men, it is in their relations with women of their own rank, that we must look for the highest character and the widest range which pagandom can furnish to woman.

At the age of sixteen Cæsar was betrothed, probably without his consent and against his liking, since immediately after the death of his father he dismissed the young lady and married Cor-

nelia, daughter of Cinna, colleague of Marius. Sylla was gravely displeased with the young man's choice. The exquisite garb, the hyacinthine locks, had not concealed from him the young dude's ambition or ability. He was already allied to Sylla's foes by the marriage of the rough-and-ready soldier-leader, Marius, to Cæsar's aunt Julia. Sylla had no mind to see the brightest and cleverest, even if the daintiest, young man of Rome throw himself completely into the arms of the enemy, and thus add to the strength of democracy the charms of aristocracy. With all Sylla's education, his art, his love of books, there was nothing in his view of the woman question to convince him that the situation was irretrievable. He simply and promptly ordered a divorce! The grief, the rights, the situation of the woman were not even considered. When the young husband refused to obey, he was treated like a criminal, unfrocked, deprived of all claim to his wife's dowry, to his own inheritance. Even his life was threatened, and he was saved only by swift flight and long concealment.

Such tribute the leader of Rome paid to the sacredness of marriage. On such heights stood woman in the most glorious era of pagandom.

The young wife died; but when Cæsar again thought of marriage, the political skies had changed. He had held firm to the Cinna marriage, and he now conciliated the Sylla faction by marrying Pompeia, the granddaughter of Sylla, and a kinswoman of Sylla's pet, Pompey the Great, then in the zenith of his popularity. It seems to have been from the beginning a marriage of politics, and not of affection. Pompeia was not beloved. And the political skies went on changing. The star of Sylla sank beneath the horizon, and the star of Cæsar mounted higher and higher. When all advantage that could spring from wedding Pompeia had been reaped, Cæsar's thoughts turned elsewhere. The plots of Sylla against Cæsar's Cornelia must seal the dead lips of Sylla against reproach, should Cæsar repudiate Pompeia. But it was not the dead that Cæsar regarded. It behooved him only to have a specious case to present to the living.

On one night in each year it was customary for the wife of the chief magistrate to celebrate in his house the worship of the Good Goddess, the especial deity of women. Even to the master his doors were closed, and he was fain to spend the night at some friend's house. When the service was to be held in Cæsar's

house, Clodius, a reckless young scapegrace of the highest family, disguised himself in woman's clothes and gained entrance to the house. The gossip of Rome had it that he was carrying on a flirtation with Pompeia, but that Cæsar's mother, Aurelia, kept so strict a watch that Clodius was never able to visit Pompeia at home, and took this method to gain his end. While the maid who admitted him went to call Pompeia, Clodius wandered up and down, trying to keep away from the lights, and thus, a little frightened, no doubt, and clumsy in his novel garb and situation, attracted the attention of another maid, who asked him what he wanted. He replied that he was waiting for Abra (Pompeia's maid). A false note in his voice aroused the suspicion of his questioner, who drew him into the middle of the room, gave one startled stare at him, and ran to her mistress in a panic, screaming that there was a man in the house! Her mistress *chanced* to be Aurelia, Cæsar's mother and Pompeia's mother-in-law. Of course it was no "still hunt." Clodius tried to hide, but was found, recognized, and turned out of the house. The assembly was scattered, and all Rome was in an uproar.

Cæsar made short work of his part in the transaction. He divorced Pompeia. It is not certain that Pompeia knew of Clodius's plan, though it is possible. It is not certain or probable that Clodius, bad as he was, meant anything more than an impious and impudent frolic. It is not impossible or altogether improbable that Cæsar, Aurelia, and Clodius were in collusion against Pompeia. It is certain that, when Cæsar was called upon to testify at the trial of Clodius, he declared that he knew nothing of what was alleged against him! It is certain that, when Clodius afterwards became a candidate for high office, Cæsar, as chief magistrate,—let us say president,—took an active and successful part in furthering his election. But he immediately divorced Pompeia. And he could offer no better reason, saturated all through and through as he was with immorality, than the cruel sophism, "Cæsar's wife should be above suspicion."

The world has taken him at his word; has forgotten outraged Pompeia, has failed to discern in this glittering and sounding generality the base pretext of a man who was hunting for pretexts to divorce his wife, has accepted it, at Cæsar's own valuation, as the lofty requirement of a lofty soul!

I trust that Cæsar's moral nature has so far righted itself in

the spiritual world as to make him rejoice that his sin has found him out in this, even at so late a day.

But it thus appears that the rank and scope and quality of womanhood could permit a woman, by birth and marriage of Rome's highest blood, to be divorced, disgraced, without recourse, without trial; while her alleged paramour was exonerated and exalted by her husband, and while that husband was betraying his own friends and peers, and covering himself with such guilt as would close against a man the door of every American home.

For while Pompey was in Asia fighting his country's battles, the foremost man of all this world, the fine gentleman, the immaculate idealist of feminine purity, found the occasion auspicious to ingratiate himself in the affections of Mucia, Pompey's wife. The great warrior came home conqueror. He had penetrated, the first Roman general, to the holy city, Jerusalem. The clash of his armor had resounded in the holy temple. His pagan feet, curious but unwitting, had desecrated the holy of holies. He returned, victorious, to a greater desecration. He came back to receive the adoring plaudits of his countrymen, and found—a darkened hearth, a wife disgraced, children worse than orphaned by his personal friend, his social peer, his fellow-officer, his family connection. So notorious was the scandal that his indignant and immediate divorce of Mucia, although she was the mother of his three children, met with general approbation.

Yet Mucia was no low-born woman raised by her beauty to the rank of Pompey. Her brothers were bishops, mayors, judges, magistrates, in close official and personal association with the man who betrayed her. One of them was an intimate friend of the most attractive man of antiquity, the most perfect antitype of the modern man, the peace-loving, literature-loving, family-loving Cicero. But Mucia's mother, alas! was of such repute that her name could not escape the raillery of the wits of Rome or hold any shield before her daughter's disgrace.

Mucia could not be less blamed, but Pompey might be more pitied, if we could forget his own behavior to women. He had reason to repudiate Mucia, but his previous divorce of Antistia was not only causeless, but cruel. She was the daughter of a judge, of a man who had been so impressed with Pompey's forensic ability that he sought Pompey's alliance by marriage with his daughter, we may suppose with the daughter's assent.

No fault seems to have been found with Antistia; but when Sylla, a still higher officer, fell in love with Pompey's military prowess, as Antistius had done with his forensic brilliancy, he also told his love in the same manner—by desiring a family alliance. Christianity would find this doubly difficult to accomplish, for not only was Pompey already married to Antistia, who was freshly mourning the death of her father, slain in the Senate because he was suspected of too great partiality for Pompey, but Sylla's only available kinswoman—if she could be called available, or a kinswoman—was his stepdaughter, Æmilia, who was married to another man, of whose child she was soon to become the mother. But none of these considerations had weight with Sylla, or apparently with Pompey. Antistia was divorced, and her mother, crazed by double sorrow,—the murder of her husband and the repudiation of her daughter,—took her own life. Æmilia was divorced and married to Pompey, and, as we must infer, crushed by grief and horror, died in giving birth to her first husband's child in her second husband's house.

The treachery of Mucia did but avenge Antistia. Yet one of the strong points of Pompey's character was his conjugal fidelity, his domestic felicity. He seems to have been as irresistible to women as he was to men. The devotion of his five young wives to their elderly husband was marked by his contemporaries and is signalized by history, while his devotion to them sometimes caused unfavorable comment, even from his admiring countrymen.

Nor do we hear that Cæsar suffered greatly in popular estimation. Society had a clear intellectual apprehension of duty, without any decided moral repulsion from vice and crime. Certainly Cæsar was not hindered in the career of his ambition. On the contrary, he seems deliberately to have planned to climb by his vices; to avail himself of the women he corrupted to conciliate the men he wronged. It was merely a mistake of calculation in the case of Pompey, who had grown too great to take kindly to the spoliation of his home. Returning with all the trophies and all the triumphs of a conqueror, he had nothing to ask of Cæsar. Cæsar, therefore, found it expedient to take the initiative and seek a reconciliation; and his one recourse was again the sacrifice of a woman. This time it was his own daughter and only child, sole offspring of his early-lost Cornelia. She was already betrothed

to Servilius Cæpio, and they were on the point of being married. None the less did Cæsar offer and Pompey accept her ravaged hand. To pacify Cæpio, Pompey's daughter was given him in exchange for Cæsar's daughter, and no one was deterred by the fact that Pompey's daughter was engaged to Faustus, the son of Sylla. Cæsar may have thought it only fair reprisals to snatch a wife from the son whose father had so desperately sought to snatch Cornelia from him.

So Faustus lost both wife and estate; and hardly had Cæsar steeped himself in the infamy of offering his daughter's broken faith to heal the wounds of his own, while Pompey had steeped himself in the equal infamy of accepting the offer, when we find Cæsar negotiating his own marriage with the daughter of Calpurnius Piso, one of Pompey's stanch adherents and lieutenants, thus through Piso, as well as Pompey, aggrandizing his own influence to the point of supremacy. There was no public opinion to protect the women or condemn the men.

Cato did, indeed, protest, and called gods and men to witness how insupportable it was that the first dignities of the state should be prostrated by marriages, and the complexion of the government determined by traffic in women! But, though Cato called a spade a spade, doubtless the Romans saw even more clearly than we that personal resentment may have lent terseness to his nomenclature. All patriot as he was, so that down even to our own time his name has reached as a synonyme for the noblest civic character, his family had not escaped the polluting touch of Julius Cæsar. The name of his sister Servilia was so unhandsomely associated with that of Cæsar that her son Brutus, "the noblest Roman of them all," was popularly reputed to be Cæsar's son. During Cæsar's first presidency of the Republic he gave her a pearl valued at nearly a quarter of a million of dollars—a pearl which is as much the public property of history as are the Gracchi jewels of an earlier time. Brazen and shameless, Julius Cæsar sat side by side with Cato in the Senate, and published his fiendish triumph over the shamed but helpless brother. In a heated debate touching the punishment of the Cataline conspirators, Cato, seeing a note brought in to Cæsar, incautiously charged him with some traitorous communication, and it was immediately moved that the billet be read in the Senate—moved, perhaps, at Cæsar's sly suggestion, that Cato might be caught in

the trap. Cato was caught in the trap. Cæsar handed him the note. Cato at the first glance recognized the handwriting of his sister, and flung it back to Cæsar with the indignant exclamation, "Take it, you sot!"

Through all the centuries one can see the sneering smile on the lip of Cæsar, the accomplished, self-possessed man of the world, at this humiliating advantage over the rough and discomfited man of simple honor. Is it any wonder that, when Cæsar had trampled under foot all his opponents, Cato chose to die in the old Roman way, by self-slaughter, rather than come under the dominion of this man, who had made public mockery of his sister's shame and his own anguish? It is reckoned magnanimity in Cæsar that, upon hearing of Cato's death, he exclaimed: "I envy him, because he has envied me the glory of pardoning him." But Cæsar's pardon would have been harder for Cato to bear than was Cato's sword.

How much even the designs of Cato's nephew, Brutus, against Julius Cæsar owed to the bitter shame that gnawed him for his mother's shame, we can never know. Cæsar certainly looked upon Brutus with an affection and treated him with a partiality which his contemporaries might well attribute to paternal ties, although posterity has taken the liberty of changing the "*Καὶ σὺ τέκνον*" (you too, my son!) of Cæsar's dying lips into the more familiar "Et tu, Brute!" But Brutus's pride and love were in his descent from the ancient Brutuses, and I think the stab he gave to Cæsar at the foot of Pompey's statue must have borrowed its vim and its venom quite as much from family honor wounded as from national liberty threatened.

Yet when we look into Cato's "interior," we find a fearful and wonderful exhibition of the attitude of the highest pagan women. His wife, Attilia, the mother of his two children, he divorced for conjugal unfaithfulness, and married Marcia. Among Cato's friends and admirers was an eloquent lawyer and eminent gentleman, Hortensius, friend and rival of Cicero, whose tempestuous enthusiasm bore him to the point of proposing that Cato should give him in marriage his daughter Portia. As Portia was already a wife and the mother of two children, Cato, more scrupulous than Sylla, replied that, with the greatest esteem for Hortensius, he could not think of such a thing as giving him another man's wife. Hortensius met this objection cleverly by asking Cato to give

him, then, his own wife! Cato, taken aback, replied that he must first consult—Marcia's father. Marcia's father, a gentleman of the highest political rank, saw no objection, and Marcia, although in the same pathetic condition as the unhappy Æmilia on a similar occasion, was married, with Cato's consent, in Cato's presence, to Hortensius. But Marcia was made of sterner stuff than Æmilia. She outlived Hortensius, remained on friendly and even helpful terms with Cato, and when Hortensius, dying, left her all his property, and Cato, going out to war, needed a chaperon for his daughters, the complaisant ex-husband remarried the complaisant rich widow, his ex-wife, and departed with the true Cato air of having discharged the whole duty of man. Is it to be wondered at that Cato's spade did not make much impression on the sewage-soaked soil of Roman society?

And when, in the next reign, the son, or perhaps it was the grandson, of Hortensius asked from Augustus some office or emolument to save him from poverty, did it occur to any one that the poor lad might have been robbed of his rightful wealth when Hortensius alienated his vast estates from his natural heirs to bestow them upon Cato's wife? Cato could speak great swelling words in eulogy of poverty; but he should have writhed in his grave beneath Cæsar's taunt of having sold his wife for Hortensius's gold.

Cicero also flashed his lightnings indirectly against these political marriage juggleries; but even my Cicero, the wise, witty, fond, foolish, pure, and pious; patriot, orator, author; the modern man—can he stand the ordeal of Christian scrutiny? Loved more than all, he is to be blamed more than all, because to him were given a finer touch and a warmer heart. Cicero liked gossip as only a man can, but he loved wife and child, and clave unto them like an American citizen. Terentia, when he wrote to her in his absences, was "Light of my eyes, my longed-for darling! from whom all used to seek help." Tullia, his daughter, was "Tulliola"—little Tullia; and, writing to his friends, he gave them the baby messages of his little Cicero, just as I would send the prattle of little Charlotte to her grandmamma, confident that nothing else in the wide world would be half as interesting. "Little Cicero sends greeting." "Young Cicero, the philosopher, sends greeting to Titus, the statesman." "Tully to Terentia, and the father to Tulliola, his two souls; and little Cicero to the best of mothers and his darling sister."

In exile and cruel sorrow he writes: "If these evils admit of no change, still I wish to see you, my life, as soon as possible, and die in your embrace." "Can I then exist without you? Be assured of this: if I have you, I shall not think myself wholly ruined." "Farewell, my Terentia, my most faithful and best of wives! and my dearest daughter, and Cicero, our only remaining hope."

What is, perhaps, even more trustworthy, he writes to his intimate friend, Atticus: "The only repose I enjoy is in the society of my wife and daughter and my honey-sweet Cicero."

The next we know he has divorced her! After living with her more than thirty years, being himself more than sixty years old, he turned and rent her, the mother of the two dear children, from his heart and from his house. And he gives no adequate reasons. He may have had them, but he has not produced them. Those which he does give are of the flimsiest. "I would not," he says, "have resolved on a divorce if I had not, on my return from abroad, found my domestic affairs in as bad a plight as the Republic itself."

The owner of ten villas, yet always in debt, always borrowing money for himself or for his brother Quintus, buying books, building fountains, fish-ponds, gymnasiums, entertaining great visitors, it is idle for Cicero to complain of poor Terentia because in his absence she had not managed things with entire economy. Terentia herself steadily maintained that Cicero had no real grounds for his action. She was a faithful and efficient wife—very unlike her sister-in-law, Pomponia, whom Quintus did not divorce without cause. Pomponia was sister of Cicero's life-long dearest friend, Atticus, but she had a temper of her own. When Cicero, as governor-general, was on his way to Cilicia, his brother naturally came up to meet him and escort him to his own house, on the route. As naturally, he telegraphed home to order dinner, which offended Pomponia as encroaching on her sphere. Unreasonable woman! If he had not warned her, but had come upon her unexpectedly with a whole house-party, she might well have been offended. When they reached her house, Quintus, in the most affable manner, begged her to invite the ladies among their neighbors, and he would invite the gentlemen.

"Oh, no," flouted my lady, "I am only a stranger here!" and refused to invite or even to join the company at table, or

touch a tidbit which her hapless husband sent her by way of peace-offering. It is not heathenism alone which would be tempted to try the heroic remedy for such humors. "You see," moaned poor Quintus to his brother, "what I have daily to endure." Marcus sympathized with Quintus, but he carried his sympathy to the doubtful point of complaining to Pomponia's brother, his friend Atticus. Pomponia, like many a fine lady of modern times under similar grievances, had "gone home to her mother," and Cicero begged Atticus to tell her that this time, at least, Quintus was not to blame. Nor can we justify him for peeping into a letter, which came through his mail, from Pilia, the young wife of Atticus, to the offending Quintus. True, he was certain it was about this conjugal quarrel—as it was—and he was intensely curious to see what view Pilia took of it. He was also confident that Atticus would not, any more than himself, think a woman's privacy had any rights which he was bound to respect; but he had a sufficient fear of woman's wrath, whatever may have been his respect for her rights, to warn Atticus not to let Pilia know that he had been tampering with her letters! Dear old gossip! "You know," he prattled to Atticus, "we both are pretty curious," and spun another yarn of Roman tittle-tattle.

Is there any pen at this moment recording for the amusement of the fortieth century—what is unknown to the nineteenth—that our Ciceronian Evartses and Shermans and Reeds and Depews are Ciceronian gossips too?

But Terentia was no Pomponia. When Cicero sent word to his villa at Tusculum to make ready bath and banquet for a party from Brundusium, history records no balking on Terentia's part. She and Pomponia did not get on very well together,—as who did get on smoothly with pampered Pomponia?—but when Cicero invites Atticus to Rome on a festive day, Terentia lets by-gones be by-gones, and hospitably adds her invitation to his sister Pomponia and to their mother. Just the same, however, Cicero divorced Terentia, who took upon herself the remarkable revenge of living to be one hundred and four years old and marrying three husbands after she had been discarded by Cicero.

Perhaps, after all, then, Cicero had his reasons, though he preserved the dignity of not giving them.

Alas! but he married again—this time a young girl of whom

he had been made guardian and who had something of a fortune. It has an ugly sound, but it could not have been quite so bad as it sounds, because, very soon, alas! he divorced her also, and when a Roman divorced his wife without "cause," the law obliged him to refund her dowry. Poor Cicero seems to have been struggling all the rest of his life to pay back the dowries of his divorced wives; and in the discipline let us trust he made expiation.

What was his aversion to his second wife, his girlish Publilia, we do not know, but we know that it was acute and insurmountable. Her family were very anxious that he should take her again, but he would not listen to it. She wrote to him that her mother and her brother were coming to Astura to see him, and prayed that he would let her accompany them. He not only peremptorily forbade them all, but wrote in a panic to Atticus to be on the watch and give him timely notice if they left Rome, that he might take himself out of the way! And the only shadow of reason given by his friends for the divorce is that Cicero was disgusted with her because she did not grieve enough at the death of Tullia.

Poor Tullia, sweet Tulliola, too, must take her place in the witness box and testify to the degrading and degraded position of pagan women. A devoted daughter and her father's darling from her cradle to her grave, her early death broke his heart; but her blighted life is the sad record of pagan womanhood.

Her first marriage was sufficiently happy, but her husband died young, and a year afterwards her father married her to Crassipes, a man high in office, but who shortly afterwards divorced her. Yet Cicero remained on friendly and even confidential terms with him, and, nothing daunted, turned his thought to procuring her a third husband.

Many suitors sought her hand, but Cicero's choice fell on the worst of all, Dolabella, a cruel profligate, who at the time was married to Fabia, but *was contemplating divorce.* Cicero knew his character, and on occasion did not hesitate to mention it. But Dolabella was of an old family and proud position, and Cicero was a "new man" under the glamour of "hereditary aristocracy," and he gave to Dolabella's keeping that dearest treasure, his daughter. He may not have forced Tullia, but he did not warn her. She married Dolabella, but she could not long endure life with him, and another divorce came. Dolabella, however, was a

spendthrift, and Tullia's dowry had been scattered to the four winds as fast as it was paid over. Cicero in vain sought the debt due from the conscienceless Dolabella, and was obliged to sell his plate and furniture. Yet they, too, remained on good and even affectionate terms. Dolabella addressed his father-in-law as "my dearest Cicero," and Cicero gave lessons in declamation to Dolabella, and wrote to him in warmest praise for having quelled a riot—though he remarked in a letter to Atticus that it would be a much greater deed if Dolabella would pay the money he owed him. Oh! my honey-sweet Cicero!

But Tullia came home broken-hearted to her father, with the little son born under her husband's roof after her divorce. A few weeks she lingered, and then Cicero's house was left unto him desolate.

I have spoken only of women in the first society, in official society, the lawful wives of eminent men. They constituted the highest circles of Rome and therefore of the world. They represent the Roman Republic. They are to be compared with the leading woman of present republics; with Mrs. Harrison and Madame Carnot; with the women of Cabinet and Congress and drawing-room. Looking from these great Roman ladies of all parties to the great ladies of our own Republic, irrespective of party, whose spotlessness one would no more think of noting than of the sun its shining, who sway men by inspiration, and are controlled by love and conscience, but are commanded by men never at all, we cannot fail to see that, if early Christianity pulled women down, *something* in the following centuries has made up for it.

GAIL HAMILTON.

THE PASTEUR TREATMENT.

BY DR. PAUL GIBIER, DIRECTOR OF THE NEW YORK PASTEUR INSTITUTE.

WITHIN a few years, thanks to Pasteur's important labors, the question of rabies has been so thoroughly agitated that it is somewhat difficult to discuss the subject, especially in a periodical like this REVIEW, without exposing one's self to utter commonplace, instead of presenting to the reader facts altogether unknown to him. However, owing to the general attention that has been attracted to the subject by the method of preventive inoculations, some data upon experimental rabies have, important though they are, remained in the background, and I will endeavor to explain them briefly before entering upon the study of the method I have just spoken of.

In the first stage of the history of that mysterious disease, rabies, we run against a mystery: why is not the period of incubation the same in all individuals? Some die fifteen or twenty days after having been bitten, whereas others meet their fate only after a few months or even a few years. One case in which the incubation lasted two years has been reported.* In the midst of the long and numerous experiments which the writer of these lines has performed upon rabies, there have occured, in cases in which the inoculation was performed upon the skin by means of incisions made with the lancet, some observations on rabbits in which the incubation varied from eighteen days to nine months.

As to the microbe which must, as in every contagious malady, be present in the substance whose constant virulency is admitted, —that is to say, the nervous substance,—its official existence has not as yet been recognized, although since 1883 I have at length

* Féréol (Union Médicale, 1874) cites a case in which the incubation lasted two years and a half; Colin (d'Alfort) another case in which two men, bitten by the same dog, died respectively forty days and *five years* after. (Ann. d'Hygiène Publique, 1881.)

described and drawn it, showing at the same time the proper means for placing it in evidence. The principal peculiarity of this germ is that we have as yet been unable to stain it, as may be done with other microbes. Neither can it be cultivated in an inert medium.

Finally, in order not to prolong unduly this part of our study, let me say that the manner in which this terrible disease behaves as to its termination, and according to the kinds of animals affected, is also a matter for wonder. In fact, though we may assume that many bitten individuals have a latent rabies which passes away unperceived and is cured,—preventive inoculations serve well to prove the possibility of this,—I know of no authentic case of manifest rabies that has been cured in man.* On the other hand, instances are not absolutely rare in which dogs have returned to the normal state after having shown unequivocal signs of rabies, and even after having communicated it to other animals. Further, I have experimentally demonstrated that birds, and notably hens, which contract rabies, may communicate it to mammifera, to which it will prove fatal, though the hens will spontaneously recover. In cases among birds attacked with rabies in which death appears to be imminent, owing to a very powerful infection, and when the paralysis is strongly marked, it is yet possible, as I have demonstrated, to prevent the fatal issue by feeding the bird by means of a tube which is inserted in the upper alimentary passages. My researches have, moreover, furnished the first experimental proof that rabies did not occur a second time, as I showed that the birds which had once been cured were unable to contract the malady a second time, even after a year, if inoculations were again performed on them.†

We have already seen that the incubation varies considerably as to duration; I must state as briefly as possible how the data of observation joined to those resulting from experiments are able to provide an explanation for this apparently-contradictory fact. After the rabic virus has been deposited upon the tissues that have been lacerated by a bite, one of two things may take place: either the virus remains on the wound, or it is car-

* However, I may say that among fifty observations of hydrophobia reported in *The Lancet* of March, 1890, by Dr. Lucas Benham, a certain number seem to have been genuine cases of hydrophobia.

† Académie des Sciences, C. R., Paris, 1883-'84-'85.

ried into the general circulation by some torn blood-vessel (commonly a vein). In the first case it may happen that the phagocytes (Metchnikoff) destroy the microbes, and no rabies occurs; but more frequently the germs, coming into contact with torn nerves, are developed within the central portion (myelaxis) of these organs, and thence are propagated as far as the nervous centres. This way had been theoretically indicated by several authors,* but lately it has been demonstrated by exceedingly ingenious experiments † This may well explain the long duration of some incubations, for the march of the virus—that is to say, the development of microbes—may take place at first, and there only, in a minute nervous fibre whose cells offer a more or less important resistance to the invading germs, and before being able to reach the medulla and cerebral centres the journey's length must vary according to the distance from the inoculated spot to the medulla or the brain. This offers an explanation of the shortness of incubation observed in wounds of the head and face, as well as its longer duration when the limbs, and especially the lower ones, have been bitten.

If the absorption takes place through a blood-vessel or a lymphatic, it is easily understood that the incubation will not be of a much greater duration than in those cases in which, for experimental purposes, the rabic virus is injected in the veins of an animal. In this event the duration is independent of the situation of the wound. This mode of infection doubtless occurs chiefly in those lacerations which bleed abundantly.

However this may be, the incubation seldom lasts less than three weeks; it generally lasts much longer. It was the knowledge of this fact that suggested to Pasteur the idea, which has since proved so useful, that if one could render an animal refractory to rabies by means of injections of attenuated virus, it might doubtless be possible to produce this very state during the interval which separates the time of biting from that of invasion. This having been demonstrated in animals, it only remained to display sufficient audacity to make its practical application upon man.

I believe that the best means of giving an idea of the value of

* Dubouć (de Pau) Physiologie, etc., de la Rage. Brown-Séquard in Holmes's 'System of Surgery," London, 1870.

† Di Vestea and Zagari, Giom. internaz. di Scienze Med. IX., Naples, 1887; *Idem*, Nouvelles expériences, Annales de l'Institut Pasteur, 1889; Roux Ann. Inst. Pasteur, t. II. No. 1., t. III. No. 2.

the preventive method devised by the eminent scientist is to state as briefly as facts will allow the results which have been obtained in the last few years by means of the inoculations that have been performed on a good many thousand people.

At the time of the opening of the Pasteur Institute in Paris, more than a year ago, the statistical situation was as follows: The inoculations had only been generally performed since the beginning of 1886. From that time until July, 1888 (thirty-six months), the number of persons inoculated at the Pasteur Institute at Paris was 5,374; an average of about five people daily. The official total of the mortality during this period, including all deaths, even of those who contracted rabies before the treatment was completed, was 1.34 per cent. for 1886. For 1887 it was 1.12 per cent., and in 1888, 0.77 per cent. But admitting that if, when death occurs within the fortnight which follows the treatment, it was because the nervous centres were already invaded by the virulent morbid germs when the treatment began (and this fact necessarily rendered it inefficacious), we obtain a diminution which lowers the total mortality, notwithstanding treatment, to 0.93 per cent. for 1886, to 0.67 per cent. for 1887, and to 0.55 per cent. for 1888. The decrease which is observed in the succession of years must be attributed to the gradual perfecting of the method. A method known as "intensive," by which a less attenuated virus is injected, or, rather, a larger quantity of the virulent liquid, than was done at first, has been substituted for the primitive method, and this practice, which is based upon experimental investigation, seems, by its successive developments, likely to bring about a mortality of 0 per cent. when the treatment begins in proper time.

Here are a few compilations from the statistics derived from various institutes founded on the principle of the Pasteur Institute in Paris.

In St. Petersburg, where, thanks to the generosity of Prince Alexandre of Oldenburg, an anti-rabic laboratory has been founded, 484 people were vaccinated during two years and two months (July, 1886, to September, 1888). The severity of the bites, which had in many cases been inflicted by rabid wolves, caused a rise in the mortality, which amounted to 2.68 per cent. This number, however, is far from the average of 80 per cent. of deaths which occur when the bitten persons are not treated.

In Odessa, 324 persons were vaccinated in 1886 by the primitive method (simple treatment). The mortality was 3.39 per cent. But in 1887 and 1888, 709 persons submitted to the intensive treatment, and the mortality was lowered to 0.60 per cent.

In Moscow the institute was founded by Prince Dolgoroukow. One hundred and seven persons were vaccinated in 1886 with the simple treatment. The mortality was of 8.40 per cent. But in 1887 and 1888, the intensive treatment having been substituted, the mortality among 526 fell to 1.45 per cent.

In Warsaw, out of 370 people treated by the new method, not a single death occurred.

In Milan, 335 were inoculated; deaths, 0.60 per cent.

In Palermo, 109 inoculated; no deaths.

In Naples the anti-rabic laboratory had been closed for lack of subsidies; but nine deaths from hydrophobia having occurred in the town, the government and the city did what was needed to place the institute in working order; 246 persons were inoculated in a short time; mortality, 1.5 per cent.

In Havana, where my friend Dr. Santos Fernandez, assisted by Dr. Tamayo and a pleiad of brilliant workers, has established an anti-rabic laboratory, out of 170 people who were bitten and inoculated, the mortality was only 0.60 per cent.

Finally, in Rio Janeiro, where Dom Pedro II. encouraged the establishment of a splendid institute, fifty-three persons have been inoculated within a short time, without a single death.

It would be needless to resume for 1889 the series of statistics which have been considered for the years 1886-'87-'88, and which are now of a value acquired by the time that has elapsed. If we consider that the perfected methods are applied by hands which are becoming better and better trained, it will not be surprising if these satisfactory results continue and become even more favorable. In a recent communication M. Pasteur has been able to say, with a legitimate sense of satisfaction, that among the last thousand inoculations that have been performed in his institute, there had not occurred a single unsuccessful case. This, in numbers, may be put down as follows: mortality, 0 per cent.

Scientific England has been one of the first countries to accept the new doctrine of germs in the production of diseases, and every memory recalls the thankful letter sent by Sir J.

Lister to Pasteur after the marvellous results obtained by the antiseptic method which the English surgeon, inspired by the labors of the great French biologist, had inaugurated in his Edinburgh clinic. The same is true of the prophylaxis of rabies: I only wish to recall the report of Mr. V. Horsley, the eminent physiologist, who, in the name of an official commission composed of the principal scientists of England (among them Sir J. Paget), recently declared that "Mr. Pasteur had discovered a method preventive of rabies that was comparable to vaccination against variola." England has been one of the chief subscribers to the Pasteur Institute of Paris, where a number of British subjects are daily cared for.

I will devote but a few words to the technique of the successive operations required for the preparation of the anti-rabic vaccine.

The vaccinal matter consists of fragments of the spinal cord of a rabbit killed by hydrophobia, which are progressively desiccated at a fixed temperature and in the dark. Every day a fragment of the substance thus prepared is injected, but every time a less dried specimen is employed: this is equivalent to saying that every day the injection is made with matter that is coming nearer and nearer to the normal virulent state, to which the body is thus gradually accustomed. There is scarcely any need of adding that a thorough knowledge of bacteriological technique is indispensable in all the operations through which pass the inoculating materials: otherwise the most fearful accidents might suddenly supervene.

But how is brought about this condition which causes the body to become resistant to a living poison which in ordinary circumstances would cause its death? To remain within the bounds of the question that now occupies us, here are the differences between the two chief theories: according to one, the microbe secretes a vacciniferous substance; the nervous system gradually becomes accustomed to the effect of this secretion, and becomes able to resist the microbe, producer of this substance, when the latter is brought in contact with it. Towards this theory Pasteur seemed to lean at the start. But experimentation, let us say at once, would seem to give support to the other theory, which may be formulated as follows: the nervous system is able to resist the virulent microbe only when it has been brought

into contact at first with a small number of these same microbes in an attenuated, weakened state. The success of the method known as the "intensive" one, besides the experiments made upon animals, which our limited space does not allow us to describe here, would seem to favor the latter mode of explaining the production of immunity against rabies.

Let me say, before closing, that with the aid of the subscriptions which have been made towards the work of M. Pasteur, an institute for the purpose of studying general and special bacteriology has been erected in Paris. As regards size and convenience, this institute is unique, and from all parts of the world physicians, naturalists, and scientists generally come to be initiated in the methods which the master first devised, and which his disciples have perfected in various ways. I hope no one will see in my description any idea of "nationalistic" pride. I am merely proud, as a man, to recognize to what a degree of perspicacity, of ingenuity, and of science the human genius can rise—that is all. I believe, nevertheless, that I have kept myself far below the praise and the marks of admiration that are deserved by the work of my illustrious countryman and master.

PAUL GIBIER, M.D.

FALSE HYDROPHOBIA.

BY WILLIAM A. HAMMOND, M. D., SURGEON-GENERAL, UNITED STATES ARMY (RETIRED).

THERE are very few persons who are not more or less under the influence of "suggestion." They seem to be endowed with comparatively low powers of original action, and to be moved to an extent scarcely normal by the facts and circumstances that surround them. A woman, for instance, overwhelmed with misfortune and weary of life, commits suicide by swallowing paris green, and straightway we read in the daily press of other women, to whom the idea of suicide would never otherwise have been suggested, who have had no sufficient motive for the act, and who have had no previous knowledge of the poisonous effects of paris green, taking their lives in like manner.

The more unusual the method of self-destruction, the more probability there is that some persons will adopt it. Several years ago a man confined in the Tombs Prison, in the city of New York, killed himself by cutting his femoral artery—the main artery of the thigh. There was no previous case on record of such a mode of suicide, and yet within a few days several persons destroyed themselves by cutting the femoral artery.

We have all heard the story of the man who, thinking he was being bled to death while his eyes were bandaged and a stream of warm water was allowed to flow over his arm, actually died within the proper period, with all the symptoms that would have ensued had he really died from hemorrhage.

A professor of anatomy, while making a post-mortem examination of a man who had cut his throat and who had died after several days of great suffering, said to his servant, who was assisting him, "Hans, whenever you have a mind to cut your throat, don't do it in so blundering a way as did this fellow—here is the place to cut," pointing to the region of the carotid artery. Up to this time Hans had been a happy and well-disposed man, with apparently no thought of suicide. Yet that night he went home and cut his throat.

There seems to be, in fact, no limit to the power of the principle of suggestion with some persons. Pains are readily excited

in various parts of the body, and others as rapidly removed, through its agency. Objects can be made to assume any form that the suggestor pleases. Thus a lady who is a wonderfully sensitive subject to this influence came under my professional charge for some slight derangement of her nervous system. If I told her that a book was a watch, it became, so far as she was concerned, an actual watch. If I put a piece of ice in her hand and told her it was boiling water, she shrieked with pain and declared that I scalded her. If, while the sun was shining, I told her that the rain was coming down in torrents, she at once began to lament her sad plight in being so far from home without an umbrella, and would beg me to call a carriage for her. Every one of her senses could be imposed upon in like manner; and I have frequently controlled the action of her heart, making its pulsations slower or more rapid in accordance with the spoken suggestion. There is no doubt that, if I had put a little flour in her mouth, at the same time telling her that it was strychnia and describing the symptoms of death by strychnia, she would have died with all the phenomena of poisoning with that powerful substance; or that, if I had pointed an unloaded pistol at her head, and had cried "Bang!" she would fallen dead to the floor. All this sounds very much like hypnotism, but this lady was not in that state, unless there is a form of that condition—and perhaps there is—that cannot be distinguished from the ordinary normal life of the individual. Neither was she the subject of double consciousness, for she was perfectly aware of every circumstance that occurred, and there was not the slightest indication of a dual existence.

That such a disease as hydrophobia, with such strongly-marked characteristics, should, under the action of the principle of suggestion, be simulated by hysterical or other nervous persons, is not a matter for surprise. Every year, as the summer approaches, the newspapers contain accounts of cases of so-called hydrophobia which, to the practised judgment of the physician, seem to be entirely due to the imagination of the sufferer. It is clearly important that such a disorder should be prevented, for not only does great distress ensue, but even death itself has not unfrequently been the consequence. As several instances of the kind have come under my personal observation, I may perhaps be allowed to speak with some authority on the subject.

It may be laid down in the very beginning of our consideration of the subject that the victim of false hydrophobia can only have those symptoms of which he has knowledge. Unfortunately, the real disease has received so much notice from newspapers and other popular publications that a tolerably correct knowledge of its phenomena has been acquired by the laity. Hence, we find that the picture ordinarily presented by the unconscious simulator is, at least to cursory observation, not unlike the real affection. There are, however, great differences, which the educated physician will not fail to detect, and which will enable him to do what has never been yet done with real hydrophobia—cure the patient.

Hydrophobia never originates, in the human subject at least, except by inoculation from a rabid animal, and death always occurs in four or five days after the development of the disease. A case of so-called hydrophobia came under my notice in which it was stated that the patient had been bitten some three months previously by a dog undoubtedly hydrophobic. I inquired as to what had become of the dog, and was informed that he was still living, having recovered. It was not necessary to examine any further into the particulars of this case, for if the dog had really been the subject of hydrophobia, he would have been dead very shortly after biting my patient.

Again, it often happens that a person easily affected by suggestion has what he conceives to be the symptoms of hydrophobia developed very soon after having been bitten by a supposed rabid animal, whereas the real disease rarely supervenes until after a month has elapsed from the time of inoculation. It is true, there are cases on record in which the period of incubation was less than that, but they are exceedingly rare. In my own cases the time has varied from twenty-five days to four months and a half. Cases in which the disease is said to have supervened many years after an alleged inoculation ought to be received with doubt. The interval probably never exceeds two years or is less than ten days.

There are a want of consistency and a degree of exaggeration about the symptoms of false hydrophobia which of themselves are sufficient to excite suspicion as to the real character of the phenomena. Thus one of the most noticeable occurrences in hydrophobia is the spasm of the muscles concerned in respiration and swallowing; and this not only when the patient attempts to swallow, but it is also developed by any circumstance capable

of exciting the *idea* of swallowing. The subject of the false disease, not having a full knowledge of the matter imagines that the inability to swallow water is all that is sufficient, and hence, although the attempt to drink a glass of water will generally produce intense spasms, these do not always occur under similar circumstances, as, for instance, when coffee or whiskey or other liquid is presented to him. He knows the name "hydrophobia" means fear of water, and the exhibition of terror and convulsive movements about his throat when this liquid is placed before him, and especially when he is told to swallow it, fulfil, to his mind, all the requirements of the occasion, and he knows nothing whatever of those secondary and more refined influences, such as the sound of falling water, bright light in the face, excitations applied to the skin, seeing others drink, etc., which so generally cause the most intense distress and violent spasms in the real disease.

There are not the same anxiety and depression in the simulated disease as in the real, although the apparent emotional disturbance is much greater. The false-hydrophobic patient is loud in the expression of apprehensions, while the victim of actual hydrophobia, though intensely anxious and terrified, endeavors to prevent others from perceiving the state of his mind. To reason, or to argue with, or to command such a patient is a waste of words, for the disease from which he suffers is in no way under his control; but with the imaginary disorder the case is very different, and suggestions or orders given to him by one in whom he has confidence, or of whom he stands somewhat in awe, will very generally break up the whole course of the morbid phenomena.

Thus, several years ago, I saw, in consultation, a policeman who had, two or three days before, been bitten by a dog, and whose comrades had frightened him by their inquiries and suggestions. He was then in the Park Hospital in the city of New York, held down on a bed by four strong men and snapping like a dog at every one who came near him. At the sight of water he became intensely excited and went through a series of fearful contortions of his limbs. He had visions of mad dogs running after him trying to bite him, and was constantly hiding his face in terror under the bedclothes. Every attempt to make him drink a glass of water produced a series of spasms and howls of anguish that alarmed the neighborhood and

threw all the women in the house into fits of hysterical laughing and sobbing. The short period of incubation, the extreme violence of his symptoms, and the fact that he had drunk a glass or two of brandy without any difficulty, gave me at once a clear idea of the case. I filled a tumbler with ice-cold water and, holding it to his lips, told him in a commanding tone to drink it immediately. He took the tumbler in his hand and swallowed the water as readily as he had ever done in his life. The spell was broken, and a few minutes afterwards he got out of bed, declaring that he was perfectly well, and he went to duty the next morning. It is quite within the limits of probability that, if this man had been allowed to go on for two or three days in the way he had begun, death from exhaustion would have been the consequence.

That death may result from false hydrophobia is as well established as any other fact in medical science. There is a case on record of a man who died in fifteen hours with all the symptoms of hydrophobia, which had ensued on a violent paroxysm of anger.

There is also the case of a woman who was bitten by a dog in the face, and who was admitted to the Hôtel-Dieu, in Paris. After a few days she was cured of her wounds and discharged.

There was no suspicion that the dog was hydrophobic. But, going about her usual vocations, she one day heard a man exclaim: "She has not gone mad then!" From that moment she could not swallow liquids, and the same day she was readmitted to the Hôtel-Dieu—this time to die with all the symptoms of hydrophobia.

And here is another instance. A woman had been bitten by a dog which was supposed not to be rabid, and the injury had healed. Two months after the accident she was met by two students, who had seen her at the hospital, and who in joke asked her if she was not yet mad. She was immediately seized with nervous symptoms, because intensely anxious and uneasy, and went into the hospital firmly convinced that she was affected with hydrophobia. She was at once placed under treatment, but the symptoms in which an irrepressible degree of fear was prominent were rapidly developed, and in forty-eight hours she was dead.

A recent occurrence in the way of false hydrophobia is very instructive. A dog supposed to be rabid bit three men, who, having faith in what is popularly known as the "mad-stone," had it applied to their wounds and imagined that all danger had been avoided. But one of them, in order to make assurance doubly sure, had him-

self heavily ironed in order that, should hydrophobia supervene, he might not inflict any injury to his family. It is by no means established that the dog that bit him was affected with hydrophobia; but even if perfectly healthy, it is certain that the extraordinary precautions taken by this man to avoid what he imagined would be some of the symptoms of rabies would of themselves have been sufficient to develop the false disease. At any rate, in a few days many of the phenomena of hydrophobia, and a good many others due to the intense fear under which the patient labored, were developed, and shortly afterwards he died. The other two men who were bitten at the same time, are said to be in an agony of fear lest they also may die of hydrophobia. The medical journal, the *Times and Register*, from which I quote the account of this case, says:

"We can imagine James Beard chained hand and foot, seated helplessly in a chair and passing wearily the time, feeling as if every minute were an hour, every hour a day, and every day almost a lifetime; with nothing to do but brood over his misfortune and the awful consequenes likely to ensue. Any little sensation that at other times would pass unnoticed would now be magnified in his fancy a thousand-fold. A twinge of pain in the wound would be the dreadful poison at work; a change of color would be mortification; the slight jerk of a muscle would be the beginning of convulsions. Add to these the apparently trivial, but to him fateful, fears, the questions, looks, and behavior of friends, acquaintances, and visitors. All would look curiously and inquisitively at him; some would scoff and ridicule at his chains; others would shake their heads knowingly and whisper in the corner; some would anxiously inquire whether he thought himself just as well as he had been, whether he was sure he could swallow as easily; did the bite hurt him, or change color? Did he feel any particular nervous sensation? Others again would suggest that he looked careworn and haggard, but that he ought not to give way so; he was just to grit his teeth and determine not to have it, and they felt quite sure he would come through.

"Days spent in such fearful imaginings and amidst these Job's comforters would be almost enough to unseat the soundest mind, not to speak of one that was, at best, probably far from strong."

To bark like a dog, to snap at those near by, and even to run about on all fours, are among the most prominent symptoms of false hydrophobia; the patient being imbued with the idea that the hydrophobic virus which he imagines has been absorbed into his system is calculated to assimilate him to the animal by which he has been poisoned. Now, such symptoms are never witnessed in true hydrophobia, and their presence is amply sufficient for a discrimination between the two affections. A little knowledge is a dangerous thing; and this is especially true of the sciolism which prevails relative to hydrophobia.

WILLIAM A. HAMMOND.

RECENT PROGRESS IN THEOSOPHY.

BY MADAME BLAVATSKY.

WHATEVER else may be thought of theosophy and its movement, time has at least proved that it is not the ephemeron which the American and foreign press called it upon its first appearance. It seems to have come to occupy a permanent place in modern thought, thus vindicating the truth of Sir John Herschel's observation that "the grand, and, indeed, the only, character of truth is its capability of enduring the test of universal experience, and coming unchanged out of every possible form of fair discussion."

Unfortunately, theosophy has never yet had a "fair" chance; but that must come. It has been represented in a most grotesque light, travestied out of all resemblance. With few exceptions, even its friends have shown in their published writings an imperfect grasp of the subject. If it had been discussed upon its merits, apart from the personalities with which the movement has been associated, we cannot doubt that it would have had by this time a much wider vogue than it has. All the signs point that way. The most strenuous efforts of bigots, theological and scientific, and the employment of ridicule, sarcasm, misrepresentations, and denunciations by its opponents, have failed to check the growth of the Theosophical Society or its influence, or even to impede the expansion of the theosophical idea throughout the world. Scarcely the most optimistic among the society's organizers dreamt of such success as has rewarded their labors. The little coterie of thoughtful men and women who met in an Irving-Place parlor one summer evening in the year 1875 builded better than they (with their undeveloped foresight) knew, when they resolved to organize such an association.

We are often asked, "What is the general object of the Theosophical Society? *Cui bono* all this outlay of labor, all that energy expended from its beginning to swim against the strong tide of public prejudice, sectarian hatred, and unpopularity? Of the three well-known objects of the society* not one but had, and

* 1. Brotherhood of man; 2. Study of Oriental philosophies; 3. Investigation of the hidden forces in nature and man. *Vide supra.*

has, its teachers and followers in the past as in the present. Your first object, namely, brotherhood of man, lies at the very basis of Christianity; your second is promoted by the Asiatic societies, the national museums, and all the Orientalists; your third may be allowed to remain in the hands of the men of science, who have already dissected spiritualism and exploded mesmerism, and now, under the lead of the Society for Psychical Research, are disposing of the question of thought-transferrence, the phantasm of the living, and the Theosophical Society."

We note the exception that the *cuckoo* S. P. R. hatched its first eggs in the nests of theosophy and spiritualism ;* it evidently has the same relation to the scientific body as to its two foster-mothers, and can enjoy a superior intimacy only as a reward for its treachery to the latter and its sycophancy to materialistic science. In rejoinder to the first two assertions, the Theosophists would ask Christians and Orientalists what they were doing in their respective departments to realize practically our first two objects ? Under correction, I must say that it has been all talk and theory. Has the Sermon on the Mount, all its moral beauty notwithstanding, caused so-called Christian nations to treat each other in the ideal Christian spirit, or to offer brotherhood to Asiatic and African nations and tribes, whom they have subdued by force of arms or wiles ? And has the philosophical acumen of Professor Max Müller, who has been showing us for thirty years past that the same Aryan blood runs in the brown body of the Indian sepoy as under the blanched skin of the English lord and British grocer, prevented the dominant Anglo-Indian from giving the Queen-Empress's Asiatic subjects cumulative proofs of his supreme disdain ? The Theosophical Society has been called the Royal Asiatic Society *plus* philanthropy; and as the latter body lacks the instinct of brotherliness, and too often shows a disposition to sacrifice truth for theological predilection, its nearly a century of work has shed darkness instead of light upon the Aryan philosophies, religions, and sciences. As to our third object, it

* The real originator and founder of the S. P. R. was "M. A. Oxon" (Mr. W. Stainton Moses), now the editor of *Light*. It was he who, being then a member of the T. S., first proposed the formation of a society on the lines of the long-defunct *Dialectical Society* of London, for the investigation of abnormal phenomena. This gentleman must have regretted more than once his idea. The S. P. R., the progeny of spiritualism and theosophy, has proved itself a would-be parricide, though rather an unsuccessful one so far.

must be said of the work of the S. P. R., and the superior labor of the French hypnotists of Paris and Nancy, that these agencies, while accumulating a mass of important facts for future philosophers, have, with a very few honorable exceptions, tried their best to give a false interpretation to those phenomena that they could not dispose of on the theory of fraud. Their oblations have been all offered on the altar of the Moloch of materialism.

Since it is undeniable that this materialistic bias has been rapidly culminating under university influence during the past half-century, it is too evident that the creation of the Theosophical Society at the time when it arose was most timely, and a step toward the defence of *true* science and *true* religion against a sciolism that was becoming more and more arrogant. The experiments of Charcot at the *Salpêtrière* have been so unsatisfactorily explained by the professors of his materialistic school that the appearance of the ancient esoteric philosophy in the arena of Western thought was a vital necessity. The conviction has already dawned upon the minds of some of the eleverest Western experimentalists that the "impassable chasm" and the "unknowable" of Messrs. Tyndall and Spencer can never be bridged or known by anything short of the Aryan esoteric doctrine. The cultured interest and popular curiosity that are shown in every country when a Theosophist or theosophy comes to the fore, and the universal popularity of theosophical and mystical literature, which has enriched many publishers and writers, are indications of the despair and hope of Christendom—despair that science will ever read the puzzle of life ; hope that the solution may be found in the secret doctrine.

The theosophical movement was a necessity of the age, and it has spread under its own inherent impulsion, and owes nothing to adventitious methods. From the first it has had neither money, endowment, nor social or governmental patronage to count upon. It appealed to certain human instincts and aspirations, and held up a certain lofty ideal of perfectibility, with which the vested extraneous interests of society conflicted, and against which these were foredoomed to battle. Its strongest allies were the human yearnings for light upon the problem of life, and for a nobler conception of the origin, destiny, and potentialities of the human being. While materialism and its congener, secularism, were bent upon destroying not only theology and sectarian dog-

matism, but even the religious conception of a diviner Self, theosophy has aimed at uniting all broad religious people for research into the actual basis of religion and scientific proofs of the existence and permanence of the higher Self. Accepting thankfully the results of scientific study and exposure of theological error, and adopting the methods and maxims of science, its advocates try to save from the wreck of cults the precious admixture of truth to be found in each. Discarding the theory of miracle and supernaturalism, they endeavor to trace out the kinship of the whole family of world-faiths to each other, and their common reconciliation with science. The growing inclination of the public mind toward theosophy seems to mark a reaction from the iconoclastic influence of Colonel Ingersoll's and Mr. Bradlaugh's school. Undoubtedly there are thousands of so-called Free-thinkers who sincerely believe in personal annihilation at the death of the body; but it would seem from the fact of the recent conversion of Mrs. Annie Besant from secularism to theosophy, and the discussions to which it has given rise, that there are also many persons enrolled as followers of the two great leaders above mentioned who are so from ignorance of the views included in the term theosophy. We officers and fellows of the Theosophical Society are, therefore, encouraged to hope that, with the wider dissemination of the facts, we shall see very large accessions to our cause from the secularist ranks. Surely this must be considered a gain by the friends of spirituality as opposed to materialism,—those, at any rate, who think that morals, peace, and prosperity will be promoted by the universal belief in a life after death (whether eternal or broken up by a series of reincarnations on the same earth), and in man's possession of a higher, undying SELF, latent spiritual powers, and consciousness.

It is the worse for the public, particularly for the religious feelings of the public, that the organs of sectarian bigotry should have succeeded so well by perversion of fact, frenzied calumny, and downright falsehood, in making our cause and the society appear in such a false light during the past fourteen years. Nor are the clerical organs alone in this undignified and useless work; for the weeklies of the Spiritualists in the United States are just as bitter and as untruthful in their ceaseless denunciation of theosophy. The virulence and vituperations of the intellectual apostles of the "spirit-guides" and "controls" from the "Summer-land" have

grown proportionately to the growth of the Theosophical Society. The effects of the last convention held by the American Theosophists at Chicago, on April 29 and 30 of the present year,* furnish a brilliant example of this blind and ferocious hatred. Such was the decided and unprecedented success of the last gathering that even the leading papers of Chicago and other cities had to admit the fact, finding almost for the first time naught but words of sympathy for the Theosophists. Alone the organs of disembodied "angels" poured as unsuccessfully as ever their vials of wrath, mockery, and brutal slander upon us. But we heed them not. Why should we? The utmost malignity and basest treachery have not been able either to controvert our ideas, belittle our objects, disprove the reasonableness of our methods, or fasten upon us a selfish or dishonest motive. And as our declared principles are not merely unobjectionable, but admirably calculated to do good to mankind, these conspirators and calumniators have simply kept a multitude of religiously-inclined persons from enjoying the happiness they would have had by understanding theosophy as it really is, and making it the guiding rule of their conduct.

If justice be the law of nature, and injustice a transitory evil, direful must, indeed, be the retribution these misguided people have invoked upon their own heads. The suffering we have been made to endure has but served as discipline, and taught us to turn the more loyally toward the esoteric doctrine for comfort and encouragement.

My present theme being the recent progress of our movement, the situation may best be illustrated by reference to statistics. To avoid prolixity, we may begin with the year 1884, when the raid upon us was made by the London Society for Psychical Research. From the official report of that year it appears that on the 31st of December, 1884, there were in existence, in all parts of the world, 104 chartered branches of the Theosophical Society. In the year 1885, as an answer to our calumniators, seventeen new charters were issued; in 1886, fifteen; in 1887, twenty-two; in 1888, twenty-one; and up to the 1st of September, 1889, seventeen. To the 31st of December, 1888, six

* There are at the present day *thirty-eight* chartered branches of the Theosophical Society in the United States, and the activity on the Pacific Coast in this direction is very remarkable.

charters had been rescinded, leaving 173 still valid; and if the new ones of 1889 be added, there would be a gross total of 190 chartered branches, from which would have to be deducted any cancellations reported during the last twelvemonth. But we have heard of none. On the contrary, up to June, 1890, we find on our books upward of 200 branches. In England, a country where theosophy has to work up-hill more than in any other place, three years ago there was but one solitary branch—the "London Lodge" of the Theosophical Society, with about 150 members in it. Since the arrival of the present writer in England, and the establishment of the "Blavatsky Lodge," in June, 1887 (which has now upward of 300 members and associates), twelve branches of the Theosophical Society have been established in various centres of Great Britain, and the number of members is daily increasing. The growth of our society in this conservative country has been more marvellous in comparison than even in the United States of America. The growth since the raid of 1884 has, therefore, been at the rate of about nineteen new charters per annum, and the final computation of 1889 will show as great an increment. Dividing 104—the sum total up to the close of 1884—by 10, the number of years since the society's foundation, we get an average annual growth of 10.4 branches; whence it appears that, so far from being crushed out of existence, as the organizers of the raid had fondly hoped might be the result, the Theosophical Society has very largely increased its average rate of expansion, geographically and numerically. It is useless to remind the American reader of the unrelenting, systematic persecution to which the writer of these lines—and through her, theosophy—is, and has been for years, subjected in the American press, by enemies as persevering as they are base. And if no conspiracy, no attack, could ever seriously shake the society or impede its movement, nothing ever will. We can only thankfully repeat, slightly paraphrasing it, the Christian adage now so applicable to our movement, "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of theosophy." Its society has done too much good work, the good grain is much too evident even in the piles of admitted chaff, not to have built a secure foundation for the temple of truth in the immediate, as in the distant, future.

For, see, the literature of theosophy is growing rapidly. We have seven principal centres of publication—Madras, Bombay,

Ceylon (Colombo), Stockholm, London, Paris, and New York. The Stockholm branch, founded hardly a year ago, has far over one hundred members, and our literature in Sweden is spreading rapidly. Little Ceylon had twenty-one branches three months ago, and may have more now. Madras is the general headquarters of the society, the official residence of the president and executive staff, and the office of *The Theosophist* is there. At Bombay we have a "Theosophical Publication Fund," created and managed by Mr. Tookaram Tatya, a Hindoo Theosophist, which brings out important works in Sanskrit and English; an enterprise spoken of with great praise by Professsor Max Müller in a letter published both in *The Theosophist* and *Lucifer*. In London there is a "Theosophical Publishing Society," which brings out the magazine *Lucifer* (edited by Mrs. Annie Besant and myself) and a series of pamphlets called the "T. P. S.," issued fortnightly, and many new theosophical works. Following the good example set to us by the Aryan Theosophical Society of New York,—the headquarters of the theosophical movement in America,—a committee was formed in London last May for the wide distribution through the post of leaflets on theosophical doctrines, each member taking charge of a definite district. During the first months of the establishment of the "tract-mailing scheme" at New York, the Aryan Thesophical Society has distributed over 150,000 papers on theosophy and its doctrines. In Paris another monthly was started a year ago, the *Revue Théosophique*, edited by myself, and managed by the Countess d'Adhémar; and now another heosophical magazine has appeared—*Le Lotus Bleu*—since March, also edited by myself, and managed by Arthur Arnould, a well-known journalist in Paris, and the president of the Thesophical Society of Paris, "l'Hermes." In New York we have *The Path*, whose editor, Mr. W. Q. Judge, publishes also a number of books and pamphlets. The existence of these centres shows undeniably that our movement is constantly on the increase, and that all interested and malicious reports to the contrary are without foundation.

But it is our Adyar Library, founded by the loving labor of our president, Colonel H. S. Olcott, which is the crown and glory of the Theosophical Society. Though only three years old, it has already acquired a large collection of Oriental works of the greatest value,—3,046 volumes,—besides over 2,000 works in European

languages, and a number of rare palm-leaf manuscripts. In the words of our learned librarian, Pundit N. Bhashyacharya: *

"In the department of Buddhistic literature it is richer than any library in India, and probably equal to most in Western countries.† Prominent among these works are: (1) The generous present of Mrs. Dias Ilangakoon, a Buddhist lady Theosophist, of Matara, Ceylon, a 'complete set of the Pali version of the *Tripitakas* engraved on palm leaves, and comprising sixty volumes, with nearly 5,000 pages. Twelve stylus-writers were employed during two years in copying the volumes from the unique collection at Merissa',—a collection that cost the donor rupees 3,500. (2) The Jodo sect of Japanese Buddhists presented Colonel Olcott 'with a complete set of the Chinese versions of the *Tripitakas* in 418 volumes, on silk paper.' . . . Other 'Japanese sects presenting him with 1,057 volumes' in all. (3) Twenty-two scroll paintings on silk and paper, . . . among which are two on silk that are said to be over 800 years old, and a MS. 350 years old, written in fine gold ink upon a scroll of some very smooth black paper, 33 feet in length, and mounted on a roller."‡ etc.

Such are a few of the unique treasures in books and antiquities of the Adyar Library of the T. S., "got together under the greatest difficulties of total lack of pecuniary endowment and public patronage," and which "has received from no government as yet so much as a single book or one rupee." And that noble library will survive the founders and all present members of the Theosophical Society, and go on speaking of the work done when many other things are forgotten.

Having cast a hasty glance at the general aspect of the society as it stands at the present moment, I may be permitted to state very briefly the three broad principles upon which it is building up, and then recapitulate the results actually achieved under each heading.

The three officially-declared objects of our society are:

1. To form the nucleus of a universal brotherhood of humanity, without distinction of race, creed, sex, caste, or color.

2. To promote the study of Aryan and other Eastern literatures, religions, philosophies, and sciences.

* Unfortunately just dead.

† For particulars *vide* the learned and interesting article of Pundit N. Bhashyacharya, director of the Oriental Section of the Adyar Library, in *The Theosophist* for August, 1889.

‡ "There is also," writes the learned Brahmin librarian, "a large picture upon which, painted in vivid colors, . . . are 137 scenes in the life of the founder of the Jodo sect; . . . and an ancient biography of the Adept-Founder of the Yamabusi, or fraternity of phenomena-workers, and a scroll portrait of himself attended by some fire-elementals whom he seems to have subjugated to his trained will. Doctor Bigalow (late of Boston), now of Tokio, kindly gave a photograph of a bronze group representing Kobo-dai-shi, the Adept-Founder of Shin-zor sect, attended by two little elementals, who are serving him as messengers and domestics." All of which shows that the theosophical scapegoat, H. P. Blavatsky, has *invented* neither Adept fraternities nor "elementals," their existence having been known in Japan, China, and India for long centuries.

3. A third object, pursued by a portion of the fellows of the society, is to investigate unexplained laws of nature and the psychic powers of man.

Two general objects, one restricted object, of attention. Every one entering the society is supposed to sympathize with the theory of essential brotherhood; a kinship which exists on the plane of the higher self, not on that of the racial, social, and mental dissimilarities and antipathies. These elements of discord pertain to the physical man and are the result of unequal development under the law of evolution. We believe the human body to be but the shell, cover, or veil of the real entity; and those who accept the esoteric philosophy and the theory of "Karma" (the universal law of ethical causation) believe that the entity, as it travels around certain major and minor cycles of existence with the whole mass of human beings, takes on a different body at birth, and shells it off at death, under the operation of this Karmic law. Yet though it may thus clothe and reclothe itself a thousand times in a series of reincarnations, the entity is unchanged and unchangeable, being of a divine nature, superior to all environments on the earthly plane. It is the physical body only which has racial type, color, sex, hatreds, ambitions, and loves. So then, when we postulate the idea of universal brotherhood, we wish it understood that it is held in no Utopian sense, though we do not dream of realizing it at once on the ordinary plane of social or national relations. Most assuredly, if this view of the kinship of all mankind could gain universal acceptance, the improved sense of moral responsibility it would engender would cause most social evils and international asperities to disappear; for a true altruism, instead of the present egoism, would be the rule the world over. So we have written down as the first of our declared objects this altruistic asseveration, and have been working practically to bring about a beginning of the better law.

The second of our declared objects speaks so plainly for itself that I need not dwell upon it, save in the most casual way. The founders of the Theosophical Society thought they had the best reason to believe that there existed, locked up in the ancient literatures of India, Ceylon, Tibet, China, Japan, and other Eastern countries, a very large body of truth which would be most important and valuable to the present generation, if it could be got at. The best agents to employ in this work were the Oriental scholars who knew the ancient languages, especially those—if any could be

found—who had learned the concealed meaning of the names, figures, and expressions with which Asiatic writings teem, and which are the despair of our Western Orientalists. These savants are priests of various religions and pandits, or professors, in a number of philosophical Eastern schools of thought. They had never before worked together in the interest of the whole family of mankind, so antagonistic are their personal views and so mutually contradictory their several religions and philosophical books. No scheme of coöperation between them could be carried out save upon the lines defined in our first declared object—that is to say, upon the theory of the universal relationship of all mankind on the plane of the higher self, and the policy of not meddling with what concerns only the mutual relations of the lower self, the physical man. It shall be shown presently how this part of our scheme has worked.

Observe the third declaration, that only a portion of our fellows occupy themselves with the study of the occult properties of matter and the psychical powers of man. The society as a whole, then, is not concerned in this branch of research. And naturally; for out of every ten thousand people one may meet, the chances are that but a very small minority have the time, taste, or ability to take up such delicate and baffling studies. Those who do are born mystics, and, of course, natural Theosophists; a Theosophist being one who seeks after divine wisdom—*i.e.*, the comprehension of the ultimate causes of force, correlation, and psychic development, the method of solving all life's riddles. Persons of this temperament cannot be bigots; they chafe under the sectarian yoke, and their hearts warm with sympathy for all who suffer, who groan under social burdens resulting from ignorance, for all of any race, creed, or color, who aspire after knowledge. These men are true Theosophists, the brothers of humanity, and, in their complete development, the spiritual exemplars, guides, teachers, benefactors, of our race. We thought it a good thing to proclaim this line of research and self-discovery as the third of our three objects. For those who are interested in it, and all inquirers whom they can reach and encourage, have the mystical philosophical books of the present and former times been written. To the general public these books are caviare.

Taking the three divisions of our objects in order, let us see what has actually been accomplished during the fourteen years of

the Theosophical Society's existence. The compilation shall be made from official documents and be capable of verification at any time. First, as regards object number one, let it be noticed that we have done things on the broadest possible scale, dealing with nations in the mass as well as with individuals or small groups. Colonel Olcott and I removed from New York to Bombay at the beginning of the year 1878, at which time we had just established relations between Western students of Oriental mysticism, and a few educated Hindus and Sinhalese. In the East we found division between sects, castes, and races; the ancient religions neglected, and by the educated classes unappreciated; the pride of race, reverence for ancestors, and patriotic spirit almost extinguished. Now the traveller will be struck with the brotherliness which has begun to prevail; the resuscitation of interest in ancestral character, achievements, and literature; and a fervor of patriotism which has culminated in the formation of the Indian National Congress—a political body with which our society has no connection, though it was organized by our fellows, Indian and Anglo-Indian. Soon after our arrival at Bombay our society began to grow, branches rapidly sprang up, and it became necessary to hold annual conventions of delegates representing the now widely-expanded society. Responsive to the president's call, thirty-odd branches sent as their representatives Hindu, Parsi, Buddhist, Mohammedan, Hebrew, and Christian fellows to the first convention at Bombay. The spectacle was unique in Indian history, and provoked wide journalistic comment. At the public meeting in Framji Cavasji Institute the platform was successively occupied by speakers of the above-named religions, who vied with each other in fervent declarations of mutual tolerance and good-will, to the accompaniment of tumultous applause from the audience. Thus the clear note of universal brotherhood was struck and the evangel of religious tolerance declared in a part of the world where previously there had been only sectarian hatred and selfish class egotism. This was in 1882. Annually since then the convention has met as a parliamentary body to transact the society's business, and not the least sectarian or race discord has occurred. The whole of India became leavened with the benign influence emanating from these meetings, through the agency of the delegates in their respective states and nations; and when the political agitation began, the National Congress that was called was

modelled upon our lines, and officered and managed mainly by our own fellows who had served as delegates in our conventions.

Besides helping to weave this golden web of brotherhood throughout India, our society has extended its filaments from that centre to Ceylon, Burmah, Siam, and Japan, bringing these peoples into fraternal relations with the Hindus, though of a different religion, and creating channels for international intercourse upon religious and educational subjects. In those countries, also, we have sown the same seed of good-will, and in Ceylon we are already reaping the harvest. In that evergreen, paradisaical isle of the sea we have revived and begun to purify Buddhism, established high-schools, taken some fifty minor schools under our supervision, circulated literature in all parts of the island, induced the government to proclaim Buddha's birthday a public holiday, founded two journals, created a printing-office, and brought the Sinhalese Buddhists into direct relations with their Japanese co-religionists.

This is what we have done in India and the far East. As to Europe, as we began to work in earnest here only three years ago, the effects begin to be hardly perceived as yet. Still in London, in the very centre of the most luxurious materialism, we have founded in the East End the first Working-Woman's Club, wholly free from theological creeds and conditions. Hitherto all such efforts have been sectarian, and have imposed special religious beliefs: ours is based on *brotherhood* alone, and recognizes no differences in creed as a barrier. When the club opens, a few weeks hence, the members will find themselves in a bright and pleasant home, with books, papers, and music at hand, and a band of their better-educated sisters will take in rotation, night after night, the duty of helping and guiding—not controlling—the evening recreation. Only those who know the dreary lives of our poor East-End girls, with temptation lurking in every form of amusement within their reach, will understand the brotherly nature of the service thus rendered to them. We (the cultured classes) make outcasts of these less fortunate members of our family, set them in a special part of the town, amid squalid surroundings and coarsening influences; and we then complain that their roughness shocks our refinement, their brutality jars on our delicacy! Here, then, against class division,

as in India against caste division, the Theosophical Society proclaims the Brotherhood of Man.

As regards the revival of Oriental literature, the whole press of India, Ceylon, and Japan unqualifiedly give us the credit of having done more in that direction than any other agency of modern times. We have not only helped to revive in India the ancient *Tols*, or pandit-schools of Sanskrit literature and philosophy, and to reawaken reverence for the class of real Yogis, or saintly devotees, but we have created a demand for reprints and translations of ancient Sanskrit classics, which is being met by the frequent issue of works of this class at Calcutta, Bombay, Benares, Lucknow, Lahore, Madras, and other Indian literary centres. Among the most important are the Vedas, Bhagavad Gita, the writings of Sankara, Patanjali, and other renowned Aryan philosophers and mystics. The Asiatic people have publicly testified most unqualifiedly their gratitude and respect to us for what we have done on the lines of the second of our declared objects. Nor should it be overlooked that the prevalent interest in theosophy and mystical Oriental philosophy in general, which the most casual observer is forced to see throughout Europe and America, is directly or indirectly the result of our society's activity. With thirty-eight branches in the United States, and others in various European countries, among whose members are men and women of high culture, including many writers for the press, it is easy enough to comprehend the justness of the above claim. Of course it is not for me to say how much, if anything, the books I have myself written, and the magazines I have edited and am editing in English and French, have helped to cause this new bent of the Western mind. Suffice it that it exists. For Theosophists it is the presage of the dawn of a new religious day for the world, the harbinger of a new marriage between science and religion, and of peace between the good people of the most incongruous sects—as the world thinks them.

Now as to the third object on our list. Properly speaking, the term "psychical research" should include the whole of the great movement known as modern spiritualism. But the subject is too vast to be dealt with in the closing paragraphs of an article. Suffice it to say that many investigators have been led to discriminate much more closely between the various classes of phenomena, while much has been done to weaken the sentimental,

but unphilosophical, superstition which made the "Spirits" of the departed the suffering spectators of the follies and crimes of the living. For details as to the conclusions we have arrived at on this subject, the reader must be referred to "The Key to Theosophy," wherein the question is dealt with at length. At least we may claim to have placed before the thinking public a logical, coherent, and philosophical scheme of man's origin, destiny, and evolution—a scheme preëminent above all for its rigorous adherence to justice. And, that we may broaden our criterion of truth, our research extends to an inquiry into the nature of the less known forces, cosmic and psychical. Upon such themes many of our books have been written, and many of our reprints of ancient works, with or without commentaries, have been selected with reference to the light they throw upon these *quæstiones vexatæ*.

In one word, our whole aim and desire are to help, in at least some degree, toward arriving at correct scientific views upon the nature of man, which carry with them the means of reconstructing for the present generation the deductive metaphysical or transcendental philosophy which alone is the firm, unshakable foundation of every religious philosophy. Theosophy, the universal solvent, is fulfilling its mission; the opalescent tints of the dawn of modern psychology are blending together, and will all be merged into the perfect daylight of truth, when the sun-orb of Eastern esotericism has mounted to its noon-stage. For many a long year the "great orphan," Humanity, has been crying aloud in the darkness for guidance and for light. Amid the increasing splendors of a progress purely material, of a science that nourished the intellect, but left the spirit to starve, Humanity, dimly feeling its origin and presaging its destiny, has stretched out towards the East empty hands that only a *spiritual* philosophy can fill. Aching from the divisions, the jealousies, the hatreds, that rend its very life, it has cried for some sure foundation on which to build the solidarity it senses, some metaphysical basis from which its loftiest social ideals may rise secure. Only the Masters of the Eastern wisdom can set that foundation, can satisfy at once the intellect and the spirit, can guide Humanity safely through the night to "the dawn of a larger day."

Such is the goal which theosophy has set itself to attain; such is the history of the modern movement; such is the work which theosophy has already accomplished in this nineteenth century.

H. P. BLAVATSKY.

"PROFESSIONALISM" IN SPORTS.

BY THE HON. THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

IT IS hardly necessary at the present day to enter a plea for athletic exercise and manly out-door sports. During the last twenty-five years there has been a wonderful growth of interest in and appreciation of healthy muscular amusements; and this growth can best be promoted by stimulating, within proper bounds, the spirit of rivalry on which all our games are based. The effect upon the physique of the sedentary classes, especially in the towns and cities, has already been very marked. We are much less liable than we were to reproaches on the score of our national ill health, of the bad constitutions of our men, and of the fragility and early decay of our women.

There are still plenty of people who look down on, as of little moment, the proper development of the body; but the men of good sense sympathize as little with these as they do with the even more noxious extremists who regard physical development as an end instead of a means. As a nation we have many tremendous problems to work out, and we need to bring every ounce of vital power possible to their solution. No people has ever yet done great and lasting work if its physical type was infirm and weak. Goodness and strength must go hand in hand if the Republic is to be preserved. The good man who is ready and able to strike a blow for the right, and to put down evil with the strong arm, is the citizen who deserves our most hearty respect. There is a certain tendency in the civilization of our time to underestimate or overlook the need of the virile, masterful qualities of the heart and mind which have built up and alone can maintain and defend this very civilization, and which generally go hand in hand with good health and the capacity to get the utmost possible use out of the body. There is no better way of counteracting this tendency than by en-

couraging bodily exercise, and especially the sports which develop such qualities as courage, resolution, and endurance.

The best of all sports for this purpose are those which follow the Macedonian rather than the Greek model: big-game hunting, mountaineering, the chase with horse and hound, and wilderness life with all its keen, hardy pleasures. The hunter and mountaineer lead healthier lives—in time of need they would make better soldiers—than the trained athlete. Nor need these pleasures be confined to the rich. The trouble with our men of small means is quite as often that they do not know how to enjoy pleasures lying at their doors as that they cannot afford them. From New York to Minneapolis, from Boston to San Francisco, there is no large city from which it is impossible to reach a tract of perfectly wild, wooded or mountainous land within forty-eight hours; and any two young men who can get a month's holiday in August or September cannot use it to better advantage than by tramping on foot, pack on back, over such a tract. Let them go alone; a season or two will teach them much woodcraft, and will enormously increase their stock of health, hardihood, and self-reliance. If one carries a light rifle or fowling-piece, and the other a fishing rod, they will soon learn to help fill out their own bill of fare. Of course they must expect to find the life pretty hard, and filled with disappointments at first; but the cost will be very trifling, and if they have courage, their reward is sure to come.

However, most of our people, whether from lack of means, time, or inclination, do not take to feats of this kind, and must get their fun and exercise in athletics proper. The years of late boyhood and early manhood—say from twelve or fourteen to twenty-eight or thirty, and often until much later—are those in which athletic sports prove not only most attractive, but also most beneficial to the individual and the race. In college—and in most of the schools which are preparatory for college—rowing, foot-ball, base-ball, running, jumping, sparring, and the like have assumed a constantly increasing prominence. Nor is this in any way a matter for regret. Of course any good is accompanied by some evil; and a small number of college boys, who would probably turn out badly anyhow, neglect everything for their sports, and so become of little use to themselves or any one else. But as a whole college life has been greatly the gainer by the change. Only a small proportion of college boys are going to become real

students and do original work in literature, science, or art; and these are certain to study their best in any event. The others are going into business or law or some kindred occupation; and these, of course, can study but little that will be directly of use to them in after-life. The college education of such men should be largely devoted to making them good citizens, and able to hold their own in the world; and character is far more important than intellect in making a man a good citizen or successful in his calling—meaning by character not only such qualities as honesty and truthfulness, but courage, perseverance, and self-reliance.

Now, athletic sports, if followed properly, and not elevated into a fetich, are admirable for developing character, besides bestowing on the participants an invaluable fund of health and strength. In each of the larger colleges there are from fifty to a hundred men who, on the various class and college crews and ball teams, or in the track and gymnasium games, compete for the different championships; and for every one such man who actually competes there are five or ten who take part in the practice games, train more or less, and get a great deal of benefit from the work. The careful system of measurements which have been taken at Harvard shows a marked improvement in the physique of the men even during the last ten years; and—what is more important—shows that this improvement is, if anything, more marked in the case of the average man than in that of the picked champions.

The colleges contain but a small proportion of the men interested in amateur athletics, as can be seen by the immense number of ball clubs, rowing clubs, polo clubs, hunt clubs, bicycle clubs, snow-shoe clubs, lacrosse clubs, and athletic clubs proper which are to be found scattered among our cities and towns. Almost any man of sedentary life who wishes to get exercise enough to keep him in vigorous health can readily do so at one of these clubs; and an increasing proportion of our young men are finding this out and acting accordingly. More than one of our most famous athletes originally took to athletics for his health; and, on the other hand, be it remembered always that the sports which prove most beneficial bodily to a man are those which interest and amuse him. If he belongs to a rowing club or base-ball nine, the eagerness and excitement of a contest with a rival association spur him on to keep his body in good condition; and, as with the college athletes, there are scores of outsiders, whom these championship contests

attract, and whose love for athletics is increased thereby, for every individual contestant who directly participates in them. It is needless to say that under the head of manly sports I do not include pigeon-shooting ; and still less rabbit-coursing, or any other game where the man does nothing but look on.

Already this awakening of interest in manly sports, this proper care of the body, have had a good effect upon our young men ; but there are, of course, accompanying dangers in any such movement. With very few exceptions the man who makes some athletic pursuit his main business, instead of turning to it as a health-giving pastime, ceases to be a particularly useful citizen. Of course I do not refer to the men who act as trainers and instructors at the different colleges and clubs ; these perform a most useful and honorable function, and among them several could be named who have rendered as high service as any men in the community.

But the amateur athlete who thinks of nothing but athletics, and makes it the serious business of his life, becomes a bore, if nothing worse. A young man who has broken a running or jumping record, who has stroked a winning club crew, or played on his college nine or eleven, has a distinct claim to our respect; but if, when middle-aged, he has still done nothing more in the world, he forfeits even this claim which he originally had.

It is so in an even more marked degree with the "professional" athlete. In America the difference between amateurs and professionals is in one way almost the reverse of what it is in England, and accords better with the ways of life of our democratic community. In England the average professional is a man who works for his living, and the average amateur is one who does not; whereas with us the amateur usually is, and always ought to be, a man who, like other American citizens, works hard at some regular calling,—it matters not what, so long as it is respectable,—while the professional is very apt to be a gentleman of more or less elegant leisure, aside from his special pursuit.

The mere statement of the difference is enough to show that the amateur, and not the professional, is the desirable citizen, the man who should be encouraged. Our object is to get as many of our people as possible to take part in manly, healthy, vigorous pastimes, which will benefit the whole nation ; it is not to produce a limited class of athletes who shall make it the

business of their lives to do battle with one another for the popular amusement. Most masterful nations have shown a strong taste for manly sports. In the old days, when we ourselves were still a people of backwoodsmen, at every merrymaking there were sure to be trials of skill and strength, at running, wrestling, and rifle-shooting, among the young men. We should encourage by every method the spirit which makes such trials popular; it is a very excellent revival of old-time American ways. But the existence of a caste of gladiators in the midst of a population which does not itself participate in any manly sports is usually, as it was at Rome, a symptom of national decadence.

The Romans who, when the stern and simple strength of Rome was departing, flocked to the gladiatorial shows, were influenced only by a ferocious craving for bloody excitement; not by any sympathy with men of stout heart and tough sinew. So it is, to a lesser extent, to-day. In base-ball alone, the professional teams, from a number of causes, have preserved a fairly close connection with non-professional players, and have done good work in popularizing a most admirable and characteristic American game; but even here the outlook is now less favorable, and, aside from this one pastime, professionalism is the curse of many an athletic sport, and the chief obstacle to its healthy development. Professional rowing is under a dark cloud of suspicion because of the crooked practices which have disgraced it. Horse-racing is certainly not in an ideal condition. A prize-fight is simply brutal and degrading. The people who attend it, and make a hero of the prize-fighter, are,—excepting boys who go for fun and don't know any better,—to a very great extent, men who hover on the border-line of criminality; and those who are not are speedily brutalized, and are never rendered more manly. They form as ignoble a body as do the kindred frequenters of rat-pit and cock-pit. The prize-fighter and his fellow professional athletes of the same ilk are, together with their patrons in every rank of life, the very worst foes with whom the cause of general athletic development has to contend.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

AMERICAN INFLUENCE IN CHINA.

BY THE HON. JOHN RUSSELL YOUNG, EX-MINISTER TO CHINA.

THE declaration attributed to His Excellency, Li Hung Chang, the Premier of the Chinese cabinet, to the effect that the government contemplate retaliation upon Americans in China because of our legislation restricting the immigration of Chinese laborers to California, I should accept with reserve. The Premier must know that a course of reprisals toward Americans would be impossible in China. Most of the Americans in Peking are under the protection of international law, and if there were apprehensions as to Chinese good-will, they could easily go to Chefoo or Shanghai, and be near their own men-of-war. The open ports, Canton, Tientsin, Shanghai, and other places inhabited by foreigners have their own local governments; are "concessions," in fact, wherein the authority of China has no municipal recognition; and, as in Shanghai, the Chinese residents are protected, taxed, and governed. These ports are likewise under the constant supervision of foreign men-of-war. The missionaries in the interior might be disturbed, but the first note of danger would send them to the shelter of the open ports.

No measure of retaliation could be applied to Americans in China that did not apply to other nationalities. We have restricted Chinese immigration, but this has been done by Russia in her Asiatic dominions and by England in many of her colonies. The terms of these restrictions are not before me, but I have no doubt that, especially in Russia, they are more severe than in the United States.

There could be no retaliation that did not begin with the suspension of diplomatic relations between China and the United States, and the denunciation of existing treaties. Unless these

relations were abrogated, the "most-favored-nation clause" in our treaty would secure to Americans every right given to others. This extreme measure would be grave indeed, and I should hesitate to believe that it had ever been seriously considered by the Peking government.

As to business retaliation, boycotting, and so on, closing old markets and seeking new ones, I think that the Chinese, who are the shrewdest of merchants, will be governed by the good old law of supply and demand. They will buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest markets. If money is to be made out of the Americans, their fine business instinct will not be disturbed by diplomatic emotions in Washington or Peking.

I should, furthermore, say that any such policy as is attributed to the Chinese Premier would be repugnant to China. The Chinese are not an aggressive people. They detest war, and teach their children to look upon the trade of the warrior as in no sense a holy calling. They have not, because of the dense ignorance of their heathenism, awakened to the dignity of that beautiful thought, which will come to them with the Beatitudes and Psalms of David, that man's chief end is to cut the throat of man; that the consummation of our noblest civilization is to be found in armaments; the burden of stupendous debts; a geography strewn with battle-fields; a history little more than chronicles of desolation and rapine. It may be as well that these benighted people should cherish their delusions, when we remember what was done by Mongol warriors in ancient days, and that Asia, under pressure and temptation, has developed the gravest problems of modern times.

This leads to a question of the deepest interest to Americans, a paramount question—namely, our relations with China. We hold towards that empire a unique relation. The youngest of civilizations is divided by a summer sea from the oldest: on one side of this ocean, what might be called an overflowing reservoir; on the other, an exhausted receiver. The laws of nature would seem to draw the keen-witted, thrifty millions of overpopulated China to the hungry acres of the United States. And this would be the result, making the American continent once more the home of the Mongolian, to the ultimate elimination of other races, but for the policy of the United States and British America.

That policy is no longer in debate. Were it otherwise, nothing is more certain than that in Peking, as well as in Washington, it is understood that the regulation of emigration is to be considered and determined in the friendliest manner; that China would aid rather than retard the work; that there never has been a time when China would not prefer absolute restriction to the slightest form of contingent emigration to the United States. It is in our own hands. There can be no measure of restriction too comprehensive for China. I might, perhaps, complete this observation by saying that, if a treaty of restriction would return every Chinaman to his own country and send every alien out of China, it would be hailed with joy throughout the Celestial Empire.

These are opinions formed during a prolonged residence in China, and under circumstances wherein I was honored with the friendship of the statesmen who govern that vast empire. It cannot be said with too much emphasis that no question as to emigration ever existed between China and the United States. Nothing is more wearisome than the endless declaration about the poor Chinese trying to unload their people on our shores. In 1884, acting under the orders of the government and in public service, I visited every port in China. I could not learn, nor do I think the records of the Peking legation will show, that a Chinese laborer ever emigrated from a Chinese port to the United States, or that the Chinese government ever contemplated such emigration except to prevent it.

Whence, then, does this immigration come? and what interest is served in its maintenance and growth? It comes from a British colony and is a British commercial interest—the most valuable incident in England's Chinese commerce except the monopoly in opium.

The island of Hong Kong, ceded to Great Britain as one of the perquisites of the ignominious opium war,—an area of about thirty square miles,—is separated from China by a narrow strait, and within a few hours by river of Canton, the capital of the Kwangtung and Hainan provinces, where reside a population of thirty millions. Canton itself is, I think, the largest of the Chinese cities. Hong Kong holds the same geographical relation to Canton that New York does to Albany, and has a population, say, perhaps of 160,000, of whom all but 10,000 are Chinese.

From this population, constantly recruited by river emigration from Canton, we have Chinese emigration to all parts of the world. The emigrants sail under the British flag and to British gain. China has no more to do with Hong Kong than with Dublin or Cardiff. As a traffic none has paid so well as the coolie business since the slave-trade. When we think of steamers crowded with Chinamen, going from Hong Kong to San Francisco, say from a thousand to twelve hundred laborers, each laborer paying fifty dollars for a passage, the net cost of transportation not more than ten, the gains can be appreciated. We can see how those who control so rich a trade defend it. The clamor that reaches the United States in regard to Chinese emigration; the ingeniously-continued articles in foreign newspapers; telegraphic despatches expressing the indignation of Li Hung Chang; indignation meetings in Canton; emotion among the Chinese as to their exclusion from America—all this literature of invective and remonstrance comes from English sources, comes as an expression of disappointment at the threatened suppression of a valuable trade.

I should regret if I failed to make this conviction clear to American readers, because it lies at the very root of this vexed question. It has been, as I have said, my privilege to have lived in terms of intimacy for years with the statesmen who govern China, to hold, as I do, many of them in terms of cherished and grateful friendship, to converse with them on many subjects—the problems of their own quaint and venerable civilization, the still greater problems involved in the push and go of the mighty West impending upon them from year to year, and disturbing the wisdom, the traditions, the piety, of ages. I can recall but one occasion when the question of emigration was ever mentioned by any minister. The Premier one day broached it in a spirit of half-remonstrance, as an offset or a demur to some claim I may have advanced on behalf of the United States. The tenor of my reply was that, as I knew neither His Excellency nor his government had any interest in the emigration question, as they had more immediate concerns than the commerce of Great Britian, any discussion of the theme would be a waste of time. There was a smile of assent. The subject dropped, never to be mentioned again.

I venture upon this personal incident, as it has, I think, a

pregnant meaning. It is not because of what America may or may not do in regard to immigration that our relations with China have become strained. But we have done things not in any way necessary, in a wanton, irregular fashion. We have, as in 1888, when the Exclusion Bill was passed, gone out of our way to offend a nation with whom we were on terms of peculiar friendship, with abuse. Our influence amounted virtually to a moral protectorate. Recalling the days of Burlingame, when the whisper of an American minister had more influence in the councils of Peking than the combined fleets of great powers, we can see what we have thrown away. The cynical thought has sometimes come to me, as I read debates and expositions on the Chinese question, that nothing could explain their course but an active interest in British commercial prosperity. If it had been the intention of those perfervid advocates to prevent a solution of the Chinese question; to weaken American influence in China; to postpone and perhaps destroy that development of our commerce with Asia which the greatness of our commonwealth on the Pacific demands; to make assured the commercial supremacy of Great Britain in Asia, they could not have labored to that end with more effectiveness and zeal.

American influence in China was not the work of a day, nor the inspiration of any political party or administration. It began with the subtle genius of Caleb Cushing, our first minister to China. It was developed by a succession of gifted gentlemen sent by some felicitous inspiration to represent American interests, and by the public spirit of commercial enterprise, the splendor of whose achievements might rival what was done by the East Indian Company. The extent of what was done cannot now be known, buried as it is in the archives of diplomacy and the ledgers of merchant princes who, from the days of John Jacob Astor and Stephen Girard, created and sustained the China trade. American influence in China was the work of Cushing, Alexander Everett, Humphrey Marshall, Robert M. McLane, William B. Reed, the illustrious Burlingame, that clear-minded and patient statesman, Governor Low, of California, of Seward and Angell and Dr. Williams. I write these names in a spirit of gratitude and reverence, as men whose names America will one day honor, when in the course of historial research the value of their work is known.

American influence was based upon American honor. We

could have no quarrel with China—no purposes of territorial aggrandizement. We had no long continuous frontier like Russia; no policy of an ever-extending empire like Great Britain; no emotional impulses towards colonial expansion, which so often have found pathetic expression in the seafaring adventures of France; no sudden awakening to the imperial dreams of Alexander, which disturbed Prince Bismarck, or the policy of the later rulers of Germany. We were the friends of China, nearer by sea than New York to Liverpool twenty years ago. We had been engaged in no impious opium war. It was our policy, I may say the law of the commercial existence of our Pacific empire, that the autonomy of China and Japan should be maintained; that the sphere of English influence in Asia should cease at Singapore; that even our traditional friendship with Russia would not win our assent to the closing-up to American enterprise of the markets of China, which would come with the advance of Russian dominion to Peking or Hankow. Therefore China, as was shown during her war with France, arising out of the melancholy French experiments in Tonquin, leaned upon the United States, and took her guidance even in matters leading to peace or war.

Nor would it be just for me to overlook what was done toward the consolidation of American influence in China by that illustrious and memorable citizen, General Grant. It was when in Tientsin, as the guest of the great viceroy, Li Hung Chang, that General Grant formed those conclusions in regard to what he believed should be the American policy towards China and Japan to which he never afterwards failed to give expression. I remember the earnestness with which he said at the time: "How I wish I could have known ten years ago what I have learned here." General Grant met in terms of familiar intercourse the princes and statesmen who govern China. He discussed with them every phase of their domestic and foreign policy. He saw, and pressed upon them, the development of their resources, and he learned of the incredible difficulties attending the attempt to introduce Western methods into so venerable and conservative a civilization. He realized, I believe, that while progress in the Mississippi valley might be that of the avalanche, in the valley of the Yangtze it could only be that of the glacier. He felt the meaning of the observation addressed to him one day by Li Hung Chang: "You gentlemen think we are moving too slowly. If we could

take your pace and keep it, you would in twenty years complain that we were moving too rapidly." He laid it down as a fundamental principle of Oriental policy that between China and Japan there should be the closest alliance; that neither nation could have any part in the ventures of Western powers that would not in time do it harm. He formed the profound conviction that there was nothing of more importance to the peace and prosperity of many millions of men than that there should be between these Eastern nations and the United States, their near and powerful neighbor, such an understanding as would assure their independence, and give to the Pacific States of America the commercial supremacy which belongs to them. Nor do I think that any incident in the glorious career of Grant ever gave him more pleasure than that, as a private gentleman, after conversations with Prince Kung, then at the head of the Chinese government, and the lamented Iwakura, the Prime Minister of the Mikado, he was permitted to write the terms of arbitration which settled their differences about the Loo Choo Islands, and removed all danger of war between China and Japan. And when the mighty soldier at length found rest at Riverside, and it was proposed to build a monument to his memory, among the earliest subscriptions were those of Li Hung Chang and the Emperor of Japan.

That our influence should have been menaced, and perhaps overthrown, by such a measure as the Exclusion Bill of September, 1888, is one of those questionable tributes which we must on occasion pay for the blessings of a parliamentary government tempered by political audacity and ignorance. It was the outcome of the very wantonness of party desperation. It was our policy to exclude Chinese labor. The means for doing this came from the Chinese government in the form of a most effective treaty, representing as it did the traditional policy of the Chinese government—namely, that it wanted to keep its people at home. This treaty passed the Senate, with some indifferent amendments, which might as well have been omitted for the good or evil they did. Thus amended, it was necessary that the treaty should go to Peking for ultimate consideration. Bear in mind that this treaty was the work of the Chinese government; that it was a rigid measure of exclusion; that it was tendered by China in goodwill, and in recognition of economical perplexities in the United States. Its ratification in due course, even with the Senate

amendments, was a matter of form. Whether the cabinet of Peking took a long or short time to ratify was a minor consideration. We had no immediate interests, no burning issues, at stake; and China after other experiences with foreign powers, notably what is known as her Chefoo convention with Great Britain, knew that years might elapse before the ratification of a treaty between friendly powers, without peril to their relations. Nothing was more assured than the acceptance in spirit, and I think in the letter, of the convention of 1888.

It fell upon one of those unfortunate years in American history known as a presidential campaign, when the spirit of misrule and intrigue seems to ride the air. It was necessary to carry the Pacific coast for the Democracy; and how could that better be done than by an appeal to that curious phase of political emotional insanity supposed to pervade the Pacific States in regard to the Chinese?

The American Minister, Mr. Denby, the distinguished gentleman who now represents us in Peking, was instructed to say to the Peking cabinet that he must have an answer as to the fate of the treaty within forty-eight hours, and that, if no answer came, he could assume it had been rejected. If this note had been addressed to a European power, Mr. Denby would have received his passports, and serious explanations would have been requested at Washington. Even the meek, indifferent government of China could not respond to so rude a summons, and it was taken for granted that the treaty was rejected.

Mr. Scott, of Pennsylvania, one of the ablest and most strenuous supporters of Mr. Cleveland, offered a bill in the House for the exclusion of the Chinese, on the assumed ground that China would not ratify any treaty to that end. We now see—what was doubtless well known to Mr. Scott and the administration—that this ground did not exist; that the Chinese government was only too anxious to assent to any treaty satisfactory to the United States. Mr. Scott must have known, or he could have learned the facts in three minutes by telephone from Mr. Bayard, that the convention was safe in the hands of China; that our relations with that power, so far as emigration was concerned, were coming to a satisfactory result through diplomacy; that Mr. Bayard himself, as a wise minister, had in his quiet way done more towards an amicable settlement than a thousand brawling politicians could

have done in a thousand years; and that no other result could have followed the insult to China implied in a legislative measure which questioned her good faith than to overthrow the proud work of American influence in China, which we owed to the genius of men like Cushing, Burlingame, and Low.

The true policy of our country towards China should be based upon a generous recognition of her traditional friendship with the United States and a due consideration of the grave problems which attend the government of a vast, teeming, and, in many provinces, over-populated empire. We should have the same consideration for the susceptibilities and pride of the rulers of China that we show to other nations. We should defend the autonomy of the empire as strenuously as we maintain the Monroe Doctrine on the American continent, seeing in that an assurance of commercial greatness to our Pacific States. We should, if we could, encourage the rulers to some system of colonization under government control. I do not know how far this latter suggestion could take practical effect, but it is worth the trial.

Speaking to a distinguished Chinese statesman on one occasion, I referred to what had been done in the United States by Spanish and English, to the settlements at St. Augustine, Plymouth, and Jamestown, and thought that an outlet for Chinese energy could be found in Borneo, New Guinea, or on the banks of the Congo. "My people," he said, "do not create civilization. They follow and live upon it. They were never intended to make empires as you have made them." I have often thought of this as containing the essential truth of about all that could be written on the question of Chinese emigration.

JOHN RUSSELL YOUNG.

IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

BY THE VERY REV. G. GRANVILLE BRADLEY, D.D., DEAN OF WESTMINSTER.

IN THE summer of last year a large number of the leading representatives of various societies of American engineers were cordially welcomed and hospitably entertained in London by the well-known Institution of Civil Engineers, of which the chief founder was Thomas Telford, and which for fourscore years has had enrolled among its presidents and members the most distinguished names in the annals of British engineering and mechanical science. Among the various modes of entertainment provided for their guests by the president and council of the Institution was a visit to Westminster Abbey—a pilgrimage which few educated Americans would be willing to omit. As the number of visitors was far too large to be conducted in a single group through the various portions of the Abbey, it was suggested by the Dean of Westminster that the whole party should be invited to meet him in the Chapel of Henry VII., and that he should there endeavor to bring before them such of the historical and sacred associations of the chapel, and of the great church of which it forms a part, as were most likely to impress so unusual and so interesting an audience. It was, no doubt, the first occasion in the history of that far-famed chapel on which so large a party of educated Americans had met together beneath its roof. The following pages, which embody the principal topics that would naturally be brought before such visitors at such a time and in such a place, may be of interest to a wider circle than that to which the address referred to was originally delivered.

It was, I think I may venture to say, by a happy accident that the thought suggested itself, some months ago, of inviting the American representatives of a great profession to meet the present guardian of Westminster Abbey in the Chapel (as we are

accustomed to call it) of Henry VII.* It was not easy to realize at the moment the full and significant, the almost strange, appropriateness of the place, which was named, in the first instance, mainly on the ground of its being at once convenient and interesting to such honored visitors. I shall have no difficulty in convincing an American reader that it would have been hard to select, after the most careful consideration, a spot so singularly suggestive for such a gathering. Let him think for a moment of the time† at which its walls were raised, when they and that wondrous roof took the place of the humbler and narrower "Chapel of Our Lady" which had stood for nearly three centuries as an adjunct to the great church hard by, and which was destroyed as ruthlessly by Henry VII. as was the Norman fabric of the Confessor, within two centuries of its completion, by Henry's ancestor, the third of that name. It was a time that marked the transition from those middle ages—to which belonged both the church of the Confessor and the stately fabric which took its place—to the modern world of which Americans and Englishmen are alike the children.

It is not merely that the style of architecture of that Tudor age is in almost every detail, as in its general effect, wholly different from that which the visitor leaves behind him as he passes within its open gates. But from the moment that its first stone was laid, at the beginning of the eventful sixteenth century, to that of its completion, some years after its founder had been laid in his grave beneath its floor, the air of England and of Europe was full of the germs of changes whose results, so manifold, so far-reaching, were as yet quite unrecognized. The old world was in travail: what its progeny should be it knew not. The shrewd, suspicious, and cautious sovereign who designed and raised the fabric could not read the future. Infinite were the pains he took to provide for perpetual masses to be sung for his soul, "while

* Strictly speaking, the Chapel of Henry VII. is a lady chapel, or chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and, as such, is attached to the eastern extremity of the church of the monastery, or abbey, of Westminster, which was itself dedicated to St. Peter, and by a time-honored misnomer is popularly called "The Abbey." Such a chapel had been added to the Norman church of Edward the Confessor in the early part of Henry III.'s reign, nominally by the King, but mainly by the exertions of Richard de Berkynge, abbot from 1222 to 1246. The original lady chapel was, therefore, the oldest part of the abbey church, as it existed when Henry VII. came to the throne.

† The first stone was laid January 24, 1503. The walls and roof were, no doubt, completed by 1509, in the April of which year the King died.

the world shall endure,"* by monks whom, a generation later, his son and successor was to disinherit. He crowded the walls of the building that bears his name with the effigies in stone of early and mediæval saints,† whose worship was soon to be forbidden, whose very names were to be half-forgotten. Almost his last offerings to adorn its altar were two gifts that spoke of unabated credulity in an age when an Erasmus was already branding with gentle scorn all such spurious specimens of the bones of saints or of more sacred relics. A so-called leg-bone of St. George,‡ a few so-called drops of the Saviour's blood, were to give a special sanctity to the altar which was to be raised above his grave.§ Yet within a walk of a few minutes from that very spot a Caxton‖ had already carried to completion his work at his printing-press, within the Abbey precincts, in the almonry of the great Benedictine Monastery of which that historic church was but a portion. He had already placed in English hands the results of the great invention that by slow degrees was to bring all literature and all knowledge within the reach, not of the few, but of the many, and which, by diffusing a knowledge of Holy Scripture and by familiarizing the mind of the coming age with the stirring thoughts of the leaders and teachers of mankind, was to play such a mighty part in the awakening of the conscience and intellect of the world.

It was a time when the keels of the little ships of the Genoese Columbus had already ploughed the waters of a new world—need I say with what momentous results? Already from the port of Bristol the Venetian Cabot had penetrated the icebergs of Labrador up to the very coast of America.¶ Before the roof of Henry VII.'s Chapel was completed the merchant fleets of the golden age of Portugal had doubled the Cape, and their flags were flying in the ports of India. Balboa was soon to climb the

* See the indentures between the King and the abbot and convent as given in Neale.

† Of these no less than ninety-five still remain.

‡ See extract from Henry VII.'s will. "Our grate pece of the holie crosse . . . and also the preciouse relique of oon of the leggs of Saint George, set in silver parcel-gilt." Quoted in Nichols's edition of Erasmus's "Pilgrimages."

§ *I. e.*, the Jesus altar, which was to be placed at the east end of his tomb.

‖ Caxton's press was set up in 1471 under Abbot Millyng. His chief friend was Abbot Esterey, 1474–1498.

¶ Columbus died while the chapel was building, A. D. 1506. The date of Cabot's voyage from Bristol was 1497 A. D.

heights from which he could look down on the waters of the Pacific. Cortes,* with his handful of adventurous Spaniards, was to cross the Atlantic and master the feeble civilization of Mexico.

Already, in short, those mighty changes were in progress which in due time were to shift the central highway of commerce and civilization from the Mediterranean Sea to the Atlantic Ocean, and which in due time, also, were to work out the transformation of England from the home of a pastoral, agricultural, and military race to that of a swarming, industrial, maritime, and colonizing population. A silent teaching was being mutely preached, even while those walls were rising, which was to lead her no longer to waste her strength in misleading efforts to realize her dream of supremacy in France, as still symbolized in the *fleur de lys* on these entrance gates,† but to train her to fulfil her true destiny, and to become the fruitful mother of free and mighty nations. I need not dwell on other impending changes; on that other birth with which the age was in travail; how the calmer voices of the English Colet and of the Dutch Erasmus,‡ as one or the other smiled sadly at the jewelled relics of the shrine at Canterbury, or sighed for the day "when the weakest woman should read in her own tongue the word of God," or pleaded against the multiplication of councils and dogmas, and in favor of setting Christ himself in the place which the church had usurped—how these were soon to be lost in the thunder of the voice of Luther, or drowned in the din of all the fierce and far-reaching struggles of the Reformation era.

They have, one and all, left their traces around the visitor who stands on that chapel floor. There, in the vault of its founder, beneath the tomb and effigies which we owe to the master hand of Torregiano, sleeps the James, King at once of England and of Scotland, to whose reign we owe, with all its incalculable results, our English version of the Bible. There, at the head of the same vault, lies beneath the altar§—once desecrated, now restored—the

* Balboa, 1513. Conquest of Mexico, 1519–21.

† The *fleur de lys* of France is conspicuous among the interesting devices on the gate of the Chapel of Henry VII.

‡ See Green's "History of England," pp. 299, 306; also, Nichols's edition of Erasmus's "Pilgrimages."

§ The high altar of the chapel was the last of the three works carried out by the Italian artist, Torregiano, who had already completed the tomb and effigies of Henry VII. and his Queen, and that of Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond

body of the Protestant boy-King, the founder's grandson, Edward VI. He was laid in his grave with no mediæval dirge and Latin requiem, but with the then unfamiliar words of our now familiar burial service. The solemn "earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust," was to pass from the lips of the Cranmer with whose preaching the pulpit so near his grave is traditionally associated, and who was soon to follow his young King to the unseen world through the gate of a death of torture.

I hope I have not lingered too long over thoughts impossible to repress in connection with those to whom a visit to such a spot must have a special interest,—visitors shall I call them, or pilgrims?—whose homes lie beyond an ocean that no longer estranges; men and women who share our ancient memories, and whose fathers for centuries breathed the air, and rested at last beneath the soil, of our own island home. No spot in that great Abbey can be to them more deeply interesting.

And now it may be worth while to point out to any reader such as these a few of the more direct and less general associations of this same chapel, in which he may imagine himself to be seated. As he passes within its open gates, with their ornamental work of ancient bronze, he may read something of the ideas that filled its founder's brain as he designed and planned it. There he may pause for a moment to decipher the symbols that still tell, not only of the idle dream of recovering the throne of France, which he claimed as being the grandchild of the daughter of France, the widow of its conqueror, Henry V., but of something far more real and far more substantial. In that Portcullis of Lancaster, that Fetterlock of York, may be read the peaceful union of the two rival houses of York and Lancaster, the close of the Wars of the Roses, in which the feudal baronage of England had dashed itself to pieces in savage battles, in ruthless slaughter, and on bloody scaffolds. Few of us but can recall Shakespeare's*

> "shadow like an angel, with bright hair
> Dabbled in blood,"

or the mother's lament over her two "unblown flowers," cut off so

and Derby, in the south aisle. It was placed beneath a canopy, supported on four pillars, with an angel at each corner, displaying "the instruments of the Passion." It was probably completed in 1519, and was destroyed in 1643 under the direction of a committee appointed by the Long Parliament to demolish "monuments of idolatry." The altar as it stands was replaced in 1879.

* "Richard III." Act. i., Sc. 4; *id.*, Act iv., Sc. 4.

early, whose bones still lie in the compass of one urn in "the Innocents' Corner" in the northern aisle. High up on the same gates, as in the eastern window, stands the device of the crown placed on the thorn bush that spoke of the kingdom as won neither by inheritance nor yet by marriage, but by "the judgment of God,"* on the field of Bosworth. So on the fair "closure" that surrounds the founder's tomb we may observe the dragon that silently asserts the claim of the son of the Welsh Tudor to share the blood of the mythical King Arthur and of the ancient British monarchs. We may remember also, as we examine that monument of Torregiano's art, that the three coffins underneath it mark the long-delayed and peaceful consolidation of the whole island in which our fathers lived — a consolidation marked by the accession to the throne of England first of a Welsh and secondly of a Scottish king. And from this grave we may pass with redoubled interest to the ancient chapel of the Confessor in the great church below, where for three centuries hung, hard by the shrine of the the meek royal saint, the golden circlet torn from the head of the last Welsh king, and the "stone of fate" wrested from untamable Scotland by the Edward who sleeps so near it; and whatever blood runs in our veins, Scottish or Welsh or English, we may feel that this chapel breathes a message of peace to all those ancient symbols of the discord of centuries.

But these are mere fragments of the associations that swarm around the visitor to this Tudor chapel. Here in its northern aisle lie side by side the coffins of two sisters—the great Elizabeth, whose memory is cherished in the name of the State of Virginia, and the unloved and unhappy Mary. There in its southern aisle, close to the kneeling figure of her murdered husband, Darnley, is the effigy of the Mary, Queen of Scots, whose death-warrant Elizabeth signed. Their spirits are with the Father of all spirits: their bodies rest beneath the same roof in this "temple of reconciliation and peace." There in the same grave sleeps, amidst the wreck of the Stuart race, the Prince Rupert whose headstrong charges broke in vain against the steadfast courage of Cromwell and his Ironsides. Beneath the feet of those who tread this floor still sleeps the much-loved daughter of Cromwell,† amidst the

* "The crowne which it pleased God to geve us with the victorie of our enemy at our first felde." Henry VII.'s will.

† Elizabeth Claypole, buried August 10, 1656.

graves of kings—of the Cromwell who was laid to his rest in kingly pomp beneath its eastern window. Hard by, and side by side with the Stuarts from whom she sprung, lies the ancestress* of the House of Hanover. Almost in its centre sleeps the Hanoverian King, George II., his dust mingling with that of the good Queen Caroline. Beneath the same pavement are the graves of one after another of the same dynasty; among them that of the Cumberland who broke the hopes of the Stuarts on the bloody moor of Culloden. These are only some of the memories which this chapel evokes. It covers the dust alike of Charles II., of William III. and of Queen Mary, and of Queen Anne, her husband, and their offspring. Yet I cannot turn from it without reminding my readers that it includes among its treasures the grave of my beloved and lamented predecessor, the Arthur Stanley who was as dear to the heart of America as to that of England, or without calling attention to the window that he raised to the memory of his wife, herself of the race of the Robert Bruce of Bannockburn, where the sun setting in the far west still speaks of a tie† that bound them to lands and communities that lie beyond the ocean.

And which shall I mention of the innumerable points of interest in the great church itself, through which the visitor will pass as he leaves this chapel? Shall I speak of the graves of its early kings, where, round the shrine that holds the bones of the Confessor, sleep—not, as here, in vaults beneath the pavement, but above ground in their marble tombs—the third Henry, who raised that church of such peerless beauty and built that "incomparable" chapter-house; the Edward whose trophies torn from Wales and Scotland I have just mentioned; his grandson, the third Edward, who began the century of long and terrible wars with France; the ill-starred Richard II., whose youthful portrait still hangs upon our walls, and whose bones were at last brought to their long home by his remorseful conqueror; the fifth Henry, above whose headless effigy still rises the fair chantry raised to his memory by the wife and child from whom Death so soon divided him, and still hang the shield and helmet and saddle

* Elizabeth, wife of the Elector Palatine, eldest daughter of James I, grandmother of George I.

† Lord Elgin, Lady Augusta Stanley's brother, was Governor-General of Canada from 1846 to 1855. Her second brother, Sir F. Bruce, was for some years a representative of Great Britain at Washington.

that tell of the day of Agincourt? There, too, rest at last the bones of his wife, the descendant of St. Louis, from whose second marriage sprung the father of the first Tudor king, of whose work here we have already spoken.

I must not linger over these memories of an unforgotten past. But I may remind those who enter that great church by its northern transept that they tread, perhaps unconsciously, on the dust of statesmen who bear names as familiar to Americans as to ourselves; of a Grattan, a Castlereagh, of two Pitts, and of Charles James Fox. Above them rise the statues not only of a Peel, a Beaconsfield, a Palmerston, the three Cannings, but one commanding figure with arm outstretched looks down upon the visitor as he passes through the northern entrance. It represents the dominating figure of the middle period of the last century, of the epoch of which the great transatlantic republic was the latest birth; the statesman whose greatness is identified with the expansion of Great Britain. It is the Chatham to whose sagacity we owe the choice of Wolfe and the end of that strife that was decided on the Heights of Abraham. You may see him there, that maker of the greatness of a greater Britain, with eagle countenance and eager gesture, as though still not merely hurling defiance at his country's foes, but uttering his memorable pleading for what he believed to be the righteous cause of the yet unborn republic beyond the seas.

As we pass from the Tudor chapel to that northern transept, we may pause before the huge and towering memorial of the dying Wolfe; of him to whose dear-bought victory we might almost say that we owe the momentous—let me use once more the word—the momentous result that English—not French—is the speech, English—not French—the race, of the masters of North America. Or if we cross then towards the southern transept, we may stay our steps at the spot where, from the days of the Norman Conqueror, every sovereign of England has received the crown; and we may pause for a moment at the place where our Queen, honored in America as in her own realm, gave thanks amidst her children and her children's children, and surrounded by 10,000 of her people, for fifty years of beneficent rule. We may pass onwards by the bust of Dryden to the bust of Longfellow, dear to England as to his own people. All around us are the graves or the memorials of poets, of writers, and of thinkers,

from the tomb of Chaucer, who was laid to rest five hundred years ago, to that of Charles Dickens, into whose still open grave poor men and women and children threw their offerings of summer flowers, scarcely twenty summers before these pages will appear.*

A few steps will lead us from Poets' Corner to the nave. There, amidst the memorials of gallant soldiers and sailors, whose stubborn heroism built up in later days the English empire, we shall notice the monument of André, with its fair crown of American autumn leaves, symbolizing the healing of the long-past bitterness of an almost civil strife. There, too, we may note the one spot on consecrated English walls that contains an effigy of Washington. Thence we may cross to the monument —removed of late in order to be placed within the reach of every American visitor—of the young Howe who fell on the march to Ticonderoga; raised to him by a grateful "Province of Massachusetts" not yet divided from the realm of England. Or we may enter the dim baptistery and, above the effigy of Wordsworth, the bust of Keble, and the memorial of the blind Fawcett, raise our eyes to the window placed in memory of two sacred poets† of this his mother-land by a citizen of Philadelphia.

It would be easy to say much more that would have a special interest for visitors to the Abbey from that great republic whose territory seems to us—shut within the narrow limits of our four seas—almost boundless, and whose population is already five times greater than was that of this island two centuries ago. I would only remind the citizens of the United States that the link which enables you to bind together in one nation under one government that vast republic, came to you, we might almost say, as a legacy from these very precincts. Enter that "incomparable" chapter-house, among whose storied windows is one that bears the stars and stripes that mark it as a gift from your own country, and you will place your feet upon the floor where for three centuries met the "knights and burgesses" of England. You

* Charles Dickens was buried in Poets' Corner at an early hour on June 14, 1870. The funeral was, in accordance with the urgent injunctions of his will, strictly private. The grave, however, was, by Dean Stanley's desire, left open for the day, and was soon filled with wreaths and flowers, largely contributed by visitors of the humblest class.

† The window to the memory of George Herbert and William Cowper was the gift of Mr. Childs, of Philadelphia.

will see before you the very nursery of the first-born child that embodied the then novel conception of representative government—the very cradle in which was rocked the institution that has become the august mother of many parliaments in many lands.

And yet I have not said one word of the great profession a visit from whose American representatives to the Abbey of Westminster suggested these remarks,—a profession whose mighty progress has done so much, even in the memory of men still living, to change the material and influence the moral condition of the whole civilized world. It is enough to remind all members of that body that here, too, in this great Abbey they may visit not only the graves of a Newton, a Herschel, a Lyell, and a Darwin. They will find the gigantic statue of a James Watt in a strange proximity, so characteristic of the place, to the grave of the standard-bearer of Henry V. and the restored tomb of the chamberlain of the seventh Henry. Or they may pass by the monument of a De Vere to the statue of Telford, builder of bridges, maker of highways, leader for a while of English engineers; and, near Telford's grave, they may stand by the gravestone of Robert Stephenson, or pause beneath the windows raised to the memory of Brunel and Locke and Stephenson and Siemens, and last of all to that of the Cornish genius, Richard Trevithick.

Enough has been said. A building whose historical associations, apart from its legends and traditions, extend in an unbroken line through eight centuries, and through which the current of English history has flowed, leaving traces at every generation on its walls and floors, may excuse some prolixity in a vain attempt to touch even a very few of its leading features. Through all that time it has been, still is, and I trust may long remain, no mere house of tombs, no mausoleum, or museum, or Walhalla, but a Christian church, the house of God, sacred in the eyes of thousands as the national sanctuary of our race. The famous chapel that marks its eastern extremity was once consecrated to the worship of her whom men then hailed as the Queen of Heaven; whom we are content to honor as the human mother of our Saviour Christ. You may see even now on its western wall some tokens of that ceremony of consecration of "this Chapel of Our Lady," as its founder called it. For ages the roof of the greater church, itself dedicated to the Fisherman of the Galilean Sea, rang to daily and nightly services, chanted in Latin

by black-cowled monks, or to Latin masses celebrated by gorgeously-vested priests. For three long centuries our English liturgy has been in daily use. If, as is natural, but a limited number of worshippers are usually present at its morning services, you may see its seats well filled at a later hour, and crowded to excess at every service on the Lord's Day; and you may hear the sound of the familiar English hymn pealed forth by hundreds of voices of reverent worshippers, gathered from all parts of our own kingdom and of the English-speaking world.

May it long serve many uses! May it gather together earnest seekers after God, and aid them by spoken words, by devout worship, by inspiring music, in lifting their thoughts to a world unseen! And may it continue to awaken in thousands, who under our own and far-off skies speak our tongue, a growing interest in its ancient memories; a sense of all we owe to times long left behind; a sense that among God's best gifts to man is that of the example and the leading and the teaching of mighty genius and of surpassing goodness; of those who have received largely and rightly used those high gifts which come down from the Father of lights, the Giver of every good gift and every perfect gift, in whom, whatever the changes that Time works on human history, is no variableness nor shadow of turning!

G. G. Bradley.

THE CAPTURE OF CANADA.

BY ERASTUS WIMAN.

IT SEEMS now, in the natural order of things in the United States, that Canada should be captured. With armed cruisers in the St. Lawrence watching the fishermen of the United States, who are compelled to take out licenses from a foreign government to authorize them to pursue their peaceful vocation; with the assembling of a fleet of armed vessels from both countries in Bering Straits to detect or protect Canadian sealers; with rumors of great military preparations, and increase of defensive armament; the arrival of torpedo-boats; the construction of the Bermuda cable, justified only by war purposes; and other unusual movements in times of peace, it is no wonder that the people of the United States are somewhat startled, and that the question is asked, "Has not the time for the capture of Canada come?"

No one dreams of war for this purpose. No other two nations have interests so identical, and there are none whose future is so wrapt up in each other's peace and prosperity, as Great Britain and the United States. There never was less inclination apparent among any people than among those of the United States for the acquirement of additional territory by the aid of the sword. There is, however, a great desire—nay, a great necessity—for an expansion of their trade to continental dimensions; and if Canada can be commercially captured by the peaceful means of policy, it is a clear duty to capture her in that way. If the enormous resources of this "Greater Half of the Continent" can be made tributary to the progress of the United States by legislation, by occupancy through individual purchase, by development, and by the creation of a mutuality of interests, it would seem to be the very best form of statesmanship to achieve that result. The time and the circumstances are extremely favorable to accomplish this purpose, and if the military preparations have the effect of directing atten-

tion to the question of the possibility of a peaceful capture, they will not have been in vain.

But there are other influences than military preparation at work to enforce the conviction that Canada is essential to the United States. The tier of territorial commonwealths along the northern border of the Republic are now admitted to statehood, and the limitation of new territory in the North, as in the South, is quite as marked as that on the Pacific in the West or on the Atlantic on the East. The boundaries of the great Republic are all fixed and determined, and no more area for expansion except from within the United States seems possible. If more breathing space for this vast and growing aggregation of humanity is needed, it must be towards the north, or towards the south ; and all the circumstances, all the tendencies and influences, point most unerringly towards the north.

The commercial equipment of the period is on the basis of occupation of new territory. The railroad-builders, the locomotive-makers, the steel-rail mills, the coal-shippers, and men in ten thousand other industries, if they are to be employed, must get into new territory, or else greatly restrict the activity that has hitherto prevailed. New territory is equally needed for occupation for a never-ceasing increase of population, produced both from enormous immigration and from natural increase. The development of natural resources in new regions, which has been so constant up to this period, and which has contributed in so large a degree to the growth and wealth of the country, must still continue. But this activity must find new fields. If the expansion of commerce as shown in the growth of internal trade, which the new census will reveal as the most marvellous phenomenon that the statistical world has ever seen, is to suddenly cease, and the increase hereafter confine itself to the limits of the Union as it already exists, it would seem as if a period of decadence in statistical increase might now commence. The ratio of increase of wealth, in extent of trade, which the last two decades of the nineteenth century will show, cannot be maintained in the first two decades of the twentieth century without wider area and enlarged resources.

It seems incredible that, without more room for expansion, without the occupation of greater territory, and without further development of great natural wealth, the same pace of increase

can be maintained. If, for instance, nearly all the coal mines of the United States are in possession of various railroad companies, what chance is there for the new generation of coal-miners to make a profit, except as delvers in the bowels of the earth in the pay of other people? If all the iron and copper mines are pre-ëmpted, the opportunities of those that come hereafter and want to develop iron and copper mines will be restricted. The Calumet and Hecla Mine and the Anaconda Mine are each difficult to duplicate within the area of the United States, and the children of the present generation who want to dig for iron and copper must go elsewhere, or fail in the attempt, unless the rest of the continent is opened up, in which there are abundant chances for the discovery and development of iron and copper, as, indeed, for every other factor and opportunity that have thus far stimulated and sustained the American people in their rapid race for wealth and greatness.

Especially of timber is this true. A considerable portion of the community have made money by the manufacture and handling of timber and lumber, and this cannot be duplicated in the next generation, unless a supply of these articles is to be had. The exhaustion of the forests of Maine, the disappearance of the forests of the Saginaw valley, and the utter disregard for the future by which the policy of protection has stimulated the policy of destruction, will in a quarter of a century result in denuding vast areas of the United States of the timber supply available within reasonable reach of its great points of demand. All the industries dependent upon timber, if they are to grow in the next twenty years, will need new resources for the supply of the raw material.

Whence can these be obtained except from the portion of the continent outside of the United States? This question needs an answer after much thought, and after the full realization of the fact that there is to-day standing in Germany—a completed country—a larger supply of timber *per capita* than there is in the United States—a country in which the growth and creation of homes are an essential element of progress. When one recalls the vast stretches of treeless prairies within the United States, in which shelter must be provided, the necessities and exhaustion of rainless regions resulting from the destruction of the forests, and the rapid growth of vast cities on the lakes and plains, and also the fact that from the northern part of the continent alone

is a supply of timber certain for all future time, the necessity for the extension of commerce so as to include these areas is apparent.

But it is not alone as a source of supply that an increased area is needed for the United States, in which the energies of the people may be employed, as in mineral or in forest wealth. The exhaustion of wheat lands is a consideration of the most vital import in relation to the future supply of the food of this continent. It is a startling fact, not yet fully realized by the people of this country, that within fifty years, at the present rate of procedure, the United States may be a large importer of breadstuffs. The growth of population is so rapid, the exhaustion of the arable land so constant, that without new and cultivable territory the sources for the supply of food products will soon be below even the local demand. The steady trend of wheat-production to the northern tier of States is one of the most marked features of the time, and the fact that the wheat of the continent is now derived from a narrow belt in its extreme northern half is significant testimony to the necessity of larger wheat areas than are now possessed within the Union. When it is recalled that the best wheat-producing region of the world is found just north of the Minnesota line, and that in the new provinces and territories of the Canadian Northwest there is a possible wheat supply for all time, it will be seen how important has been the provision of nature for the food of mankind.

It is not, however, in minerals, in timber, or in wheat areas alone that the necessity exists for the employment of the rapidly-increasing numbers of the people of this country. Cheap food for New England is the necessity of the hour in that region. If the New England States are to maintain themselves in the great competitive struggle which has set in in the Southern and Western States, and in which is threatened the extinction of one-half of the existing industries in cotton, iron, and other staples, the essential element of success will be a cheap and near-by supply of raw material, and a certainty of food for New England artisans at the lowest possible rate. Competition between various sections of the country is just as severe in its effects on those regions that are placed at a disadvantage as if the competition came from abroad. The employers and laborers in the New England States suffer as much from the disadvantage of location

as they would from the pauper labor of Europe, and provision against pauper labor is not more earnestly called for than provision against adverse location.

If the Southern and Western States are to control the market of the West and East by the fact that coal, iron, and cheap food are side by side, then must New England be cared for in an equal degree, for the geographical and physical advantage which these States possess can be equalled in New England for foreign trade by the opening-up of the adjacent territories included within the Maritime Provinces. Here are abundant supplies of coal and iron within an area in which the charge for freight ranges from seventy-five cents to one dollar per ton. Here also in the Maritime Provinces are abundant sources of food supply. No other country in the world can produce potatoes, apples, oats, hay, poultry, dairy produce, and, still more important, the finest fish food, equal to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward's Island. No region has produced a better class of cheap labor, intelligent, contented, and industrious, than has Quebec. Every element of success which the Eastern States need in order to compete with an outside market like Great Britain and Germany, the Maritime Provinces and Quebec can furnish.

Without these cheapened supplies of raw material, without decreased cost of living, competition even for the markets of the Western States is simply out of the question, while manufacturing for foreign markets is equally impossible. In the unlimited supply of cheap raw material from Canada, in the unrestricted output of fish and food products, and the constant employment of the cheap labor from the North, the new hope of New England may be found. Without these her manufacturing prospects are gloomy indeed.

On the Pacific coast an equally advantageous result would follow in the matter of coal. The supplies of California must be drawn from British Columbia, while midway across the continent the construction of railroads running north to sources of coal supply already indicates the absolute necessity for an interchange of this natural product. Canada is possessed of 97,000 square miles of coal territory, and coal, equally with her timber, her fish, her iron, copper, and silver, affords a field for development and business activity that is nowhere surpassed. The spectacle is presented in the old world of the two nations of Great Britain and Germany

dividing between them the Dark Continent of Africa for the purposes of the creation of trade. On this hemisphere no such contest is needed, for the greater half of North America, so far as trade and commerce are concerned, is immediately available for the enterprise and energy of the people of the United States.

It may be asked how such a result as the commercial capture of Canada can be accomplished in the face of the passage of the McKinley Bill, on the one hand, and the enforcement of an equal prohibitory tariff by the Canadian government, on the other. The barbed-wire fence which has hitherto run athwart the continent is now to be higher than ever; and the typical two brothers on different sides of an imaginary line, who want to trade a bushel of potatoes for a bushel of apples, will encounter greater difficulty than ever before in effecting the exchange. Under the new tariff each will be compelled to pay a paternal government twenty-five cents for the privilege—a sum double the cost of these two products of nature. But the hope of the hour is that the very extreme point which the two tariffs have reached has startled both people and made them realize the folly of this practical prohibition of trade. So far as the people of the United States are concerned, it is apparent that the paltry five millions of dollars which has hitherto been collected on Canadian products has been an utterly unnecessary and unwise exaction. Divided up between the population, it is less than ten cents per head, and yet for this miserable trifle the sources of supply of half a continent have been stopped, and the market within a great and growing nation next door to the United States has been denied.

True, the McKinley Bill may increase the amount so levied, so that each individual in the United States will be "benefited by taxation" to the extent of twenty-five cents per head, instead of ten cents, on Canadian agricultural products. But the "protection" afforded is so meagre, the principle of shutting out the products of the earth and the sea so wrong, and the necessity for cheap food in New England and the Middle States so great, that no one for a moment can justify the continuance of a tariff against the palpable interests of the United States, and equally against those of Canada. Indeed, it is a universal admission that the McKinley Bill has not been specially aimed at Canada. Although its agricultural sections will seriously threaten the solvency of her farmers, its burdens will be shared by the consumers of

New England and the Middle States, where cheap food and free raw material are essential elements of prosperity.

But the enforcement of the McKinley tariff in Canada will have an effect of a most startling character. Already the producers of that country have seen the folly of building up a barrier between them and their brethren across the border—against people of the same lineage, the same language, the same literature, and governed by the same laws. This barrier, even at its former height, has been a difficult one to contend against, but with a prohibition that will follow its elevation to double its present extent, the dissatisfaction and discontent which will ensue in Canada will be serious. Let us see what shape they may assume.

What is known as the "National Policy" has been enforced in Canada by the Tory party for fifteen years. Sir John Macdonald and his government have pursued a course of isolation for Canada, as illustrated in the harsh interpretation of the Fisheries Treaty, the discrimination in the canals, the encouragement of railroad guerrilla warfare, and, above all, the persistence in the highest duties, shutting out American products. Even such articles as were once free are now added to the taxable list, notably such trifles as berries, peaches, and fruit generally, and trees and shrubs, equally with a vast supply of corn and food products from the United States. The result of this policy to the Canadian farmer has not been gratifying, and a great deal of dissatisfaction exists. The Liberal party, on the other hand, with Sir Richard Cartwright as its financial leader, has adopted a policy diametrically opposed to that of the present Canadian government—a policy known as that of unrestricted reciprocity with the United States. The exact operation of the application of Sir Richard's policy would be in perfect harmony with that proposed for the South American countries by Mr. Blaine in his recent most important utterances regarding reciprocity. The universal approval on the part of business men and the community generally which Mr. Blaine's proposals have met, so far as South America is concerned, indicates what important results would flow from a similar movement toward reciprocity in the North.

Happily, soon an opportunity will be afforded to test the question whether this is desired or not. A general election in Canada, by the dissolution of Parliament, impends, and on that occasion the people will have it in their power to decide which

policy shall prevail; whether the policy of isolation, of restriction, and of practical hostility to the United States, as exemplified by the Tory party, on the one hand, or, on the other hand, the policy of unrestricted trade with the United States, as advocated by the Liberal party, resulting in the opening-up of all the resources of the continent to the people of the United States, and of a market for their manufactures the future extent and importance of which no man can tell.

There need be little doubt which side will prevail in this Canadian contest, if only reasonable discernment and common prudence actuate the Congress of the United States at this juncture. The McKinley Bill comes just in time to serve as an object-lesson to the Canadian farmer, and all dependent upon him, of what they will encounter if the Tory government prevails. If he prefers the Tory government, then the prohibition of his exports to the United States under the provisions of that tariff will ensue; and, having deliberately chosen, he may suffer the consequences.

But side by side with the McKinley Bill there is another measure of equal importance before the Congress of the United States—a measure that, so far as Canada is concerned, will make the issue plain whether the people of that country desire a closer relation with the United States or not. The measure referred to is the Butterworth bill providing for unrestricted reciprocity, which is epitomized in a resolution recommended by the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives, through its astute chairman, the Hon. R. R. Hitt. The latter is only a resolution of ten lines, but rarely, if ever before in the history of legislation, has there been matter of greater import contained in a space so small. For if this resolution should pass, and go to the people of Canada side by side with the McKinley Bill, and the choice of one or the other be the question to be decided, it is impossible to believe that the policy which most favored the people of the United States would not be overwhelmingly adopted. The resolution is in the following words:

"*Resolved*, That whenever it shall be duly certified to the President of the United States that the government of the Dominion of Canada has declared a desire to enter into such commercial arrangements with the United States as will result in the complete removal of all duties upon trade between Canada and the United States, he shall appoint three commissioners, to meet those who may be designated to represent the government of Canada, to consider the best method of extending the trade relations between Canada and the United States, and to ascertain on what terms greater freedom of intercourse between the two countries can best be secured;

and said commissioners shall report to the President, who shall lay the report before Congress."

The passage of the foregoing resolution by the Congress of the United States would have an important effect, showing that the policy of pressure on Canada was not that which the people of this country desired to enforce. The McKinley Bill alone has that effect; its enforcement, without some mitigating expression, would beget precisely the same consequences that followed the repeal of the Reciprocity Treaty in 1866, when, amid a burst of loyalty to Great Britain, a determination was reached to be independent of the United States. The national policy succeeded; the Canadian Pacific Railroad was built; the fisheries trouble followed; and all the strain and loss of hostile tariffs, for both sides of the border, have ever since ensued. But the bill of Mr. Butterworth or the resolution of Mr. Hitt, if passed by Congress, would show the real sentiment of the people of the United States—a sentiment which has its expression in the approval of Mr. Blaine's remarkably sagacious plan, viz., a desire for a trade that shall be continental in extent and continental in profit.

The passage of this resolution along with the McKinley Bill would place upon the Canadians the responsibility of their future policy regarding the United States. Fortunately as to time and circumstances, a constitutional means is at hand in the shape of a general parliamentary election to enable them to pronounce that decision, and the result will be a most important indication, so far as the United States is concerned, as to the future policy to be pursued. A verdict in favor of the Liberal party of Canada would be a decision looking to the most intimate relations with this country; to the opening-up of every resource that Canada possesses for American energy, ingenuity, and capital; to an adjustment of all questions that now vex the two peoples; to the creation of a market for the manufactures and merchandise of the United States; and, generally, to advantages quite as great as the creation of a new series of States and territories, in addition to those already existing in the North and Northwest. So that without the drawing of a sword, the shedding of a drop of blood, or the expenditure of a single dollar, the area of the trade of the United States could be doubled.

It will be seen in all this that the question of annexation does not arise; neither does the question of a disturbed relation with Great Britain, either on the part of Canada or the United States,

obtrude itself. The future destiny of Canada may be left to shape itself under circumstances that would favor the most intimate relation with the people of this country. The political connection between the United States and Canada may be a difficult one to achieve at best, and a half-century must elapse before a definite result in that direction could be accomplished. Those who are anxious for an immediate extension of trade and an enlargement of opportunity may well be impatient at the delay which a political union implies, and adopt the sentiment of Horace, that "the short space of life forbids us from laying plans requiring a long time for their accomplishment."

The question as to the loyalty of the Canadian people to the British crown is not at issue in the contest that impends. Were it so, in the present condition of public sentiment, the verdict would most unquestionably be in favor of a maintenance of British connection, even at the risk of tremendous sacrifices ; for there is more loyalty in the remotest regions of Canada than there is in the heart of London itself. But while the question of British connection is not involved in the decision as between the national policy of the Tory party in Canada, and the Liberal party's policy of unrestricted reciprocity with the United States, nevertheless a very great strain is likely to be put upon the Canadian people in this—that by deciding in favor of reciprocity they decide in favor of the free admission of American manufactures, while they still continue to levy a tax on English goods.

The spectacle would then be presented of one part of the British empire (comprising 40 per cent. of its whole area) discriminating against the products and manufactures of the parent country, while admitting those of a commercial rival free of charge. What Mr. Blaine wants from Cuba and Porto Rico, as dependencies of Spain (as pointed out by Senator Frye), in the free admission of American manufactures, even as against Spain, as the price paid for the free admission of sugar into the United States, Canada under unrestricted reciprocity would be compelled to grant as to all articles of merchandise. The question is a grave one for the people of Canada to answer; but the answer that will come is that the personal interest of her own people should not be sacrificed for the personal interest of the English manufacturer, who has no more interest in the Canadian consumer than in the Fiji Islander, if he will pay spot-cash for his purchases.

The price for free admission of Canadian products into the markets of the United States is the free admission of American goods into the markets of Canada. There is a good deal of loyalty in Canada to British institutions and to Her Majesty, but the loyalty does not extend to the personal and individual interests of English manufacturers, to the sacrifice of those of the Canadian farmer. So far as a discrimination against English goods is concerned, it is no reflection upon English institutions or lack of loyalty to them that would induce a Canadian farmer to prefer prints from Providence, R. I., duty free, at two-thirds the price, to prints from Manchester, England, against which a duty would be levied, and which would therefore be just so much dearer. The individual interest of the various classes of British subjects is the question at issue—not the question of loyalty or disloyalty.

Nevertheless, the point is a delicate one, and the opportunity which would be afforded for its answer by the passage in Congress of the Hitt resolution would be full of the deepest interest to the people of the United States. It is only by the constitutional means of a general election in which the whole people will participate that a question so momentous can be decided—a question that will shape the relations hereafter to exist between the English-speaking people who occupy this continent. Never before in their history did the time and the circumstances seem more opportune for submitting the question as to what these relations should be. If Congress can be prevailed upon to adopt the Butterworth bill or the recommendations of its Committee on Foreign Affairs, the test can be made, and by this peaceful means alone can Canada be captured.

The consequences that will follow the breaking-down of the commercial barrier that now divides this continent into two parts may well be left for the future to unfold. That the attractiveness of republican institutions will more and more impress itself on the Canadian people, there can be no doubt. That close contact with the people of the United States will more and more draw the nation to the north toward what in the end may be a political embrace, many earnestly believe. Whether this comes or not in the future, the present demands that reciprocity of interests should remove all causes of separation, and that Canada should be bound to this country by the closest commercial ties.

ERASTUS WIMAN.

PRICKLY-PEARS.

BY GRANT ALLEN.

I AM sitting on a great white Algerian rock; in the foreground a tiny mosque with a snowy dome; behind it a tall, green, prickly hedge that masks the huts of a straggling Kabyle village. How strange that here on this arid African hillside an American cactus, the common prickly-pear plant, should grow on the bare and unsmitten rock, to form this hedge, as readily as it grows in its native Mexican desert. It is merely, like myself, a naturalized alien on this side the Atlantic, to be sure; for the cactuses are all true American citizens by birth and training, wholly peculiar to the western hemisphere, where they were first developed, and none of them are found truly indigenous in any part of the old world. But Africa suits the cactus tribe, for all that, down to the very ground; and here on the confines of the burning Sahara itself the prickly-pear basks on the hot soil like a genuine native, to the manner born. It has adopted Algeria. The thrifty colonists introduced it first on their dry hillsides, because it will grow where nothing else can thrive upon the bare rock; and cut up into blocks to disguise its prickles, it forms excellent fodder for the undiscriminating palate of the North African cow. But once introduced, it took care of itself, and now it often spreads a great deal faster than the thrifty colonists aforesaid either wished or imagined.

The cactuses are very peculiar plants—as peculiar structurally as they are bizarre and grotesque in outer appearance. They have spared no pains and shrunk from no sacrifice in accommodating themselves thoroughly to their niche in nature. In the first place, they have no true leaves. What look like leaves in certain jointed cactuses are really flattened and expanded stems. If this seems at first hearing a hard saying, the analogy of the common stone-

crops, where stem and leaf are hardly distinguishable, will help to make it a little less incredible. In other ways, too, the stone-crops (or sedums, as gardeners call them) throw much light upon the nature of the cactuses. All these rock-haunting or desert plants naturally get very little water, except at long intervals after occasional showers. Hence only those can survive which form themselves, as it were, into living reservoirs to retain all the moisture they once absorb. As soon as the rain falls in their arid haunts, the roots and rootlets eagerly drink it up in a great hurry, and store it away at once in the soft and spongy cellular tissue of which the main part of the plant is wholly formed. For this purpose, both in stone-crops and cactuses, the stems have become fleshy and succulent, and, being also green and leaf-like, they closely resemble true leaves. But they are covered externally with a thick skin, which resists evaporation and keeps the moisture, once collected, at the plant's disposal for an unlimited period. In short, the cactus does as a plant just what the camel does as an animal.

It is obvious that plants thus situated would dry up and shrivel under the sun's heat in a very short time if they had thin leaves of the ordinary type, provided with numerous pores and open spiracles. Hence it almost always happens that sandy or desert species have thick, succulent stems, as we see not only in the stone-crops and house-leeks, but also in the glassworts and other fleshy plants so commonly found on dry sea beaches. And so necessary is this result that in the deserts of India, where true cactuses are quite unknown, several kinds of spurges have assumed precisely the same outer shape, and, having got rid of their true leaves, have developed jointed succulent stems exactly mimicking those of the genuine cactus. Old Anglo-Indians know them by that name alone, and pooh-pooh science when it tries to tell them their cactuses are only euphorbias in disguise.

In both cases, however, the leaves, though greatly reduced, have not entirely or irretrievably disappeared. They, or their representatives, still survive in the prickly spines with which the joints of the cactus are so plentifully sprinkled. In order to understand this further transformation, we have only to think first of the needs of the cactus plant, and then of the analogies of the stone-crops and house-leeks. Desert vegetation is exposed to exceptional and peculiar dangers. Just in proportion as there is

little in the way of greenstuff about to eat does the hungry herbivore greatly desire to eat it. Hence only those plants were likely to survive in the struggle for existence which rendered themselves peculiarly unpleasant to the assaulting enemy. In the cactus the leaves have, accordingly, assumed the form of sharp prickles, which in the particular species that bears the prickly-pear are arranged on the leaf-like stem in a regular quincunx or five-starred pattern. How so strange a transformation comes about is readily shown in the house-leeks and echeverias of our garden bowers, in which each leaf of the rosette ends in a sharp thorn ; or, still better, in the glassworts of the seaside, which seems like stone-crops whose fleshy leaves have converted themselves by sharpening into regular prickles.

But as the cactuses have got rid of leaves, the stem has to do the work of the foliage. For this purpose it has become green and leaf-like, and it performs all the common foliar functions—that is to say, it eats for the plant, absorbing carbon from the floating carbonic acid of the air, and assimilating it in its tissues with the aid of sunlight. Thus the young and tender stems are quite leaf-like ; but as they grow old they gradually assume the appearance of a trunk, partially lose their jointed look, and acquire bark of a hard, dry, brown, and tree-like character.

Cactuses have a wonderful knack of reproducing themselves under the most adverse conditions. If you take a cutlass and hack a cactus plant into little bits (as I have often seen a negro do in Jamaica to clear the soil), each tiny fragment that falls upon the ground will grow in time into a separate cactus bush. At first sight this seems a very marvellous and exceptional power, for sometimes the new plant grows from a most insignificant and unnoticeable scrap of the parent stem ; and, indeed, in North Africa the regular way of planting a prickly-pear hedge is to chop an old cactus into tiny bits, and then lay them along in a shallow trench just traced to receive them, where they straightway grow into big bristly fences. But when one comes to look a little closer at the matter, the apparent anomaly disappears at once. For, in fact, what one plants is a cutting from the stem, and there is nothing more remarkable in such a cutting taking root and thriving than in slips from a rosebush or an apple-tree growing when stuck in the ground. The fact is, every part of every plant has in it the inherent power of reproducing an entire

organism, as a crystal reproduces itself in a proper solution. Sometimes even a bit of a leaf will do, as everybody who has cultivated a rock garden must have noticed in the case of sedums, mere scraps of which often root and grow wherever they happen to fall by accident. Again, in a potato, we similarly cut out a piece of the tuber with an eye—that is to say, an undeveloped bud—in it, and are not at all surprised that it grows at once into a new potato-vine. Even seeds and bulbils (like those of the tiger-lily) are, in essence, merely specialized buds that fall from the mother-plant so as to start in life on their own account elsewhere.

All that is peculiar to the cactus, then, is this: that, being a dry desert creature, it is necessarily endowed with great vitality; and portions of it will accordingly root and thrive under circumstances where any less hardy species would dry up and wither for want of moisture.

It will now, I suppose, be quite obvious to everybody why the cactus flower seems to grow out of the end of a leaf—a peculiarity specially noticeable in the pretty pink and purple epiphyllums so commonly cultivated in small conservatories. In reality, it grows exactly where one would expect it—at the end of a stem; only the stem has been flattened out so much as to deceive the eye by looking thoroughly leaf-like. In the prickly-pear the flowers are pale yellow, and, though large, can hardly be considered handsome. They grow quite flat on the edge of the seeming leaves, in a squat and somewhat undignified attitude. So far as I have observed (but my opportunities for watching them have not been great), they appear to be mainly fertilized by various night-flying moths with a long proboscis, which come out at dusk; and for this reason, like so many other night-fertilized flowers, they are pale yellow. The well-known and lovely night-flowering cereus, a sister-cactus, which is still more thoroughly nocturnal in its ways (so much so that it lasts but for a single evening), is pure white, to catch the eyes of the moths in the tropical moonlight, and it further attracts them by its strong and almost overpowering perfume, which closely resembles that of tuberose, stephanotis, jasmine, and many other white night-blooming flowers. In the prickly-pear, however, the scent is very faint, and is only perceptible to any extent in the gray of the evening. The moths visit it, of course, for the sake of honey, and, thrusting their proboscis into its tubular depths, unconsciously carry the fertilizing

pollen from flower to flower, as they flit from one plant to another in succession.

The fruit itself—the prickly-pear so familiar in all European and American markets—follows in due course from the fertilized blossom. It is a clumsy reddish and yellowish thing, covered, like the plant itself, with those bunches of sharp hairs which have gained it its common English name. The hairs are there, no doubt, to deter unauthorized and useless intruders ; the skin protects it from insect foes and small birds ; the pulp allures the monkeys, toucans, and other proper dispensers of the seed or kernel ; and the grains dispersed through its fleshy part are either thrown away by the animal, or, if swallowed, are not digested, owing to their tough and stony covering. We thus see in this singular cactus a most perfect adaptation in every part to the circumstances of the arid and rocky soil on which it springs. So perfect is the adaptation, indeed, that the prickly-pear has long since travelled to every similar country of the civilized or semi-civilized world, and is now almost as common in the Barbary States and on the Mediterranean shore as on its own native Mexican deserts. It is easy enough to make it grow : the real difficulty, as the small cultivators of the Riviera are beginning to find out, is, once it gets in, ever to get rid of it.

GRANT ALLEN.

A REPLY TO X. M. C.

BY THE HON. THOMAS B. REED, SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

IT IS really a great pity that the article entitled "Speaker Reed's Error" should not have received the illumination of the author's name. It is very true that an argument ought to be just as good whether written by one man or another, but if the real name of the writer in this case had been signed to the article, every reader would have made the comparison between the immense resources of the author and the very small results of the argument, and would instantly have said: "If he who knows so much can say so little, how weak his side must be."

Those familiar with the discussion will see that, notwithstanding twenty-two pages are taken up in the attempt to answer eight, not a solitary new fact or principle is brought into the field. Except the comparison of the Speaker with *Dogberry*, there is really nothing new.

All the arguments, or assertions rather, which he has presented about the presidential veto and the submission of amendments to the Constitution, were presented in the House of Representatives and will be found in the House debates, where the ideas were so thoroughly exploded that Mr. Carlisle did not deem them worth producing in his able and candid article. But the anonymous parliamentarian, never having either heard or read the debates, was perhaps not to blame for not knowing the failure of those arguments when brought to the light of day. In seclusion they may have seemed good, but in the House of Representatives they survived, even in the estimation of their best friends, only the brief measure of time which was required to state them.

It is not the intention of this article to restate the arguments in favor of the position of the House of Representatives on the quorum question, which is now acquiesced in by the people of the

United States. That would be entirely superfluous. If they were not stated in the March article, then they cannot be stated by me. It is worth while, however, to restate the principle involved—a principle which has not been limited in its acceptance by the assent of Governor David B. Hill and of such bodies as town councils, gas companies, and the like, but has had the concurrence of supreme courts all over the country. When the Supreme Court of the State of Maine, the Supreme Court of New Hampshire, the Supreme Court of Indiana, and the Supreme Court of Illinois, and many others, have solemnly and repeatedly decided that the doctrine of the quorum as maintained by the present House of Representatives is the law everywhere, their decisions are not to be controverted by a sneer about town councils and gas companies. When all the courts are on the side of David B. Hill, it is hard for even so exalted a person as an ex-M. C. to put him down with a phrase or dispose of him as a mere politician.

The principle which all the courts have thus unanimously sustained is a very simple one, and solves all the problems with equal advantage to the business of the country and equal solace to its common-sense.

The presence of a majority of the legislative body constitutes a quorum to do business. The essence of all business on the part of the legislative body is the consent of a majority of a quorum of that body, either express or implied. It may be as thoroughly expressed by silence as by sound. In the parliamentary sense, presence always implies full sight and hearing of all that takes place. If a member, then, is present in full sight and sound of all occurrences, and if all action is loudly proclaimed by clerk or Speaker, he is as much a party consenting to all that occurs as if he vociferated in his loudest tones. This all admit. Even the writer of the anonymous article admits this in all cases except that of a yea-and-nay vote. Hence, even with him, we have only to deal with that method of determining the result.

It must be obvious that all methods of determining the consent of the members are of equal value. By each of them laws are passed which have equal validity. Whether the sense of the House is made manifest by mere volume of sound or by the rising of members in their places, by members passing between tellers or by yeas and nays, makes no difference whatever in the result. Laws passed either way have equal force. What, then, was the ob-

ject of the constitutional provision as to yeas and nays? Was it to establish a new and separate doctrine of quorum? Was the quorum to be a majority present when all other methods of determining the question were used, but a majority voting when yeas and nays were called? Was there to be one quorum required in one case and another quorum in another? Does it require any different body to pass a bill by yeas and nays than by a rising vote? A majority of the House being present, can 129 members to 1 pass a bill by standing up, and not pass it by yeas and nays? A claim like this utterly ignores the meaning of the call for yeas and nays, and the right to have it which is given under the Constitution. What were the yeas and nays given for? Look at the debates on the adoption of the Constitution and you will see. It was to inform the people how their representatives voted, if they voted at all; and also the fact that they did not vote, if such was the case. The idea that, in addition to this, the constitutional quorum was thereby instantly shifted from a majority present to a majority acting is entirely a modern invention, as illogical as it is unconstitutional.

The clerk's count of those who are present and do not vote seems to meet the disapproval of the anonymous writer. "Gathering up hastily the names of those scattered around the House" is one of the phrases. "Sees, or thinks he sees" is another. This is entirely gratuitous. How long since has sight been inferior to sound? When was it determined that the eye was less accurate than the ear?

In actual practice how is it? The clerk's record as to men present has thrice been corrected as to those present and not voting, one name each time; but this has never been so as to affect results. Many more times than that has there been error as to those who voted. People have responded by mistake for men at home sick, and men of similar name have responded. At one session of the Forty-fourth Congress, December 4, 1876, an error was made on the vote which changed the result entirely. A motion to suspend the rules was carried by a vote of 136 to 78. Mr. Plaisted, of Maine, was recorded as not voting. On the 5th of December, the next day, he rose in his place and declared that he voted in the negative, and proved it. Afterward Mr. Fuller arose and declared that, although he was recorded as not voting, he had voted in the affirmative. This left the vote

137 to 79, not two-thirds. Thereupon Mr. Randall, the Speaker, claimed the right to give the casting vote and gave it, and so the motion was finally carried. On January 8, 1849, Mr. Farrelly's vote was not recorded, and on the next day the correction was made and the result changed. The motion was lost instead of carried. The vote by yeas and nays whereby General Grant was made General on the retired list, as given in the House journal, contains no less than four errors, which can never be corrected, the Congress having ceased to be.

Examples might easily be multiplied to show that this "absolute correctness of the vote" is but the dream of an ingenious pamphleteer hard-pressed for an argument, and despairing at the outset of finding any to which he would care to sign his name.

In the face and eyes of these facts how idle it is to say, "The call insures the absolute correctness of the vote." With the very same truth it may be said that the roll-call and the noting of members present and not voting insure the record of the presence of a quorum with accuracy. It is not absolute correctness in either case, but as much so in the one as the other.

It is hardly worth while to waste time on the discrepancy discovered between Rule VIII. and Rule XV.; between a rule of imperfect obligation, which expresses the sense of the House as to the duty of each member, and a rule which meets the practical question of a member refusing to do his duty. If the actual bodily presence of a majority of members constitutes a quorum, as all the courts have unanimously decided, is anything more needed than the machinery to record that fact? Does recording the fact that they refuse to do their duty exonerate them? Has the anonymous writer forgotten the oft-quoted quotation of the most eminent Speaker that ever sat in the chair apropos of Rule VIII., that "you might bring a horse to water, but could not make him drink"? Does this nameless writer dream that he could do what the unrivalled resources and wonderful genius of Mr. Blaine were openly confessed to be unequal to? Is there somewhere in space a mute, inglorious Milton, some buried Cromwell, who could have done what our most skilful parliamentarian declared in open House he could not?

The evil to be corrected by the new rules is admitted by the ex-M. C. He therefore proposes a much better remedy, as he thinks. At the outset it should be borne in mind that the

remedy in use has done its work. The House of Representatives, by its capable and sensible transaction of business, has attracted the approval of the whole country. The unknown writer says that this should all be set aside and his remedy adopted, and the shades of many eminent persons, dead and living, thereby be placated. Did it ever occur to the reader what a singular dispensation of Providence it is whereby those who do not have the things of this world to do could have always done them so much better than the poor creatures who did do them? Did you ever see a sidewalk committee who could not build a finer house than the architect and the master-workman? It really looks as if Providence had wasted its most cloying sweetness on the desert air. The new rule which the critic suggests is that the Speaker should fine each member who refuses to vote "not exceeding fifty dollars," and thereby compel the horse to drink. This seems very strange, coming as it does from a writer who has so deep a respect for the letter of the law that, when the Constitution says the votes of both houses shall be determined by the "yeas and nays," he will be satisfied with no construction which shall not determine the quorum the same way.

Suppose we apply the same strictness of construction to this new rule. "Each house," says the Constitution, "may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member." You will notice that the power to determine the rules of its proceedings is separate from its power to punish its members for disorderly conduct. The Constitution does not say that the House may determine the rules of its proceedings and rules for the punishment of members for disorderly conduct. Not at all. "The House," says the Constitution, "may determine its rules and may punish its members." It is the House in both cases.

Would the writer whose name is so well concealed contend that the House could delegate to the Speaker the right to determine the rules of its proceedings? Of course not! How, then, can the House delegate to the Speaker its power to punish its members for disorderly conduct? It could just as legally by two-thirds vote make a rule which would authorize the Speaker to expel a member.

Here is a clause which contains three propositions: (1) The House may determine the rules of its proceedings; (2) punish

its members for disorderly behavior; and (3), with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

The Constitution says that the House may do all these things. Nobody would ever dream of saying that the House could delegate to the Speaker its right to act under the first clause or the last. Who until now ever supposed that the power in the second clause could be turned over to another? Who before this writer ever seriously proposed that the House could delegate its power to punish? The very interposition of the words "with the concurrence of two-thirds" shows conclusively that the House is to do the act.

For the purpose of giving a false force to his argument, the author, with injurious generosity, gives the present Speaker omnipotent power over the rules. But if the present Speaker, or any Speaker, had even hinted at a desire to have the power to fine members "not exceeding fifty dollars," he would have seen the limit of his power. In short, the scheme is both unconstitutional and impracticable. The House could not do it if it would and would not if it could.

It is surprising to see the sudden transformation of the author from strictness to looseness of constitutional construction when he passes from something some one else has done to the thing he wants to do. Delegate the power to punish to the Speaker? You can see the position in which this writer was placed, and which forced him to this remarkable proposition.

Here was a gigantic evil—so vast that the people, without distinction of party, on second sober thought approved of its suppression, even when done as some of them claimed in a partisan way. If the remedy used was to be condemned, it was needful to suggest some other remedy. It would not do to appeal to the power of the House, pure and simple, to punish by fine its disorderly members, for the reply to that was very obvious. It took six hours of hard work under rules which counted a quorum to censure one member. To discipline 130 members would have produced all the effects of the most elaborate filibustering. It would have taken three months—not to say eternity. Obviously, then, in order to make a plausible case, the power of the House to punish and expel must be treated with a latitudinarian system of construction which could not be tolerated unless carefully disguised. Hence the jumbling together of the

two distinct powers of the House, kept entirely separate in the Constitution—the power to determine the rules of its proceedings and that other entirely different provision, the power to punish members for disorderly conduct. Both powers belong to the House, and can be delegated to no man.

If any parliamentary body has ever undertaken to allow its presiding officer to fine its members without appeal, its name has not yet been brought into prominence. "At some future day, perhaps, Mr. —— will deem it wise—nay, deem it necessary—to show a single shred of authoritative parliamentary ruling to justify a "—proposition—"so extraordinary!"

The author says the President's veto cannot be overruled except by a quorum actually voting. Why? Because, he says, "the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays." Yeas and nays must certainly show each vote of each member. Each member's vote must be determined by yeas and nays. But there is no applicability of this provision to that entirely different question whether either house is in condition for doing business by having a quorum present. What the House votes is one thing; what it is is another. The Constitution prescribes how the vote shall be determined; the rules made under the Constitution prescribe how the presence of a quorum shall be determined. Whatever business is done is done by a competent body; and if that body, properly constituted, acquiesces in the result arrived at by its members who do vote, what shock is there either to common-sense, business sense, or constitutional law?

The Supreme Court of Maine has decided that three aldermen out of seven, a plain minority, were not only enough to certify the election of members of the Legislature, but to create a presumption of a quorum actually present when there was no other record. The Supreme Court of New Hampshire has decided that when, of seven aldermen, six were present and three voted, the votes of two were enough to carry the measure.

To be sure these are citations about aldermen and other inferior persons, but our author's contempt for aldermen and town councilmen ought not to blind him to the fact that the decisions were by the supreme courts of two States, and supreme courts of such well-known learning that they ought not to be confounded with the inferior persons whose cases they decided. It must always be borne in mind that the law in this country

applies with equal measure to all persons, both great and small. The law which governs the doctrine of a quorum in a town council governs it also in Congress, if the constituting provision be the same. The converse also follows, that whatever law governs a quorum in Congress governs the quorum in the hundred thousand school boards and councils everywhere in the land. Not the least of the good effects of the proclamation of the true doctrine by the House is the advantage it has been and will be to those corporate bodies, through which flows the blood which gives health and vigor to the whole body politic.

The action of the Senate of the Empire State of New York, acquiesced in by all parties ever since, is not to be lightly dismissed as the partisan action of David B. Hill. Nobody has ever dared to question the law passed under that ruling, and nobody has since questioned the ruling itself. Other sovereign States are certainly entitled to some respect.

It may be that the House of Representatives at Washington ought to have set a good example to all the States. But how if it did not? Must progress be stopped and common-sense flouted because they did not begin at the top? Was wisdom to be rejected because it was not found under the biggest wigs?

It has not been thought worth while in this article to notice the citations from eminent authors, as they have not the slightest bearing upon the questions at issue. They do not touch upon them in the least. They can only impress the uncritical and careless with the idea that the author had the support of famous names. There is no need to produce Judge Cooley, *The Federalist*, Erskine May, and Judge Story to prove that the House can punish its members for disorderly behavior, when the Constitution expressly says so in seven words. Do these plain words need buttressing by even those eminent names?

This quoting of abundant authorities is a good old device of the attorneys: when your case is weak anywhere, double the witnesses on the parts where there is little or no dispute. It is a good way to confuse the jury and keep out of mind the point against you. Forcing men to vote by fines would be utterly ineffectual in case of a revolt such as we had early in this session, if the House alone exercised its power to punish. Therefore the author, in a parenthesis, slides in a proposition for the Speaker to punish, then proceeds to buttress, by numerous citations, the right

of the House, and thinks the jury will suppose that the right of the House and the right of the Speaker are one and the same thing. His scheme is worthless unless the House can delegate its power to the Speaker, and that is the very point which his citations do not touch. On the point of the right of the House they are as abundant as they are superfluous. The very case which he cites in a foot-note of the action of Mr. Colfax was a case of punishment by the House, not by the Speaker. Suppose I should now turn to the anonymous writer and quote to him his own language: "You propose a new rule, giving the Speaker at his own discretion, in a certain case, power to punish a member by fines; yet not one in the entire number of Speakers, eminent, dead, buried, and alive, ever suggested that the Constitution contained the strange power that you are trying to induce the House to insert among its rules, where it never had place before." Would not the author be overwhelmed? and if not, why not?

If it be a good argument against counting a quorum that no distinguished man ever did it, why is it not a good argument against making the Speaker a police justice that no distinguished man—at least no distinguished man over his own name—had ever hinted at it? If it be a good rejoinder to this to say that the evil has only existed during the last two years, why is it not equally so to the declaration that Rule XV. cannot be sustained because it has just been invented? If novelty be no objection to the one, why is it to the other?

The most surprising sentence in the whole article is the last one. "May we not believe that he [Speaker Reed] is strong enough and wise enough and brave enough to retrace his steps and correct his error?" Retrace *his* steps and correct *his* error! What little comprehension this writer would have us think he possesses of what has actually occurred!

The "error" whereof he treats was the error of the Speaker just twenty-six hours. Then it became the error of the House of Representatives. It has since become the error of the Republican party and of the people of the United States. It had previously been the "error" of the State supreme courts.

Whatever may be the strength, wisdom, or bravery of the Speaker, he has never thought himself strong enough, wise enough, or brave enough to correct an "error" of that kind and of those dimensions.

THOMAS B. REED.

THE SPEAKER AND HIS CRITICS.

BY A DEMOCRATIC LEADER.

THE filibustering tactics by which, in recent years, the minorities of legislative bodies have sought to prevent the majorities from exercising control over parliamentary business have awakened in many minds serious doubts as to the future of parliamentary governments. Government by party is an almost essential feature of representative institutions. The party which is in the minority to-day will be in the majority to-morrow. Success carries with it the seeds of disaster. Sooner or later every party majority becomes unpopular, and dissatisfaction is inevitably followed by defeat. If parliamentary obstruction be permissible or defensible, government by majorities is necessarily impossible. Few, indeed, have ever disputed the cardinal principle that a majority is entitled to the absolute control of legislative business; yet when obstructive tactics are practised day by day, every attempt of the majority to protect its own powers is usually assailed and vehemently condemned as an invasion of the rights of the minority.

A rule recently adopted by the House of Representatives to prevent a very common method of obstruction has, however, evoked an extraordinary degree of criticism. This rule has generally been attributed to the Speaker of the present House, and it has been made the subject of a very ingenious criticism by a member of his own party whose identity remains concealed.

In dealing with parliamentary obstructions it has always been exceedingly difficult to devise rules which would operate to suppress the practice without invading in some degree those privileges of individual members which have heretofore been jealously guarded by all parliamentary bodies. The particular rule, however, which has provoked such severe animadversion from the distinguished Republican who signs himself "X. M. C." must inevitably appear to an impartial mind to be less objectionable than

many rules which have gone into practice almost without a protest. Briefly stated, Rule XV. permits a quorum to be counted when a quorum is actually present, notwithstanding the refusal of any number of members to answer the roll-call.

In assailing the rule, its critics have taken the ground that the House is without a quorum when a majority fail to answer the roll-call, although ninety-nine-one-hundredths of all the members may be actually sitting in their seats. This proposition is supported with great ingenuity by X. M. C., but a careful examination of his argument serves only to illustrate the fallacy of his position.

It is hardly necessary to waste time in a discussion of the proposition that Rule XV. is in absolute and irreconcilable contradiction to Rule VIII. The entire argument of X. M. C. on this subject shows more humor than honesty, more wit than wisdom. Placing the two rules in juxtaposition, it is difficult to see how they are in the slightest degree irreconcilable with each other. Rule VIII. provides that it is the duty of every member to be present in the House during the sittings, and to vote upon every question unless excused. Rule XV. simply provides that, if a member prove contumacious and disregard the provision of Rule VIII., his disobedience shall not affect the power of the House to transact its business. "Was the Eighth rule," asks X. M. C., "inserted in the code of the House to remain unenforced, while Speaker Reed, in a spirit of plenary indulgence, invented the Fifteenth rule for the ease and convenience of members? . . . One cannot be enforced without destroying the other."

In what sense are they absolutely irreconcilable? It is none the less the duty of every member to vote because, if he fails to do so, his presence in the House shall be noted and he himself counted as one of the quorum. It is true that no penalty is provided for a violation of Rule VIII., but to violate it is none the less a transgression of the duty of a member. Disorderly conduct in the House is usually punished by the censure of the House, pronounced by the Speaker on the offending member. Would X. M. C. claim that the censuring of a member who offends the dignity of the House relieves him of all obligation to maintain a decorous and orderly demeanor? Would he contend that no member need behave himself because, by accept-

ing the censure of the Speaker, he might be as disorderly as he pleased?

In point of fact, the two rules are entirely consistent with each other. Rule XV. is the complement of Rule VIII. The last-mentioned rule prescribes the duty of the member; the first-mentioned rule provides for the protection of the House from the consequences which would otherwise flow from what X. M. C. justly describes as the disorderly conduct of a minority.

The fundamental error into which X. M. C. and the other critics of Rule XV. have fallen is the assumption that a quorum of the House can be ascertained only by calling the yeas and nays. It is difficult to understand on what this proposition is based. We cannot find anything in the Constitution which in express terms justifies it. In the English House of Commons, from which our parliamentary system is derived, the existence of a quorum is determined by an actual count of the members present. The Federal Constitution provides that a majority of the members present shall constitute a quorum, and that no business can be done unless a quorum be present.

According to X. M. C., this provision means not only that a quorum must be present, but that sufficient members to constitute a quorum must actually respond to their names on a call of the roll. There being no specific warrant for this assertion in the Constitution, he seeks to prove that it is the inevitable conclusion to be drawn from other constitutional provisions. He quotes Section 7 of Article I. of the Constitution, which provides for the passage of a bill over the veto of the President by a vote of two-thirds of the members of each House, and he lays special stress upon the clause which requires that in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by the yeas and nays.

If the framers of the Constitution intended that the presence of a quorum should be determined by the yeas and nays, it is difficult to conceive any reason why they should not have expressed their intention in words and inserted them in the Constitution itself.

There is a perfectly valid reason for requiring that the votes of the two houses shall be determined by the yeas and nays when the passage of a bill over the veto of the President is involved, which appears to have been overlooked by X. M. C.

The right to pass a bill over the veto of the Executive was an innovation in parliamentary government. When our Constitution was framed, the veto of the king was an absolute bar to legislation, and although no British monarch for a century had assumed to forbid the enactment of any law which had passed both houses of Parliament, in theory at least the assent of the sovereign was still essential to the validity of every act of Parliament. When, therefore, the authors of our organic law undertook to subject the veto power of the President to the control of Congress, it was perfectly natural that they should provide that the assertion of the supremacy of the legislative over the executive department should be attended by certain solemnities which might be dispensed with in the ordinary exercise of legislative functions. X. M. C., however, claims that the constitutional provision which requires that the votes of both houses shall be determined by the yeas and nays when the veto of the President is under consideration, carries with it by implication a constitutional mandate that the number of members present in the House shall be determined by the same method.

On this subject his argument is so original and interesting that it is impossible to paraphrase or condense it without doing injustice to the humor and ingenuity of the author. It is therefore given in full.

"Let us suppose that a bill (Senate Bill No. 1129, for example) is vetoed by the President. It is returned to the Senate, and, coming up for reconsideration, is passed over the veto by a vote of 50 yeas to 24 nays. Two-thirds have thus voted in the affirmative, and the total vote (74) is undoubtedly a quorum of the Senate. The bill goes to the House, and the House votes 90 in the affirmative and 40 in the negative. Two-thirds of those voting have thus voted to override the veto, but the total vote is only 130—36 short of a quorum and but 20 more than one-third of the House. It is precisely the same aggregate vote on which Speaker Reed declared that the bill to 'admit Idaho as a State in the Union' had been duly passed. He did this on the declaration that the number of members present and '*not voting*' added to those '*voting*' made up a quorum of the House. Would Speaker Reed on the same principle declare that the two-thirds vote of 90 to 40 had passed the bill over the President's veto?

"The Constitution says that in passing a bill over a veto the votes of both houses 'shall be determined by yeas and nays.' If 'determined by yeas and nays,' how can Speaker Reed count a class of members who voted neither yea nor nay? The vote given by yeas and nays lacks 36 of a quorum. Under what rule can the Speaker add 36 who did not vote to the 130 who did vote? On which side will he count them? He cannot know how they would vote. If he divides them evenly between the two sides, it will give 18 to each, and the vote will then stand 108 to 58. That changes the result, because it does not show a two-thirds vote in the affirmative. Observe, further, that the clause in the Constitution says, 'if *two-thirds* of the house [to which the bill is returned] *shall agree* to pass the bill, it shall be sent to the other house, and if *approved by two-thirds* of that house, it shall become a law.' Two-thirds of 'that

house' must be two-thirds of a quorum. It is not a house until a quorum is acting. When Speaker Reed shall have recorded the 36 members, would he declare the 90 votes as the *approval* of *two-thirds* of the whole quorum of 166, as made up under his famous Rule XV.?

"It would be interesting, when the Constitution declares that the 'votes' shall be determined by '*yeas* and *nays*,' to hear how the Speaker can 'determine' the votes by any other process. In all other cases, it will be observed that the *yeas* and *nays* can only be called on demand of at least one-fifth of the members present, but in the case of overriding a veto of the President, the Constitution itself directs the calling and recording of the *yeas* and *nays*. The purpose of this specific direction is to guard against all doubt in 'determining' the result of the vote, for it is not only the interest of every one to have a correct result, but it is the special right of the President to know with exactness the vote by which a bill is passed over his veto and made a law against his consent.

"How would Speaker Reed communicate to the President the supposed result of 90 yeas to 40 nays, when a quorum is 166? It would seem very lame and awkward for the Speaker to state the simple facts of the case. He would be compelled to frame his communication somewhat as follows:

"'FIFTY-FIRST CONGRESS,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
WASHINGTON, ——, 1890.

"'TO THE PRESIDENT:

"'In the vote of the House to determine whether "Senate Bill No. 1129" should pass against your objections, the *yeas* were 90 and the *nays* were 40—more than two-thirds in the affirmative. You will observe that the total vote falls short of a quorum, but under Rule XV. the Clerk of the House has entered on the Journal the names of 36 members who were present in the hall at the time the *yeas* and *nays* were called, *but declined to vote*. Under Rule XV., however, they are permitted to maintain silence and are held to form part of the quorum, just as if they had voted. No one can tell what their votes would have been if they had obeyed Rule VIII., which commands that "every member present within the hall of the House during its sitting shall vote upon each question put." The enclosed extract from the Journal will give you the names of the voting and of the non-voting members of the quorum. Of course the number of names recorded as voting does not answer the Constitutional requirement to override your veto, but you are probably aware of my decision that "attendance alone is necessary."

"'Your obedient servant,
"'THOMAS B. REED, Speaker.'"

This letter is a striking illustration of extravagance in criticism. The entire argument of X. M. C. on this branch of the subject has been inserted in this article, as it forms the strongest and most trenchant criticism of the possible operation of Rule XV. in an extreme case. It is, however, obvious that the criticism overshoots itself. The very letter which he satirically assumes the Speaker would send to the Executive would, if sent, constitute a forcible statement that in the case assumed by X. M. C. the House had refused to pass the bill over the President's veto. If the number of members present actually amounted to 166, and 90 voted to override the veto, two things are absolutely plain: first, that a quorum was present; and, secondly, that two-thirds of the House—that is to say, of the quorum—did not agree to pass the bill notwithstanding the objections of the President. When we speak of the House, we mean the quorum, as X. M. C. very clearly points out. If, therefore, two-thirds of the quorum—

that is to say, two-thirds of the 166 members ascertained to be present—had not concurred in the passage of the bill, the veto could not have been overridden. The presence of the quorum having been ascertained, and only ninety votes having been cast for the bill, it would follow inevitably that two-thirds of the House had refused to agree to the measure, and the letter of the Speaker would be an unmistakable announcement of that fact.

Again, X. M. C. strenuously insists that Speaker Reed's method of determining a quorum is obviously inapplicable to every legislative proceeding where the concurrence of two-thirds of the members of either house is made essential by the Constitution. But if it be once conceded that the presence of a quorum can be ascertained by any other method than by the calling of the roll, his entire argument must necessarily fall to the ground. In discussing the constitutional provision that two-thirds of both houses, whenever they deem it necessary, may propose amendments to the Constitution, X. M. C. insists that it is as imperative that two-thirds of a quorum should actually vote as that the number of States ratifying shall be three-fourths of the States in the Union; and his proposition is absolutely undeniable. He differs from Speaker Reed only in the method by which the presence of a quorum may be ascertained. When, however, he asserts that, if only four States voted on the proposition, Speaker Reed would, if he adhered to his logic, be compelled to declare the amendment carried, his argument sinks to the level of childishness. The term "quorum" can only be applied to an assemblage composed of many members acting as a single body. A State acts in its sovereign and separate capacity. To claim that any rule governing the proceedings of a deliberative body could apply to the separate action of distinct, sovereign, and independent States, is so absurd that it only serves to illustrate the facility with which a ready but unbridled wit may degenerate into extravagance.

If, he asks again, the roll-call disclosed that but one member voted in the affirmative, while 165 members were present, remaining silent in their seats, would the bill be declared a law? But in answering Speaker Reed's argument that many bills have been passed in Congress where but one or two votes have been cast in favor of them, X. M. C. argues, with irresistible logic, that the presence of a quorum is always presumed during a session, because

every member has it in his power at any time to demand a count of the House. If, however, a quorum may be present by presumption when, as a matter of fact, less than 100 members, and even less than 20 members, are in the House, surely the assent of 165 members present, though not voting, to the passage of the bill, may be presumed from their silence. If the physical presence of a quorum may be presumed with such effect as to give validity to a law passed by a House actually consisting of 20 members, it may with equal propriety be presumed that 165 members, sitting silent in their seats with power to defeat the bill by merely recording their votes, were content to see it passed. X. M. C. invokes the doctrine of presumptions when it strengthens his argument: he will undoubtedly be willing to permit his adversary to avail himself of a presumption less violent than the one to which he has himself appealed.

Passing, then, from the practical application of the rule, which, as we have seen, would produce none of the absurd results which X. M. C. has chosen to attribute to it, let us consider the constitutional aspect of the question.

The Constitution in terms empowers the House to compel the attendance of its members. Speaker Reed interprets this provision to mean that the House may compel the attendance of its members and count them after their attendance is secured. X. M. C. concedes that the House may compel the attendance of its members, but insists that no member can be counted as present except by his own consent.

It is plain that under the contention of X. M. C. the power to compel the attendance of members falls short of equipping the House with power to do its business. True, he suggests what he deems to be a remedy, and this suggestion we will presently consider; but it is certain that prior to the ruling of Speaker Reed the constitutional provision that the House shall have the power to compel the attendance of its members did not suffice to give it power to obtain a quorum.

It has not infrequently occurred in the past, after a call of the House had been ordered, that a call of the roll would disclose the presence of a large majority of members. Proceedings under the roll-call having been dispensed with, and the business of the House having been taken up, it would be found on the very first call that less than a quorum responded to their names. Another

call would thereupon be ordered, when a majority of the members would appear to be present, but on the resumption of regular business, the absence of a quorum would again be disclosed. To compel the attendance of members under such circumstances became merely an act of cruelty to the diligent members of the House. It simply resulted in imposing upon the already overburdened atmosphere of the chamber the support of several additional, and, in a legislative sense, useless, pairs of lungs.

When the Constitution empowered the House to compel the attendance of its members, it is fair to assume that the framers of that instrument believed that they had equipped the parliamentary body with power at all times to secure and maintain a quorum. As a matter of fact, however, a quorum previous to the assembling of the Fifty-first Congress could be secured only by the consent of the members. The breaking of a quorum became a regular feature of the filibustering process. It was a weapon so potent in the hands of the minority that it never failed to force the majority into a compromise involving a surrender, to some extent, of the principle in contending for which they had provoked the opposition of the minority.

X. M. C. discourses wisely and learnedly on the importance of a yea-and-nay vote in properly recording the proceedings of the House, and he argues with great force that the general policy of our constitutional system is to require every member to bear his proportion of the burden of legislation and assume his share of its responsibilities. These propositions no man can dispute. But when any considerable number of members, by refusing to obey the rules which require them to vote, can be held to deprive the House of the power to enact any bill to which they may be opposed, X. M. C. would give to their silence an importance which the Constitution denies to their votes. In other words, he would put a premium on disorder and disobedience. To state that, when the attendance of a member is compelled by the process of the House, that member, by a mere refusal to vote, can suspend all legislative proceedings, is to state that the Constitution equipped both houses of Congress with a power that could only be used for oppression, but which could never be made effective for the transaction of the public business.

It is quite true that for one hundred years the presence of a quorum has been determined by the calling of the yeas and nays.

It is equally true that in a House composed of members obedient to the rules it is the simplest and most effective method of ascertaining the number present. But where any portion of the House refuse to be recorded, it is perfectly plain that a mere calling of the roll does not establish the actual number of persons within the walls of the House. If for one hundred years the presence of a quorum had always been ascertained by a roll-call, that fact merely shows that for one hundred years the rules of the House had not been used for the purpose of carrying obstruction to such an extent as to practically place the entire operation of the legislative department of the government at the mercy of a small minority.

X. M. C. himself admits that there must be some means by which the House can provide a quorum to do business, even in the sense in which he understands the word quorum to be used in the Constitution. To use his own words : "Indeed, the discipline of the House would be destroyed, its government would be in chaos, if the practice of breaking a quorum at will by the refusal of members to vote could not be suppresssed." And then he proceeds to prescribe the remedy to which allusion has already been made. He asserts that, as a refusal to vote constitutes disorderly conduct, and as the House has the power to punish the disorderly conduct of its members, the true remedy would be to inflict a fine upon every member present in the House who might refuse to vote upon a call of the roll. Instead of the rule adopted by the present House, he suggests the adoption of the following rule :

"Rule XV. If a member shall refuse to vote on a call of the *yeas* and *nays* after being requested by the Speaker to do so, he may be fined by the Speaker, not exceeding $50; and until said fine is paid said member shall not be allowed to take part in debate in the House or in Committee of the Whole, nor shall he be allowed to present any question of order to the Speaker."

In suggesting this rule, X. M. C. has completely turned his back on the constitutional provision which permits the House to compel the attendance of its members, and relies entirely upon the provision which empowers it to punish for disorderly conduct. It must be apparent to the mind of the most prejudiced critic of Speaker Reed, on a first reading of this rule, that X. M. C. does not suggest the means by which the House can itself compel a quorum, but, rather, the means by which it can avenge itself upon those who deprive it of a quorum. The constitutional privilege of the House is not confined to the mere power to punish a mem-

ber who does not attend its sittings. It embraces the right to compel his attendance, and in the exercise of this power its officer can take the body of the member from any place in which he may be found within the limits of the United States, and produce him at the bar of the House, and keep him within the chamber, subject to the direction and control of the House. This is a very much broader power than the mere right to punish for a failure to attend. The rule suggested by X. M. C. would therefore involve the use of the lesser power and the abandonment of the greater. It would not compel a quorum, nor make one, nor maintain one. Indeed, it might be an effective means of depriving the House of a quorum. If a member declined to pay the fine, what would be the result? He might be suspended. In that case the prospect of a quorum would be still more remote. He might be imprisoned, but as he could be detained in custody only during the existence of the Congress, his imprisonment would make it impossible to count him as of the quorum. In the last hours of the session, with party feeling aroused to a high pitch of excitement, the attempt of the House to maintain a quorum by the imposition of fines would result in a ludicrous failure either to assert its power or to preserve its dignity.

It is amazing that a logician so acute as X. M. C. appears to be should have been betrayed by the strength of his feeling into such a grievous and palpable error. The remedy suggested by X. M. C. is, in fact, no remedy at all. A remedy in law and in reason is something very different from a punishment. We may punish murder by death and larceny by imprisonment, but these punishments afford no remedy for the life which is lost or the property which has been abstracted. All moralists agree that it is the duty of society to prevent crime rather than to punish it, wherever prevention is possible. The very adoption of a penalty for wrong-doing is a confession that it is impossible to prevent the perpetration of the offence. If, therefore, the power of the House be reduced to the mere infliction of penalties for the breaking of a quorum, it is plain that it has no power to compel the existence of a quorum. But if we once concede that the House has no power to compel a quorum, the constitutional provision which empowers it to compel the attendance of members is absolutely valueless. X. M. C. relies upon the severity of the penalty to deter the members from practising this method of ob-

struction. But here he himself appears to be willing to depend upon that doctrine of chances for trusting to which he so strongly reproves Speaker Reed. Rule XV. as it now exists at least gives the House the means of proceeding with its business, and makes it impossible to obstruct the discharge of parliamentary business by the mere device of silence. Rule XV. as X. M. C. proposes to make it might enlarge by a few hundred dollars the surplus in the Treasury, but it would not of itself enable the House to obtain and maintain a quorum.

X. M. C. is fond of illustrating by a hypothetical absurdity a position which he assails. Let us see how the rule which he proposes would work in a critical emergency through which the nation might be compelled to pass.

Suppose that this country were involved in a trying and doubtful war with a foreign or domestic enemy; that a considerable minority of the House of Representatives was in favor of settling the controversy upon terms which had been rejected by the judgment of the majority; that a measure was pending before Congress authorizing the government to borrow the moneys which were absolutely essential to the successful prosecution of the conflict, and that the measure was reached on the last day of the session. What would be the operation of Rule XV., as suggested by X. M. C., under these circumstances? Let us assume that 175 members were present, of whom ten were so bitterly opposed to a continuance of the contest that they were ready to adopt the parliamentary weapon of obstruction in order to force the government to a capitulation. These ten members remaining silent in their seats, the 165 members who were ready and anxious to vote the supplies necessary to enable the government to defend its existence would have, according to X. M. C., the right to close the doors of the House and keep the ten inside. They could order a call of the roll, and if the ten members remained silent, the 165 would be powerless to pass the legislation essential to the very existence of the government. True, the Speaker could impose a fine of $50 upon each of the recalcitrant members; the power of the House would then be exhausted and the government itself would be imperilled, if not destroyed.

We have seen the amusing conceit in which X. M. C. has indulged at the expense of Speaker Reed and of Rule XV.,

by assuming that the Speaker would send a letter to the President claiming that 90 members out of 166 would be sufficient to override his veto. Let us imagine the letter which a Speaker of the House might send to the President, under the circumstances which we have supposed, informing him of the failure of the House to pass the legislation requisite to secure the funds necessary for the defence of the country through the refusal of a small minority to answer a roll-call.

FIFTY-FIRST CONGRESS,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
WASHINGTON, March 4th, 1891.

TO THE PRESIDENT:

The bill, H. R. 1111, authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to borrow moneys necessary for the payment of our armies and for the purchase of munitions of war, was reached in the House to-day. One hundred and sixty-five members voted in favor of the bill—less than a quorum. Ten members who were present in the House, and who refused to vote, were each fined by me $50. The refusal of these 10 members to vote has deprived the House of a constitutional quorum, and the bill has therefore failed. While the failure of Congress to pass this legislation may force the government to conclude a peace upon any terms which the enemy may choose to dictate, the principle that a quorum can only be determined by the yeas and nays and the right of the House to punish recalcitrant members have both been fully vindicated. The country has been ruined, but the Treasury has gained $500.

Your obedient servant,
X. M. C., SPEAKER.

It may be urged that it is unfair to test the general practicability of a rule by its application to a particular day of the session. Let us, therefore, assume that the measure which we have supposed was reached during the middle of the session. In that case, the letter might be couched in the following terms:

FIFTY-FIRST CONGRESS,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
WASHINGTON, May 1, 1892.

TO THE PRESIDENT:

The bill to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to borrow the moneys necessary to defray the expenses of the war in which the country is now engaged was reached in the House to-day. One hundred and sixty-five members voted in favor of the measure—less than a quorum. The measure has therefore failed to become a law. Ten members who were present in the House, and who refused to vote, were by me fined $50 each. They have refused to pay these fines, and they have been committed to the custody of the sergeant-at-arms. As it will be impossible to continue the defence of the capital, and as the enemy will naturally regard these ten members as his best friends, he will, in all probability, liberate them as soon as he shall have taken possession of the city. To keep them in custody it will therefore be necessary to conclude peace at the very earliest date. This is precisely what the ten recalcitrant members wish to accomplish. After the treaty shall have been signed, they will have no reason to persist in their contumacy, and they will, in all probability, pay their fines. There will, therefore, be reason for universal congratulation. The minority will have controlled the proceedings of Congress, and the majority will have collected $500, which may be applied to the payment of the indemnity exacted by our conquerors.

Your obedient servant,
X. M. C., SPEAKER.

It will be seen that the very worst effect which X. M. C. has chosen to attribute to Rule XV. as it now exists falls far short of the disastrous results which would flow from a rigid adherence to his theory that a constitutional quorum can only be secured by the consent of a majority of all the members of the House to answer their names on the call of the roll. The principle that the House can be deprived of a quorum while it has the power to compel the attendance of its members is absolutely inadmissible, and would lead to conclusions more extravagant than any imagined by Gilbert. While the House unquestionably has the power to punish any conduct on the part of its members which is forbidden by its rules, it has also the undoubted power to secure a quorum and to preserve it.

But, it may be asked, is it not a dangerous innovation upon parliamentary usages to give the clerk of the House the power to count a quorum? Here we have the real ground upon which the position of Speaker Reed may be fairly criticised. The power to count a quorum is, indeed, a dangerous power to intrust to a servant of the House, and one which should never have been conferred upon him. Rule XV. is a salutary reform so far as it asserts the principle that a quorum consists of a majority of the members present in the House, whether voting or silent, and that the members present are presumptively present to do business. The method of ascertaining the presence of members under this rule is, however, entirely reprehensible. Under a parliamentary system which requires a majority to constitute a quorum, when the roll-call shows less than a majority voting, though a majority are clearly within the chamber, a system should be devised for ascertaining the number present which would leave nothing to vagueness or conjecture.

The quorum should be counted by the House, and not by the clerk or by the Speaker. The whole number present should be counted, and not the bare number necessary to make a quorum. When it is apparent that a quorum is actually present, while less than a quorum has voted, it is entirely competent and proper for the House to direct that the members who abstain from voting should be placed at the bar, and that in the presence of the whole House their attendance be noted and they themselves counted as of the quorum. Such a proceeding would remove any element

of doubt as to the identity of the members constituting the quorum. Such a rule would not be inconsistent with the provisions of Rule VIII. as they now exist, nor with any additional clause which might be adopted providing a penalty for a failure to obey its provisions. It would operate to preserve a more accurate record of the proceedings than any which has been heretofore known to Congress, by showing for the benefit of their constituents which members voted, which failed to vote through non-attendance, and which refused to vote in open defiance of the rules.

The inevitable result of filibustering by minorities has been the extension of the power of the presiding officer. When a minority becomes obstructive, the majority usually retaliates by curtailing the privileges which have been abused. The Speaker is usually the instrument by which the purpose of the majority is accomplished. The business of the House is placed more completely under his control, so that he may afford the majority an opportunity to secure the passage of the legislation which it desires. The power of the Speakership has thus increased enormously, and its growth has been at the expense of the parliamentary privileges of the individual members. The rule which has been under discussion is a striking instance of this tendency to confide to the Speaker powers which should be properly exercised by the House itself. Properly speaking, the Speaker is but the servant of the House; the organ by which it speaks as a body; the hand by which it attests its proceedings; the medium by which it preserves order. To restrict his powers to the discharge of these functions would be the very highest type of parliamentary reform.

With the power of the House to maintain a quorum fully established, the minority will see the wisdom of restricting opposition to the legitimate limits of parliamentary contention. The obstructive tactics of silence will be abandoned, because they will have become useless, and all parties, it may be hoped, will combine to curtail the power of the Speakership, which has of late years grown to such proportions as to constitute a serious menace to the freedom, and even to the stability, of parliamentary institutions.

JUDEX.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

I.

THE CASE OF THE CHIRICAHUAS.

THE Apaches, as a nation, were conquered by General George Crook in a series of campaigns lasting from 1871 to 1875. The Chiricahua and Warm Springs Apaches were, however, excepted from his control. In 1876 the scattered bands of this tribe were united with the San Carlos and White Mountain Apaches on the San Carlos Reservation. Friction between these several tribes and other causes resulted, in 1881 and 1882, in the departure or "breaking-out" of the Chiricahuas, who fled to their ancient haunts in the wild Sierras of Old Mexico.

General Crook, who had been sent north in 1875 to quiet the Sioux, was hastily ordered back to Arizona, and in the remarkable campaign of 1883 the Chiricahuas, more than 500 in number, were returned to the reservation as prisoners.

In May, 1885, a party numbering 134 again returned to Mexico. An arduous campaign ensued, resulting in the surrender of the whole party to General Crook in March, 1886. Geronimo and thirty-five others escaped while returning to the United States, but in accordance with the terms of the surrender, Chihuahua and seventy-six others were sent as prisoners to Fort Marion, Florida.

The operations against the hostile remnant were then intrusted to General Miles. Hampered by his orders from Washington, his campaign was foredoomed to failure. This fact becoming evident, it was determined to effect by negotiation what had been found impossible to accomplish by force of arms. The idea was conceived of securing a reservation in the Indian Territory, where the peaceable Chiricahuas, then in Arizona, and the prisoners at Fort Marion could be united. It was hoped that the promise of reunion with their tribe on such a reservation would prove a sufficient bait to induce the hostiles to surrender. On July 13, 1886, Lieutenant Gatewood and two friendly Chiricahuas were despatched with a message to the hostiles, and about the same time a delegation of friendly Chiricahuas was sent to Washington with a view of procuring their consent to their removal. The authorities in Washington were, apparently, not in accord with the views of General Miles, and, after receiving a promise that so long as they remained peaceful their interests would be looked after, the Indians were started back to Arizona. This action did not suit General Miles, and he telegraphed that their return might cause trouble, and urged that, as the military reasons were sufficient and the opportunity was favorable, some arrangement be made by which the tribe could be located outside of Arizona and New Mexico. The delegation was, therefore, held as prisoners at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.

The Governor of Arizona then prepared a proclamation, offering a reward of $500 for the apprehension of Chatto, Loco, Kaetena, and several others of the delegation. The proclamation, though not issued, was not without its use. Chatto, the leading chief, was informed of its terms and was told that, if they returned to Arizona, the military would not protect them, but that they would be tried for acts done when on the war-path before the surrender to General Crook in 1883. At the

same time an alternative proposition was submitted to them. This was, practically, that they should have a reservation in the Indian Territory near Fort Sill, where "the clear waters of the mountains, the climate, and the fertile soil would be congenial and beneficial to them. . . . Each family should have $100 worth of farming utensils and $200 worth of domestic stock the first year, and $300 worth of stock the second year." The whole tribe would be reunited, and some of them would serve as scouts, and would receive, some $50, some $20, a month.

To the Indian mind trial by the civil authorities meant simply being put to death by the whites. With such a threat hanging over them, there could be little doubt as to their decision. The alternative was accepted, and they agreed to go to the reservation so pleasantly described to them.

No authority, however, had been given to General Miles to make such an arrangement, wise as it doubtless was. He hoped perhaps for its subsequent approval by the War Department, but was informed that it was not possible at that time to procure the necessary legislation, and that all hope of doing so must be abandoned. He then urged the temporary removal of the Chiricahuas to New Mexico or Kansas, pending legislative action. To this General Sheridan replied that "the proposition to remove them to any reservation or military post west of the Missouri River cannot be entertained. The President wishes me to ask what you think of the proposition to forcibly arrest all on the reservation and send them to Fort Marion, Florida."

The hostiles had not yet surrendered, and the execution of such a scheme at that time would have proved fatal to General Miles's plans, and he replied that the objections were serious, as the Indians, having been sent to Washington to negotiate for removal to another reservation, "would consider it an act of bad faith"; and that "it would necessitate a war of extermination against those that are down in old Mexico, for *if banishment were the fate of those that have been peaceable*, they would expect theirs to be much worse, and I think all would have to be killed before any more would surrender."

Thus matters rested until August 24, when Lieutenant Gatewood succeeded in opening communication with the hostiles through the Chiricahua scouts, and General Miles's message was delivered to them. After discussing it more than two days, they decided to accept the terms offered them, and on September 6 Geronimo's band formally surrendered, with the understanding that no harm should come to them for their past offences, that they should join their tribe on a separate reservation, and that they should have farms and cattle of their own. The party, numbering fifteen men and seventeen women and children, were, however, sent to Fort Pickens, Florida.

The reasons for the removal of the peaceable Indians no longer existed, but the idea having once been suggested, the territorial press demanded its accomplishment. Originally a clever device to secure the surrender of the hostiles, and of importance only in that connection, the removal of the friendly Indians became a point insisted upon aside from any other consideration. It had been decreed that they could not be removed to any point in the west, and it was finally decided to send them to Florida, as the readiest means of disposing of them. Geronimo surrendered on September 6, and on the 20th of the same month 278 adult Indians and 103 children were received as prisoners at Fort Marion, where the delegation at Fort Leavenworth was sent to join them. In May, 1888, the whole tribe was united at Mount Vernon Barracks, Alabama, where it still remains.

Owing to change of climate, enforced idleness, and other causes, many have died. Up to November, 1889, the number of deaths was 119—a death-rate of nearly 25 per cent. in three years.

Of the whole tribe, Chihuahua's band alone was justly confined in Florida. The remainder, excepting Geronimo's band, were imprisoned without their consent and without just cause. General Miles says: "The assent of the band was given before they were really moved out of that country"; and Governor Wolfeley states that "they agreed to go east. So when they were sent east, it was under no false proposition." They consented to go to a reservation outside of Arizona: they never consented to confinement within the damp prison-walls of Fort Marion.

The whole number sent east in 1886 was 498. Of this number *less than twenty men were engaged in hostilities* during the whole of General Miles's campaign. For the sins of these few a sentence of banishment was visited upon the whole tribe. They were far from deserving it. On the contrary, General Miles refers to "their good conduct and loyalty." They had committed no crime against the government, but had done good work in its service. Many of them were scouts in General Crook's campaigns; some were retained in service by General Miles. In the records is found frequent mention of their gallantry and fortitude. They wore out the white troops in the field, and were pushed on alone far into the Sierra Madres, and under the gallant Crawford, rendered effective aid in securing the surrender in March, 1886. In the mountains, over desert plains, marching through mud and through shallow alkali lakes that blistered their feet and legs, and "so foot-sore that it was only with great pain that they could travel at all," these Chiricahuas were ever "the most subordinate, energetic, untiring, and by odds the most efficient" of the scouts. Honorably discharged from the military service, they returned to their reservation, where, one day, they were brought together "to be counted." They were surrounded by soldiers and other Apaches, and placed on a train, "ten car-loads of them." When they alighted, they were exiles and prisoners. Three hundred and eighty-one of them were confined in Fort Marion, where there was room for "seventy-five men, women, and children, in addition to those already there." They were placed on the same footing as the hostiles. Even the two scouts by whose aid the surrender of Geronimo was effected were imprisoned with the rest.

Thus, for the sake of less than twenty, a whole tribe of nearly 400 innocent people have been condemned to exile and imprisonment, which to many of them have meant death.

L. W. V. KENNON.

II.

STANLEY'S PYGMIES.

AMONG the many wonderful things Stanley has to reveal to us, the pygmies of the Aruwhimie forest are not the least, if we may judge by the hushed eagerness with which eight thousand people listened to the description he recently gave before the Geographical Society in the Albert Hall. True, he tells us little in his speeches, but what he tells us is enough to awaken the keenest curiosity to know more of what must be the most marvellous scene now existing in the world.

Over a country about half as large as France, covered with huge trees,—ten thousand million of them is Stanley's own calculation, and standing so thick that it is always twilight below their interwoven branches,—wandering in thousands, as they have wandered for ages, are to be found a race of light-brown men and women scarcely four feet high. Three thousand years ago, long before Herodotus, the father of history, was born, they retreated before larger races, as the Lapps, who are nearly as diminutive, retreated before the Norsemen, and in the course of centuries they have so fitted themselves to their surroundings that the dreary forest, where full light never falls, has become to them their world—their paradise—limitless and vast, and it is beyond their power to think of emerging from its protecting gloom. They know nothing beyond it, even of tradition; have no idea of even a moderate expanse of open country; have never seen grass growing in quantities, and have no conception of any land without dense forest. The only open spaces they know are the little patches that have been cleared by a larger race for the cultivation of bananas, which in that luxuriant climate reach maturity in twelve months, and of which these little people are very fond. This pygmy race know their forests as thoroughly as our Indians know theirs, and by an inherited instinct, marvellous to the white man, track their way by day or night through the wilderness with a certainty and celerity which make them, despite their insignificant stature, a formidable foe. They appear to sustain life, like some other savage tribes, on roots and wild fruit, and can tell exactly what is poisonous and what is edible; but their chief dainty is the banana, and their desire for this luxury draws them irre-

sistibly from the depths of their seclusion to the borders of the cultivated spots, where the larger race have shown their superior skill in growing this coveted fruit. They are, Stanley tells us, in their own way intelligent, possess a language, and, as we have just mentioned, have a minute knowledge of their forest intricacies, and can, when they please, make themselves dangerous, appearing and disappearing as suddenly, and almost as silently, as the very snakes themselves.

We can well believe that they retarded Stanley's advance more than all the tribes he met with of the usual size. These diminutive creatures are distinctly human in their enmities, friendships, virtues, and vices, and, withal, possess a certain force of character which has enabled them to remain undefeated by the circumstances around them throughout the historic life of man; and yet, notwithstanding their human characteristics, they live almost the life of baboons, and will doubtless continue to do so until the white man covets their rich timber land, which now seems limitless, and begins the work of felling the forest which is their home, and which, if antiquity of possession can constitute a title, is and always has been theirs.

D. KINMOUNT ROY.

III.

LITERARY BITTERS.

TO THE large army of worthy people who do not like medicine and object on principle to stimulants, while feeling a strong yearning for one or both, there came, long ago, a benefactor of his species with an invention, a compromise, a boon, which he called a tonic. The tonic, disguised under various names, was compounded in certain proportions of a bitter ingredient, a sweet one, and a large infusion of raw rum. It filled, as the inventor happily remarked, a long-felt want. Those who needed medicine found, or—which is the same thing—thought they found, it in the bitter element. Those whose systems craved a stimulant found that, too, without having to sully their feet and contaminate their souls by entering a dram-shop. The tonic, as a beverage and a blessing, had "come to stay."

The literary tonic has also come, we fear, to remain permanently. Good people who would as soon drink rum as read fiction are the best patrons of the new stimulant—the novel with a purpose. They read it, as they will assure you, solely for its moral, not for its story. Therein they show a glimmering of good taste, for, in sober truth, the fictional element of the novel with a purpose, like the alcoholic element of the tonic, is usually of the poorest quality to be found in the mental laboratory. Other people, not so good, read it from the opposite motive. They, being unregenerate, but not wholly abandoned, feel that they ought to take spiritual medicine of some sort, and, being unable to swallow their theology "straight," they compound by taking it with an admixture of fiction. Between the two, the novel with a purpose enjoys a wide popularity; both classes of readers being zealous advertisers of the nostrum, from different motives. The good party recommends it for its religious tone; the less good for its alleged literary merits and, vaguely, because it grapples with so many doubtful and controverted questions.

There is a third party, corresponding to the unblushing consumer of material stimulants, who wants his fiction pure and simple, either totally without purpose, or with its purpose so skilfully disguised by a master-chemist, like Dickens, that he never tastes it and only feels its good effects indirectly. Curiously enough, both of the other classes like to pitch upon him as an erring brother to be worked with on behalf of the literary tonic. It never occurs to them that he may be feeling healthy enough to need no medicine. "Have you read 'Robert Elsmere'?" they ask. "Oh, you must—it expresses so many yearnings and doubts of the soul." Or, "You must read Tolstoï's 'Kreutzer Sonata'; it is *risqué* here and there, but it teaches such a lesson."

Now, I make bold to confess that I have read neither of these tonic works, nor many others equally well recommended by worthy people who are willing to have their portraits printed "before and after taking." I began both on compulsion, being a free American citizen bound to obey the behests of my neighbors. I lost a good friend when I sent back her "Elsmere," after enjoying seven chapters and, I think,

five tea-parties therein chronicled; but I made, by way of compensation, a new enemy when I returned the "Sonata," confessing that its nastiness did not atone for its dulness. I weakly temporized with a third friend by wading through "Diana of the Crossways" and frankly saying that I had found it verbose and tedious to the last degree.

Why cannot the good and the semi-good leave us—the bad—alone in our iniquity? We don't go telling them they must read Scott and Dickens and Thackeray, not to mention such purposeless and moralless authors as Dumas and Cooper and Reade and Collins, and all the purveyors of pure stimulants. Genuine fiction does not need any "booming." Why must we, who have our own normal appetites, be adjured on every rock and dead-wall to "ask your druggist for" a poor brand of liquor masquerading as a literary bitters? There should be a Society for the Protection of Mental Scenery against the desecration of the advertising artist.

JAMES JEFFREY ROCHE.

IV.

A PLEA FOR PEDANTS.

WHY is it that pedants are generally so ridiculed? Is it not lucky for a man that he *can* contract an intense, even an extravagant, fondness for some pursuit,—some specific study, art, or science,—which he will consequently understand better than other men, and in solving whose problems he may become an expert? What is a man good for without professional enthusiasm,—who does not give his whole soul to his calling, concentrating upon it all his energies, and loving it with an ardor that almost ignores the existence of any other? "No man," says Emerson, "can do anything well, who does not think that what he does is the centre of the visible universe." It is easy to declaim against "one-ideaism," "intellectual narrowness," and "a' that"; but, in spite of the cheap eloquence and fashionable cant of superficially-omniscient men who plume themselves upon their fancied oceanic breadth and depth, we love to see a man magnify his calling, even if he does overrate its relative importance. It is only thus that he can achieve excellence or eminence.

Who are the men that make their mark on the world, and to what do they owe their celebrity and influence? Are they the men who have the most versatility and the most varied culture? No; they are those whose minds want balance, who have some giant faculty developed at the expense of the rest. The very deadness of perception thus induced promotes self-confidence and positiveness. Occasionally, at long intervals in the history of humanity, a person appears who wings his flight to the peaks of greatness by an equal flapping of his wings; but all the rest gain their motion like a mill-wheel—by a continued fall of water on one side. The want of balance, it has been truly said, is the cause of most motion, and therefore the minds that stir the stagnant pool of common thought are out of equilibrium, and propelled by this very cause, like a pith figure loaded with a leaden foot, to spring with impatient yet effective force in some providentially-prescribed direction. Once in four or five centuries the world beholds a Leonardo da Vinci or a Leibnitz; but few of their fellow-mortals can fully master more than one art or science,—all beyond is a miserable affectation and a downright waste of time. What Michael Angelo said of painting is true of every other art or craft,—"It is jealous, and requires the whole man."

The day of universal scholars is past. The measure of a man's learning to-day is the amount of his voluntary ignorance; the measure of his practical force is the amount he is content to leave unattempted. We cannot, therefore, admire the man who, instead of being devoted to one great art,—"married to that immortal bride,"—woos all the muses in turn; not content to be a painter, sculptor, or writer, unless he is also "chemist, statesman, fiddler, and buffoon." There is no end of acquisition, if one begins to dabble in all the *ologies* and *isms* which may be intrinsically valuable, or which, if possessed, may add a feather to his reputation. Give us a thousand times, rather, the glorious pedantry of Fielding's Parson Adams, who thought a schoolmaster the greatest character in the world, and himself the greatest schoolmaster in it! We smile when we are told of the French grammarian, Dagues-

seau, who, when told that a revolution had broken out in Paris, replied, "Never mind; I have in my portfolio thirty-six conjugations, all completed"; and, again, when we hear of Dr. George, who shrewdly suspected that Frederic the Great, with all his victories, could not conjugate a Greek verb in *mi*. But this very exclusiveness—this absorption in one pursuit—is the secret of all power. Was Vestris, the French dancing-master, guilty of coxcombry or falsehood in declaring that Voltaire and himself were the two greatest men in all Europe? No, assuredly; he but manifested a proper feeling of enthusiasm for his art, and it would have been downright hypocrisy for him to have pretended to think otherwise.

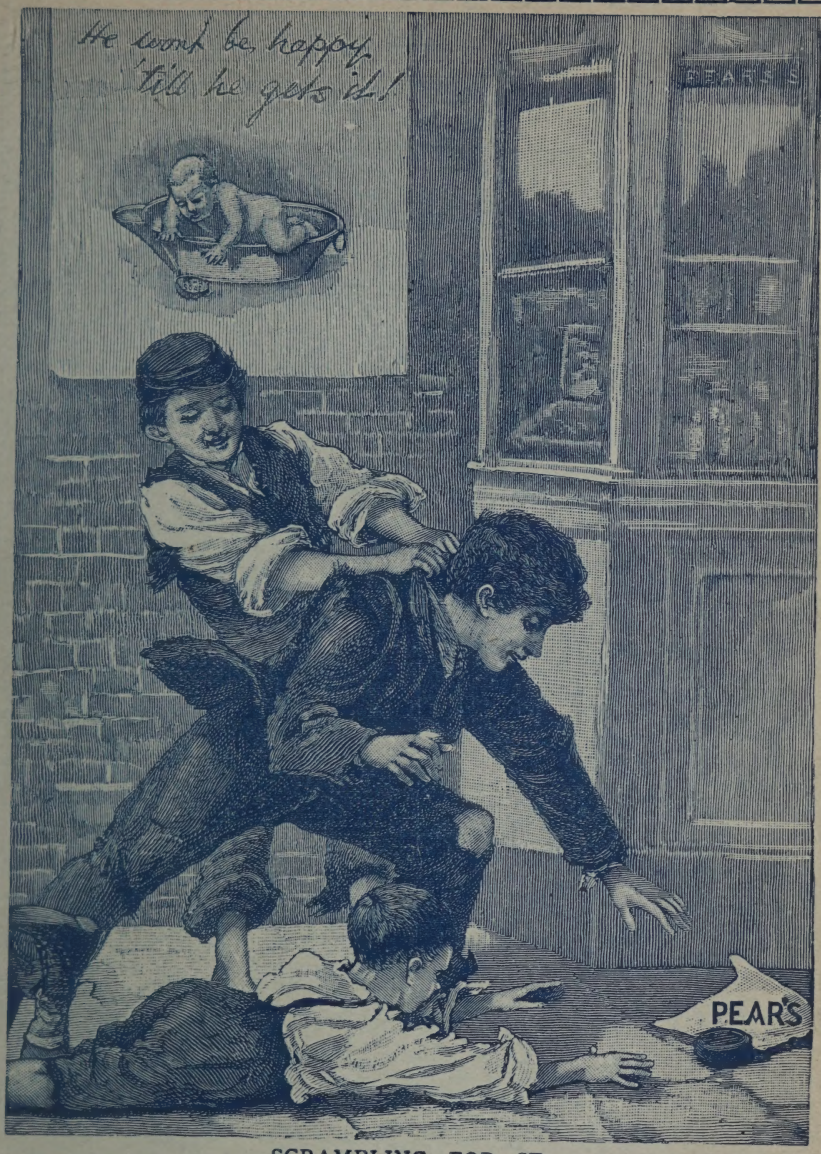
Sydney Smith, in satirizing the classical education at the English universities, says that "the Parr or the Bentley of his day would be scandalized to be put on a level with the discoverer of a neutral salt." And why not, prithee? Can we expect a great scholar, who has devoted a life to his calling to deem any other of equal rank and importance? Shall a painter be required to feel the same admiration for the works of Mozart and Handel as for those of Raphael and Titian? Why should *not* the Greek or Latin scholar, who has "scorned delights and lived laborious days" to possess himself of those stubborn tongues, "glory in the detection of an anapest in the wrong place, or in the restoration of a dative case which Cranzius has passed over, and the never-dying Ernesti failed to observe"? What if a grammarian *does* "tower and plume himself," as Sir Thomas Browne says that he has known one to do, "over a line of Horace, and show more pride in the construction of one ode than the author in the composure of the whole book"? We see nothing ridiculous in this; it is but the natural result of a passionate and absorbing love for one's pursuit.

We are told of Baron Masères, with whom the study of abstract arithmetic was a passion, that his leading idea seemed to have been to calculate more decimal places than any one could possibly want, and to print the works of all who had done the same thing. What mathematician ever signally distinguished himself whose devotion to his science was not thus exclusive? Who would employ in a great suit a lawyer who does not bristle all over with *nolle prosequis* and *certioraris* and *surrebutters*, and shed tears of admiration over his Coke upon Littleton and his Fearne on "Contingent Remainders"? It is only the blockhead or hypocrite who never goes crazy with enthusiasm. "A London apprentice who did not admire the Lord Mayor's coach," says Hazlitt, "would stand a good chance of coming to be hanged." In short, to excel greatly in any profession there should be an exclusiveness, a bigotry, a blindness of attachment to it, which will make every other seem insignificant in comparison.

The world holds the same view. It will not believe in the depth of a many-sided man. To what but this were due the doubt and detraction which dogged Bulwer all his days? Had he been a novelist only, instead of being the "Admirable Crichton" of letters,—novelist, essayist, satirist, dramatist, poet, historian, orator, —he would have held a far higher and more undisputed place in the literary Walhalla. It was said by Jules Janin of Édouard Fournier: "*Cet homme là sait tout; il ne sait que cela; mais il le sait bien*"; yet Fournier, in spite of his encyclopædic culture, is an obscure man of letters.

Even when it is shown in a reprehensible calling, one cannot but admire an absorbing enthusiasm. Froissart, in his "Chronicles," tells of a reverend monk who had been a robber in his early life, and who, growing old, used pathetically to lament that he had ever changed his profession. He said "it was a goodly sight to sally out from his castle, and to see a troop of jolly friars come riding that way, with their mules well laden with viands and rich stores, to advance toward them, to attack and overthrow them, returning to the castle with a noble booty." Even the veriest villain, if he be a consummate villain, must be more content and better pleased with himself than his half-faced counterfeit; and this simply through his force and determination of character. We should have, too, more hope of reclaiming him and making him a blessing to the world, than of reforming the cold, heartless block of a scoundrel in whom to kindle enthusiasm for anything, good or bad, would be like "creating a soul under the ribs of death."

WILLIAM MATHEWS.



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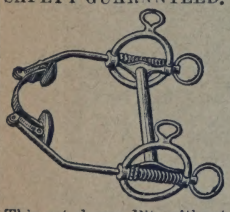

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September, 1890.

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCCCVI.

SEPTEMBER, 1890.

THE FEDERAL ELECTION BILL.

BY THE HON. HENRY CABOT LODGE, REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM MASSACHUSETTS, AND T. V. POWDERLY, GENERAL MASTER-WORKMAN OF THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR.

MR. LODGE:

THE National Election Bill, as has been pointed out several times during the discussion which it has aroused, both in and out of Congress, is a long bill. Yet if any one will take the trouble to compare it with the general election laws of most, if not all, of the States, he will find that in its class it is more conspicuous for brevity than for length. The truth is that no election law which attempts to provide accurately for all the different stages of an election can be otherwise than long. At the same time, although it takes many paragraphs in a bill to state exactly how each act, great and small, having relation to an election shall be performed, it is perfectly easy to put into very few words the purpose of an election law and the methods by which it proposes to accomplish that purpose.

The first object of the National Election Law now under discussion is to secure entire publicity in regard to every act connected with the election of members of Congress. To effect this it provides for the appointment of United States officers, selected

from the two leading political parties, to watch over and report upon naturalization, registration, the conduct of the election, the count of the ballots, and the certification of the members. These officers have no power whatever to interfere with local officers or existing methods. Their only duty is to protect the honest voter, secure evidence to punish wrong-doers, and make public every fact in connection with the election. The State systems, whether they provide for the secret and official ballot or otherwise, are all carefully protected under this law against any interference from United States officers. Moreover, if the officers of the United States at any election precinct exercise their powers improperly, the local officers are there to report their conduct. Thus is obtained a double assurance of publicity from two sets of men, among whom both the leading political parties are represented, without any interference with local officers or local systems.

At only one point does the United States take what may be called control of any essential step in the election of Representatives. Where an entire Congressional district is placed under the law, a United States Board of Canvassers appointed for the district receives the supervisors' returns, and on those returns issues a certificate to the candidate who appears to be elected. If that certificate agrees with the certificate of the State officers, the name of the candidate who holds them both is, of course, placed upon the roll of members of the House. If the two certificates disagree, then the certificate of the United States board is *primâ-facie* evidence and places the name of the holder upon the roll of Representatives; but in this case any candidate may appeal from the decision of the Board of Canvassers to the Circuit Court of the United States, which has power to set aside the certificate of the canvassers and virtually decide whose name shall be placed on the roll of the House. A candidate who is not willing to have his cause tried by a court of high jurisdiction must be hard to please, when we consider that the only other known method is that of a committee of Congress made up of party representatives.

Thus it will be seen that the whole purpose of this bill may be summed up in one word—"publicity." It proceeds on the sound American theory that all that is necessary, in the long run, to secure good government and to cure evils of any kind in the body politic is that the people should be correctly in-

formed and should know all the facts. It proposes, therefore, by making public all the facts relating to elections, to protect the voters and to render easy the punishment of fraud. If wrong exists, it will disclose and punish it. If all is fair and honest, it proves that all is well, restores public confidence, and removes suspicion. There is absolutely nothing in this bill except provisions to secure the greatest amount of publicity in regard to elections and to protect the ballot-box by making sure the punishment of those who commit crimes against the suffrage. It interferes with no man's rights; it changes no local system; it disturbs no local officers; but it gives publicity to every step and detail of the election, and publicity is the best, as it is the greatest, safeguard that we can have in this country for good government and honest voting. No wrong can long continue when the people see and understand it, and nothing that is right and honest need fear the light. The Southern Democrats declare that the enforcement of this or any similar law will cause social disturbances and revolutionary outbreaks. As the negroes now disfranchised certainly will not revolt because they receive a vote, it is clear, therefore, that this means that the men who now rule in those States will make social disturbances and revolution in resistance to a law of the United States. It is also not a little amusing to observe that small portion of the newspaper press which has virtue generally in its peculiar keeping, raving in mad excitement merely because it is proposed to make public everything which affects the election of the representatives of the people in Congress. There must be something very interesting in the methods by which these guardians of virtue hope to gain and hold political power when they are so agitated at the mere thought of having the darkness which now overhangs the places where they win their victories dispersed.

So much for the purpose of the bill. A word now as to some of the objections which have been raised against it. The most common is that which is summed up in the phrase "force bill." There is nothing very novel in this epithet, for it can hardly be called an argument, or the suggestion of one. It proceeds on the old doctrine of giving a dog a bad name—a saying which is valuable, but perhaps a trifle musty. There was a bill introduced many years ago to which that description was applied not without effect; and the persons opposed to the present measure, whose

strongest intellectual quality is not originality, brought out the old name without much regard to its appropriateness. The trouble with this is that the old bill and the present one are totally unlike, and that what applies to one has no application to the other except that they both aim to protect American voters in their rights. There is no question of force in the present bill. One able editor referred to it as "bristling with bayonets in every line"; but as there is absolutely no allusion to anything or anybody remotely connected with bayonets, it is to be feared that the able editor in question had not read the bill. So anxious, indeed, are the opponents of the measure on this point that, not finding any bayonets in the bill, they themselves have put them in rather than not have them in at all. One newspaper took a clause from the Revised Statutes of the United States relating to United States troops and printed it as a part of the Election Bill, although the bill contains no such clause, but merely reënacts a law which has been on the statute-books for twenty years, and which would have remained and been in force, whether reënacted or not, so long as it was not repealed.

The President of the United States has from the beginning of the government had power to use the army and navy in support of the laws of the United States, and this general power was explicitly conferred many years ago in that portion of the Revised Statutes which now comes under the title "Civil Rights." The present bill neither adds to nor detracts from that power, and as the liberties of the country have been safe under it for at least twenty years, it is not to be apprehended that they will now be in danger The fact is that the talk about this being a "force bill" and having bayonets in every line is mere talk designed to frighten the unwary, for the bill is really an "anti-force" bill, intended to stop the exercise of illegal force by those who use it at the polls North or South; and it is exactly this which the opponents of the bill dread. The United States have power to enforce all the laws which they make, whether they are laws regulating elections or for other purposes. That power the United States must continue to hold and to exercise when needful, and the National Election Law neither affects nor extends it in any way.

The objection next in popularity is that the measure is sectional, and not national. That this should be thought a valuable and important shibboleth only shows how men come to believe

that there is real meaning in a phrase if they only shout it often enough and loudly enough. Repetition and reiteration are, no doubt, pleasant political exercises, but they do not alter facts. In the first place, if we look a little below the surface, it will be found that no more damaging confession could be made than this very outcry. The law when applied can have but one of two results. It will either disclose the existence of fraud, violence, or corruption in a district, or show that the election is fair and honest. If the latter proves to be the case, no one can or would object to any law which demonstrates it. If, on the other hand, fraud is disclosed, then the necessity of this legislation is proved. The Election Law is designed to meet and overcome fraud, force, or corruption, as the case may be, in elections anywhere and everywhere, and if it is sectional, it can only be so because fraudulent elections are sectional. Those who rave against the bill as sectional—that is, as directed against the South, for Southern and sectional appear to have become synonymous terms—admit by so doing that they have a monopoly of impure elections. If it were otherwise, the law, even when applied, would not touch them except to exhibit their virtues in a strong light.

In the sense, however, in which the charge of sectionalism is intended there is no truth in it. Why, it has been asked, did not the Republicans accept the amendment of Mr. Lehlbach, of New Jersey, and make the measure really national? The Lehlbach amendment, if adopted, would have made the bill universally compulsory, but would not have made it one whit more national than it now is. The clause on which the accusation of sectionalism rests is that which makes the application of the bill optional; but to make a measure optional is not to make it sectional. If everybody and every part of the country have the option, the bill is as broadly national as if every provision in it were compulsory. No one would think of calling the local-option liquor laws, which are not uncommon in the States, special and not general legislation; and it is equally absurd to call an election law containing the local-option principle sectional. A law which may be applied anywhere on the fulfilment of a simple and easily-fulfilled condition is as national and general as a law which must be applied everywhere, whether asked for or not.

Moreover, the origin of the legislation of which this is a mere

continuance is the best proof of its national character. The original Supervisors' Law, of which this is an extension, was designed especially to meet the notorious frauds in the city of New York, and the present bill aims quite as much to cure frauds in the great cities of the North as in any part of the country. It is, indeed, the knowledge of this fact which sharpens the anguish of the Northern Democrats at what they pathetically call an invasion of State rights. It is not the peril of State rights which afflicts them, but the thought of an abridgement of those liberties with the ballot-box of which the performances in Hudson County, N. J., have afforded the most recent illustration. The South shouts loudest, but it is merely because the ruling statesmen there think they have most to lose by fair elections. What chiefly troubles the opponents of the bill North and South is, not that it is sectional, but that it will check, if not stop, cheating at the polls everywhere.

Another objection of a sordid kind brought forward against the bill is that it will cost money. If this or any other measure will tend to keep the ballot-box pure, it is of little consequence how much it costs. The people of the United States can afford to pay for any system which protects the vote and makes the verdict of the ballot-box so honest as to command universal confidence; but it is, of course, for the interest of the enemies of the law to make the expense seem as startling as possible. They talk about ten millions of dollars being the least probable expenditure. Assuming, as they do, that the law will be put in operation everywhere, this sum is at least twice too large. Careful and liberal estimates put the cost, supposing the law were to be applied in every district, at less than five millions; but as there is no probability that the law will be asked for in a third of the districts, the cost would not reach a third of the sum actually necessary for all districts. Admitting, however, that five or six millions would be expended, no better expenditure of money could be made than one which would protect the ballot, give publicity to the conduct of elections, and demonstrate to all men their fairness and honesty. The States of the North have not hesitated to take upon themselves the burden of the expense of their own elections under the secret and official ballot, and the wisdom of this policy is beyond question. It is difficult to see why the policy which is sound for States is not sound for the United States.

It is also objected that the penal clauses are very severe. This is perfectly true. They are very severe; and if any crime is more deserving of severe punishment or more dangerous to the public weal than a crime against the ballot, it has not yet been made generally known in this country. The penal clauses of the law are intentionally severe, and the penalties are purposely made heavy. The penalties against murder, highway robbery, and burglary are also heavy and severe, but in every case it is easy to avoid them. Do not be a murderer, a burglar, or a highwayman; do not commit crimes against the ballot, and the penalties for these offences will be to you as if they never existed.

The last objection upon which I shall touch, and the only one remaining which has been zealously pushed, is that the enforcement of this law will endanger Northern property and affect Northern business in the South. It is not easy to see why honest elections, whether State or national, should affect injuriously either property or business. If honest elections are hostile to property and business, then the American system of free government is indeed in danger; and no more infamous reflection could be made upon the people of America than to say that they cannot be trusted to express their will by their votes, but must have their votes suppressed in the interests of order and virtue. No one, however, really believes in anything of the sort. This is simply a revival of the old cry of the Northern "dough-face" against the agitation of the slavery question in the days before the war. It was base and ignoble then, but at that dark period there was at least a real danger of war and bloodshed behind the issue. Now it is not only as utterly ignoble and base as before, but it is false and ludicrous besides. Property and business in the Southern States, as elsewhere, depend almost wholly for protection on State laws and municipal ordinances; and neither this nor any other national law, even if it could be conceived to be injurious to business interests, could touch either State or municipal governments. The proposition, without any disguise, really is that fair elections of Congressmen would endanger business and property in the Southern States; and the mere statement of the proposition is its complete confutation, for even if Congress had the power or the desire to interfere in local legislation, the election of fifteen or twenty Republicans in the South would not affect the composition of the House materially, and as

Congress has no such power, the cry, of course, is wholly without meaning. So keen, however, is the sympathy of the Northern Democrats with this view of the subject that definite threats of war against the national government have been heard. General Spinola, of New York, we know from his own declarations, is armed and ready, and that other great military power, Governor Campbell, of Ohio, if we may believe the statements attributed to him, is arming.

But there is, unfortunately, a much more serious side to this phase of the question. Legislation is proposed which the South does not like, and thereupon, headed by the gallant Governor Gordon, Southern leaders and Southern newspapers begin to threaten and bluster as if we were back in the days of South Carolinian nullification. It is the old game of attempting to bully the North and West by threats. The North and West are to be boycotted for daring to protect citizens in their constitutional rights, and even more dreadful things are to follow. It has been generally believed that the war settled the proposition that this country is a nation, and that the nation's laws lawfully enacted are supreme. Yet here we have again the old slavery spirit threatening to boycott Northern business, trying to bully the Northern people, raising the old sectional cry, and murmuring menaces of defiance and resistance if a certain law which can injure no honest man is enacted. The war was not wholly in vain, and it is time that this vaporing was stopped. The laws of the United States will be obeyed ; election laws, as well as every other, will be enforced ; and the sensible way is to discuss the question properly and have the people pass upon it, and to throw aside these threats of boycott and nullification as unworthy the use or notice of intelligent men.

The difficulty, however, with all these objections, both for those who make them and those who reply to them, is that they are utterly unreal. They are but the beating of gongs and drums, without any greater significance than mere noise can possess. The National Election Bill is a moderate measure. It is not a force bill ; it does not interfere in any way with local elections or local government. It does not involve extravagant expenditure, nor is it sectional in its scope. It does not seek to put the negro or any other class of citizens in control anywhere, but aims merely to secure to every man who ought to vote the right to vote and to have his vote honestly counted. No one knows these

facts to be true better than the opponents of the bill; but their difficulty is that they cannot bring forward their real and honest objection, and so they resort to much shrieking and many epithets. They believe, whether rightly or wrongly, that fair elections mean the loss of the National House at least nine times out of ten to the party to which they belong. They believe that fair elections mean the rise of a Republican party in every Southern State, led by and in good part composed of white men, native to the ground, whose votes are now suppressed under the pretence of maintaining race supremacy as against the negro. They believe that the law threatens the disappearance of the race issue on which they found their power, and the fall of the narrow oligarchy which for so many years has ruled with iron hand in the Southern States and in the national conventions of the Democratic party.

The real objection to the bill, in other words, comes from the fact that one of the two great parties believes that free elections imperil their power. They know that by this bill the United States officers, taken from both parties, are appointed by the courts, the body farthest removed from politics. They know that these United States officers will be held in check by local officers and be utterly unable to interfere with the proper conduct of the election. But they know also that the result will be publicity, and they believe that in consequence of publicity many districts will be lost to them. This law is as fair to one party as another; but if one party is cheating, that party will suffer, and where the cry against the law is loudest it is the best evidence of its necessity, and proves that those who resist it profit by the wrong-doing which it seeks to cure.

The Constitution of the United States promises equal representation to the people, and it makes the negro a citizen. Equality of representation has been destroyed by the system in the South which makes one vote there outweigh five or six votes in the North, and the negro has been deprived of the rights the nation gave. No people can afford to stand quiet and see its charter of government made a dead-letter; and no wrong can endure and not be either cured or expiated. Fair elections North and South are vital to the Republic. If we fail to secure them, or if we permit any citizen, no matter how humble, to be wronged, we shall atone for it to the last jot and tittle. No great moral question of right and wrong can ever be settled finally except in one

way, and the longer the day of reckoning is postponed the larger will be the debt and the heavier its payment.

HENRY CABOT LODGE.

MR. POWDERLY:

THERE must be something wrong in our legislative system, or else such a measure as the National Election Bill would not have passed the lower House of Congress before an opportunity had been accorded to the people to express an opinion upon it. It is a noticeable fact that legislation which deals with the holding of office and the methods of securing office passes very quickly, while that which affects the whole people has to pass the ordeal of several sessions of the legislature or of Congress before it goes to the executive for his signature. The reason may be that the legislator knows more about his own wants than he does about the wants or wishes of his constituents, and, being in office, thinks it no harm to stay there, even though the liberties of the people be placed in jeopardy through his methods. Party organs sounded the praises of, and denounced, the bill while it was before Congress, but they threw very little light on its provisions. Those who objected to it were supposed to be silenced when they were called "Democrats," and those who favored it were expected to die of shame because they favored a "Republican measure." The writer is independent in politics, and does not object to the bill because it favors the Republicans or militates against the Democrats; he is of the opinion, in which he may be wrong, that such a measure is fraught with danger to our republican form of government.

Many opponents of the bill call it sectional, but it is neither sectional nor national; it is so elastic that it may stretch all over the country or span a single Congressional district. It is not a law which goes into effect of itself; it must first be called for by fifty or one hundred persons claiming to be citizens. If the bill becomes a law, it will be enforced in every Congressional district in the United States. It provides for the appointment of a chief supervisor of elections in each judicial circuit—nine in all. When one hundred persons in any city or town having 20,000 inhabitants or upwards, or in any Congressional district no part of which is in any city or town of 20,000 inhabitants or up-

wards, or when fifty persons in any one or more counties or parishes in any Congressional district, petition the chief supervisor, the law is then in force. The chief supervisor then appoints supervisors of election, supervisors of naturalization, and the other officers named in the bill.

In making excuses for the bill's appearance in Congress its advocates urged that it would be called into operation in but from twenty to thirty districts in the South, and that there would be no occasion for it elsewhere. In every Congressional district in the United States will be found the required fifty or one hundred persons to sign a petition to the chief supervisor ; and if they do not think of it, the Congressional aspirant who may think his chances will be improved by the aid of these patriots will not forget it. The compensation which deputy supervisors will receive will stimulate the patriotism of a sufficient number to secure the signatures of fifty or one hundred persons. Every ward politician who may be out of a job and who has a promise from a Congressional candidate—and they will all make promises—will circulate the petition.

Every chief supervisor will find it to his advantage to put the law in operation in his jurisdiction, for it places an enormous amount of patronage at his disposal ; it makes him a "king with a sceptre" at once. The moment fifty persons petition him, he has the appointing of four or five hundred deputies, and if no one else throws out the hint to secure signatures to a petition, it is not likely that he will neglect it. The patronage is within his gift alone, for the circuit judges are obliged to appoint from the list of names submitted to them. It is not what its fathers claim for it that will be done; it will be used "for all it is worth" by the patriots in every Congressional district. With authority to appoint from two to six hundred persons in his jurisdiction, the chief supervisor becomes at once a power in the land, and through his appointees he may dictate the nominations of his own party. If they see fit to use the power, the nine chief supervisors may nominate the candidates for Representatives in their districts, and not those alone, but the candidates for State and county offices as well.

If frauds are perpetrated in from twenty to thirty Congressional districts only, why extend the provisions of the bill beyond those jurisdictions ? Why entail unnecessary expense on

the taxpayers in leaving it optional with fifty or sixty persons, or with one person, to call into operation the whole machinery of this law? Surely Congress has the right to protect the government in twenty districts if it has the right at all.

The framers of the bill made no attempt to deny that it was introduced because of the intimidation of the negro voters of the South, and there is no doubt that colored citizens in many places in the South were outrageously deprived of their rights in being driven from the polls by the Democrats. Notwithstanding their deprivation of the right to vote, the colored men are represented in Congress by the men who deprived them of the right to vote, or who were parties to the wrong. The Constitution of the United States makes provision for such emergencies, if I read it aright, where it says:

"But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State."

It seems to me that the proper thing to do, after the fact is established that a number of negro citizens are not allowed to vote, is to base the representation in Congress from the district or State on the number who exercise the right of suffrage therein.

Do we require protection in the Democratic South any more than we do in the Republican North? We do not hear of the brutal assaults, shootings, mobbings, and violent demonstrations in the North that we read of as happening on election day in the South. In the perfection of its methods of intimidation the Democratic party is behind the Republican, for the latter employs a more refined system of doing violence to the election laws of the nation; in proof of which let me submit the testimony of the United States Senate itself. In 1880 the United States Senate committee to "inquire into alleged frauds in the recent elections" reported that

"a meeting of manufacturers was held at Worcester County, Mass., in the office of Mr. Washburn, chairman of the Republican City Committee. The purpose of this meeting was to urge the employers of labor to exercise their influence.

"They were asked to call their employees together and address them on the issues. This was done in at least one case. The action taken at this meeting was spoken of

by the employees affected as being prejudicial to their freedom of action, from fear of loss of work if they voted or acted against their employers. The result of the meeting and its action was a degree of intimidation to the employee."

In the village of Manchaug, in the same county, the committee found that there were one hundred voters in the place, that the managers, book-keepers, superintendents, and foremen of the mills were Republicans, and that they had not only discharged men for voting in opposition to the Republican party, but had also discharged young boys and girls, and turned families out of their houses, because the parents voted for General Butler in that year. They also found that the ballot-boxes were open, and that "those in charge could see the form and appearance of the ballot voted." Still further on in their report they say:

"Your committee examined a number of witnesses in regard to the arrangement and manner of voting in Webster, Worcester County, by the employees of the Slater Manufacturing Company, where several hundred men are employed. . . . The proof showed about the same state of facts as existed at Manchaug. The same was the case at the Douglas Axe Factory, where agents of the company stood at the door of the election house, watched every one of the employees who came in, passed him the Republican ticket, and told him it would be to his interest to vote that ticket."

The Constitution of the United States says that

"all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States, and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States."

In making their inquiries in the State of Rhode Island, that same Senate committee found that the constitution of that State defied the Constitution of the United States when it said that in order to vote in Rhode Island only the citizen "who shall show, by legal proof, that he has, for and within the year next preceding the time he shall offer to vote, paid a tax or taxes assessed against him in any town or city in this State to the amount of one dollar, including in such tax or taxes a tax upon his property in the town in which he shall offer to vote, valued at least at one hundred and thirty-four dollars."

They obtained the testimony of several, among them one man who had lived twenty-eight years in the State, Colonel James Moran, who had served his time in the United States army during the Rebellion, and had been promoted from private soldier to captain, but who did not own $134 worth of real estate, and could not vote. They found Thomas Davis, seventy-five years of age, who had

served as a member of Congress from Rhode Island, and had served in both branches of the Legislature when he owned $134 worth of property, but who at the time the committee visited Providence could not vote because poverty, while not depriving him of his brain, had taken away his right of suffrage. Daniel Donovan and ten other mechanics, occupying the same room in a workshop, were visited by the committee and found to be intelligent, educated men, but they could not vote because the constitution of Rhode Island denied them the right to live up to the provisions of the Federal Constitution. In summing up their report the committee said :

"Your committee was instructed to inquire and report whether it is within the competency of Congress to provide by additional legislation for the more perfect right of suffrage to citizens of the United States in all the States of the Union. They have performed that duty, and whilst they find that improper practices, as hereinbefore detailed, exist in the States visited, and the freedom of choice by voters in those States has been interfered with, and persons practically threatened with dismissal from employment if they voted in opposition to the wishes of their employers, yet they cannot find that it is within the competency of Congress to correct this wrong by additional or any legislation, but that, on the contrary, the remedy therefor is to be found with the law-making power of the State in which the wrong is perpetrated. Wrongs upon the ballot or interference with the right of suffrage or with the modes of the qualifications of voters are questions which are to be corrected and controlled by the States, and not by the Federal government. Suffrage is under the control of the States, and not of the Federal government. The latter has no voters of its own creation; it cannot qualify voters, nor can it protect voters from wrong by inflicting punishment upon those who compel them to improperly exercise the right of suffrage; it may punish for crimes committed in regard to the manner of voting, but an offence against the right itself must be punished under State law, and not by Federal statute. The civilized bulldozing which we find to have existed in the ancient and honored commonwealths of Massachusetts and Rhode Island is an evil which the people of those States must themselves correct, and your committee feel that in bringing the facts to the public gaze they will help to strengthen a sentiment already in existence, and aid in crystallizing it into such statutory enactments of those States as will correct the evil or punish its repetition."

That was only ten years ago. The crimes reported by the committee took place in Republican States ; the evidence was taken at a time when no excitement prevailed ; the power then, as now, was in the hands of the Republican party; and if a Federal law can be framed to-day to correct like evils, it could have been enacted then. The Senate of the United States adopted the report of that committee, and in doing so asserted that

" wrongs upon the ballot or interference with the right of suffrage or with the modes of the qualifications of voters are questions which are to be corrected and controlled by the States, *and not by the Federal government. Suffrage is under the control of the States, and not of the Federal government.*"

If that were true in 1880 it is none the less so in 1890, and the Congress of the United States has no authority to enact such legislation as is outlined in the Federal Election Bill.

The report did "aid in crystallizing into statutory enactments" the sentiments of the people of the States visited by the committee, but not until the labor organizations of the country began and continued the agitation for ballot reform and a secret ballot. Suffrage should not be tampered with in the slightest degree, and it is only necessary to read the bill now before the Senate to realize that under its provisions the Federal supervisor may know for whom the citizen votes for Congressman and for all other offices. The Australian ballot system is destined to control elections in all the States before many years, and it is to be feared that, if the industrial population had not so vigorously agitated for its passage, there would be no thought of taking the election of Congressmen one step further away from the people.

The framers of the National Election Law claim that it will insure publicity in elections: that is true, and the publicity will intimidate as surely as though a row of bayonets circled the polling-place. It is not publicity that is required, but more of secrecy for the man who votes, and less of interference from candidates for office and interested parties.

The Australian Ballot Law, as passed in several States, guarantees honesty in conducting elections; but the National Election Law will annul all of it that relates to the election of Congressmen, for it provides for separate boxes in which the ballots shall be cast and practically gives the Federal supervisor the authority to examine all boxes. This is not stated in the law, but when the inspectors of election are to hand over to the supervisors all tickets found in boxes other than the Congressional box, those who know anything at all about the manner of conducting elections will realize that the whole voting machinery is exposed to the inspection of the supervisor.

If it is necessary to conduct the election of Representatives in Congress on a different plan from that used in the election of other officers, they should be elected on a day set apart for that purpose. Federal officers, Representatives and delegates to Congress, should be elected on a day when no other officers are to be chosen. Such day should be a national holiday; all votes should be counted every hour, and the result publicly announced from the polling-

place, so that all who vote during the preceding hour may know the result before leaving the polls. After a certain day, say July 4, 1895, no persons except those attaining majority or obtaining naturalization papers before that date should be allowed to vote unless capable of reading and writing the English language. The Federal Election Bill directs that deputy marshals shall know how to read and write in English, but says nothing as to the voter; and that is of more importance. Make bribery, corrupt practices, and intimidation at the polls or during elections punishable by imprisonment only; for those who can afford bribery think nothing of paying a fine.

The fault does not lie with the people, and their rights should not be abridged. There is not one man on the floor of Congress to-day who can conscientiously or truthfully say that during the canvass which ended in his election he did not resort to some mean act in order to get votes or to prevent losing them. The aspirants for office are the men who debauch the voters, and the indignation manifested on the floor of Congress during the debates on the Federal Election Bill came with a very poor grace from many who owed their seats to little tricks, illegal use of money, false representations, and the use of liquor. The Federal Election Bill provides that, if more ballots are found in the Congressional box than there are voters in the election district, the supervisor and inspector shall be blindfolded and draw out a number of ballots sufficient to equal the excess. Two wrongs never make a right: to find more ballots than voters proves that illegal votes have been cast; but it does not right the wrong to draw the tickets out indiscriminately. It should first be ascertained who cast the illegal ballots and then such tickets should be removed or another election called.

No laws are so frequently called into play as election laws, and, as a consequence, none should be so plain. The Federal Election Bill is very long; it is not plain as to its meaning in many parts; in others it is impracticable, particularly in section 12: election officers will not understand it, and, in fact, many who voted for it cannot explain it.

The United States government does not deal with the citizen directly, but, according to the report of the Senate committee of 1880, it may "punish for crimes committed in regard to the manner of voting." If a crime is committed in regard to the

manner of voting, the fault must lie with the State; and if an election is criminally conducted in a certain district, the United States government should, after a careful and impartial investigation, deny the Representative so elected the right to sit in Congress, and call upon the district in question to elect another. The real criminal would no doubt be punished in being deprived of a seat, but the State should be called on to punish those who aided and abetted in illegally electing him.

The most serious objection to the National Election Bill is that it legislates in favor of illiteracy. The vast numbers of colored citizens who cannot read are at the mercy of the whites and those of their own color who can. The machinery of the bill is to count the votes, no matter whether those who cast them know how to read them or not. In case of a contest thousands could not identify their own ballots, much less read them. The Federal Election Bill stands guard only at the polling-booth, but the evil is located elsewhere—in the home of the citizen—and the education of the citizen is the only thing that will remedy it. Illiteracy is the cause of the introduction of this bill: hence the necessity for legislation which will tend to abolish illiteracy, or reduce it to the minimum, and extend universal suffrage, rather than encourage illiteracy by legally protecting it. The Democrats of the South will deprive the negro of his political rights if they can; the Republicans of the North will do the same by the white workmen if they can; and the only thing that will prevent these wrongs is the education of the citizens, North and South, white and black.

T. V. POWDERLY.

SOCIETY WOMEN OF THE TIME OF CHRIST.

BY GAIL HAMILTON.

THE LADIES OF THE EMPIRE.

OF ALL the emperors of the world, the most widely known is undoubtedly the young Octavius; not because, by the achievements of his great uncle, Julius Cæsar, he became the world's master, but because, during his reign, in an obscure village of one of his small and distant provinces a little child was born. The learned and the ignorant alike know that the babe was laid in a manger because there was no room for them in the inn; and the inn was over-full because of the crowds that went up every one into his own city in obedience to a decree from Cæsar Augustus that all the world should be taxed.

The Cæsar Augustus of St. Luke was Octavius by birth, Caius Julius Cæsar by adoption, Augustus by his own imperial choice, and leader of the Golden Age of Rome. Peace had been conquered. In the universal tranquility, literature flourished, splendor reigned. If the strain and stress of the last days of the Roman Republic had left manners and morals to degenerate, the calm, the culture, the luxury, of the early empire should have redeemed them to courtesy and purity.

How gracious was that culture we learned at school. How great was that splendor every day unfolds; for not yet have wholly perished the art and architecture with which the Emperor surrounded himself and his third bride, the beautiful Livia, the companion of his youth, his pride, his power, his age.

The ambition of Cæsar Augustus was to rule the world, but so gently that it should not know how absolutely it was ruled. And a part of that purpose, as well as a part of his character, was his aim to be an example of domestic purity. He wished to present to his people, not simply for their admiration, but for their profit,

a model family. We have, therefore, the most valuable relic of antiquity—an ideal pagan family, rich and powerful enough to carry its idea into practice, conspicuous and important enough to carry its practice into history.

While Cicero, the modern-antique, was humanely holding his office of Governor-General in Cilicia, a Roman nobleman in the prime of life, and therefore of suitable age, sought him to solicit in marriage the hand of his beloved only daughter, Tullia, the "darling Tulliola." Cicero was not averse, for Tiberius Nero was of the noble old Claudian family, and Cicero, a "new man," never got past liking to see the aristocracy pay him obeisance.

But before Tiberius fell a-wooing Cicero had recommended to Tullia another suitor, and the dutiful daughter, once a widow and now a divorcée, left behind in Rome, had already engaged herself to the brilliant and high-born, but profligate, Dolabella. Tiberius, therefore, turned for consolation to a famous young belle and beauty with whose charms the salons of Rome were ringing, and won the hand of Livia Drusilla, a woman much younger than himself, and of birth his equal. Yet it should always be remembered to his credit that his first choice was the clever, honorable, and high-bred daughter of a parvenu.

Tiberius Nero had taken the side of Anthony against Octavius; but when the two foes were to cement their reconciliation by Anthony's marriage with Octavia, the sister of Octavius afterward Augustus, the latter induced Tiberius to permit Livia to be Octavia's attendant at the wedding. Tiberius might well have been reluctant. Augustus had seen her and had been struck by the fresh beauty of her eighteen years. It was nothing that she was already married, and was soon to become the mother of her second son. It was nothing that Augustus was married—alas! twice married. His first wife, Claudia, he had divorced. His second wife, Scribonia, was the mother of his only child, Julia, but she had been the wife of two men before she wed Augustus, and her thrice-harvested charms could but feebly draw the royal admirer from Livia's youthful radiance. The misgivings of Tiberius were too soon justified. On the pretence that he could not endure Scribonia's perverseness, Augustus divorced Scribonia, and, veiling guilt with religion, and announcing that the augurs declared his national success to lie in such a marriage, he ordered Tiberius to yield up his wife.

On this surrender was founded the model pagan family—a surrender attended with every incident of contempt and cruelty; for not only was Tiberius compelled to submit to divorce, but, in the capacity of father, to assist at the iniquitous marriage, to give away the bride, and to preside at the banquet.

During this ghastly mockery of mirth and marriage, a little boy, roving from couch to couch of the assembly, came at length to the one on which Livia reclined by the side of Augustus; whereat this terrible infant called aloud: "Lady, what are you doing here? You are mistaken. This is not your husband. He is there," pointing to Tiberius. "Go! go! Rise, lady, and recline beside *him!*"

Naturally, records the court gossip of those days, the little fellow's action caused great confusion among the guests! Sweet Infant!

Tiberius did not long survive his grief and shame. Alas! poor Tullia, abandoned by her husband. Alas! poor Tiberius, abandoned by his wife. Both died of desertion and despair—broken-hearted. Ah! what sweet, slow length of golden Roman days might have filled their happy home with sunshine could but Fate have given them to each other who were so near and yet so far!

If this was done without Livia's consent, what must have been the position of pagan women? If with her consent, what must have been their character?

Yet the man who so foully built his ideal family knew how to house that family with a magnificence which nineteen centuries have not surpassed. He was clear-eyed regarding human nature, and made his magnificence less a personal than a public possession. The house which enshrined his stolen treasure on the Palatine Hill was no finer than other Roman noblemen occupied—had, indeed, been owned by an eminent Roman, Hortensius, friend and rival of Cicero and husband of Cato's wife. The edifices which he added to it were opened for public reception and public worship, so that they seemed an integral part of the national pride and splendor. His temple of Apollo was not his private chapel, for his own devotions merely. All the people could say their prayers in that wonderful church. The central archway of his state entrance Lanciani describes as surmounted by a chariot drawn by four horses, driven by Apollo and Diana, the whole cut from a single block of marble. Its gate-posts of Greek marble were

twenty-nine feet high. Entering to the sacred area paved with white marble, one found himself in a circle enclosed by two-and-fifty fluted marble columns, with double rows of marble statues for each intercolumniation, of the best Greek and Italian sculpture.

The temple, of Carrara marble, was incrusted in front with bas-reliefs in Parian marble ; the two sides of the door were in ivory bas-reliefs, and above all glittered the chariot of Apollo in gilt bronze. Within, priceless bric-a-brac was gathered and garnered from many a conquest. The silver candelebra, cast in the shape of trees with lamps for fruit, had not only the priceless value of artistic beauty and exquisite workmanship, but the historic association of having been once the property, even if the plunder, of Alexander the Great. Gold plate and silver tripods were stored with the finest ivory carvings, the quadriga of the sun in gilded bronze, and an invaluable collection of engraved gems and cameos presented by the Emperor's young nephew, that Marcellus whose early death lends a pathos even to the well-thumbed Virgil of the school-room.

The library of the imperial palace was in two sections, the Greek and the Latin, and between them was a reading-room large enough to contain upon occasion the whole Roman Senate ; large enough to hold, without destroying its harmony of proportion, a bronze statue, fifty feet high, of Augustus represented as Apollo. Its walls were covered with medallions of the most celebrated authors and orators, some in bronze, some in repoussé work of gold and silver ; so that the Bibliotheca Palatina Apollonis which the Empress Livia could consult had little to lose of æsthetic achievement from comparison with any library that Queen Victoria boasts. And in honor of her husband, who had surrounded her so royally, the youthful Empress instituted a private theatre in front of the palace itself.

If her actual dwelling was more modest, it had a beauty which the researches of young Italy are constantly bringing to light. In her house on the Palatine Hill I have seen the colors of her lovely frescoes come out fresh as of yesterday from their burial of the centuries. In her villa on the Flaminian Way still glows the green of her immortal ilex, her pines and firs and cypress, her laurel and pomegranate. There is no wearisome repetition on panel or pillar, but the cunning hand of the court artist hung her walls with festoons of oak or lemon, as taste or fancy willed,

or wreathed it with myrtle, or touched it with the eternal life of human passion breathed in myth and fable, in the beauty and grace of dancing girls, and the manly mould of the immortal gods.

Here, nineteen hundred years ago, was the beautiful young Empress served by her retinue—her regiment. Six hundred, at least, of her own personal attendants we know, for their inurned ashes have been revealed, labelled with name and age and official title. There was Parmenius, keeper of the purple robes, and Bira Canaciana, keeper of state robes, and Rhodanus, keeper of the imperial robe, and Eutactus, keeper of overcoats, and Arion, keeper of morning dresses. There were many folders of clothes, many jewellers ; one officer of ornaments had eight goldsmiths to materialize his fancies. Besides a hair-dresser, there was a specialist for one particular style of high hair-dressing, and there was a dresser for the ear. There was a keeper of perfumery, a regulator of hot and cold water for the bath, a keeper and maker of imperial shoes, a keeper of sandals, a keeper of Livia's chair, a keeper of family portraits, and even a governess of Livia's favorite pet dog !

Alas for Livia herself, the breathing centre of all this lavishment of love and luxury ! Was it this that won her away from her real husband ? The worst is to be feared, for she developed an unquenchable thirst for power. History lays upon her beautiful shoulders the heaviest crimes—the murder of all her husband's kin who stood in her way. We are loath to burden hands so fair with work so foul. At least her Augustus never found her out. Dying in her arms, which he thought were loving, his kisses on her lips, which he thought were true, amid all the wreck of his children and of his hopes, the last words of the poor old man were of that baleful, blissful union.

> "How sad and bad and mad it was,
> But, then, how it was sweet !"

His natural heirs had died prematurely in swift and significant succession, and it was found that Livia had secured the empire to her own son, Tiberius ; yet Tiberius, entering upon his inheritance, showed her small gratitude, curtailed the honors which a servile senate was ready to pay her, begrudged her even his presence. I am fain to think that the unhappy woman added to her lust for power at least so much remorse for the ruin of her

first husband as to seek to make expiation in the person of his son. But that son had not only the wrongs of his father to deplore; he had the blight of his own life to avenge. There needed no stain of blood to make the white hand of his mother odious to his soul.

Through all the mists of twenty centuries Atticus stands before us clothed with the glory of being Cicero's friend, and such a friend as genius is most blessed in owning. Learned, lovable, rich, polished, he seems to have had no public ambition himself, yet sympathized fully with Cicero's ambition, and unweariedly solaced and cherished him with advice, money, companionship, sympathy. "I would rather sit with you in your library, under the bust of Aristotle," wrote Cicero, weary with strife, "than in their curule chair." It was his favorite corner, no doubt, and as his long robes swept the tessellated floor where he reclined, enjoying the city gossip, which he owned to loving, and the high themes of history and politics and philosophy, where his thought chiefly lived, often and often, no doubt, strayed in little Attica, the child of his friend's old age; Pilia's little daughter, petted by Cicero and by Cicero's Tullia, who was a young lady grown, and, for ought I know, a young lady married before little Attica came. For when Atticus, somewhat late in life, espoused the fair Pilia, Cicero begged them to make him a visit, because Tullia was so desirous to see the new wife. The acquaintance must have sped and the visit been returned, and other visits exchanged; for "how gladly," wrote Cicero from one of his villas to Atticus, "shall I run and embrace Tullia and give a kiss to Attica. Pray write and tell me all her prattle, and if she is in the country, tell me what she writes to you."

He describes little Attica—"his love" he sometimes called her—as "of a merry disposition, the best a child can have," and never forgot to send his love and kisses to her in his letters to her father; just as Atticus had sent his to Tulliola—little Tullia—years before, when the small damsel hurled baby threats, through Cicero's letters, of lawsuits and dire vengeance if he forgot his promised presents. Amid the great reverberations of Cicero's eloquence and the tramp of Cæsar's legions, clear and sweet, through two thousand years, come the shrill, piping voices of the little maidens and the caressing, fatherly tones—"pray give a kiss for me to my absent Attica; she deserves this for the kind compli-

ment she sent me in your letter." If there is a touch of Noah Claypole and Charlotte in the message, it may well go for nothing in that stern Roman time which can show us no dearer picture than blithe, wee Attica bounding into the arms of the great orator as he sat in her father's library beneath the bust of Aristotle.

Cicero perished; but his bright little "love" grew into bright womanhood and attracted the attention of a rising young man, who became presently one of the great men of his time, and of all time, Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa. Already by his cleverness, his achievments, his agreeableness, he stood so high in the Emperor's favor that the gentle and serious snob who is called the muse of history is astonished that one who could have had his pick of the Roman girls yet preferred the daughter of a knight to any of the higher-born! But the muse need not have been astonished. Titus Pomponius Atticus, although only a knight, could count back his ancestry as far as the furthest, as high as the highest, reckoning his descent from Numa Pompilius, the second King of Rome, through his son Pompo. And besides this long, if somewhat attenuated, line, and besides his own wealth and worth and culture and taste, he stood high in the imperial favor; for not only did Augustus Cæsar send letters to Atticus, when absent from him, taking care that he should get first news of all his doings, but even when he was in the city, if too busy to haunt the library where the bust of Aristotle stood, he could hardly let a day pass without writing Atticus, whether it were a question of ancient lore or a point of poetry, or rallying him with jest to draw from him longer letters, or in graver matters begging his opinion and following his advice.

And I wonder if in any of these talks obtruded ever the ghost of gentle, murdered Cicero. I should think that to both, the friend who cherished him and the friend who gave him up to assassination, there would have appeared sometimes under the bust of Aristotle a shadowy form, a sad face. To the reproaches of Atticus, if such there were, to the silence of Atticus, which was the least and the greatest tribute he could pay his old friend in the company of his new, Augustus may well have pleaded his two days' argument for the life of Cicero, for thus only could he have earned the mercy of that silence.

No, it was no *mésalliance*, nor would have been had the family of Atticus been less distinguished and the family of Agrippa

more. Agrippa, though of comparatively low birth, was not merely a king's favorite, but a great man in himself—great soldier, great statesman. Augustus had the bad luck to be ill in his tent when Agrippa won his empire for him at Actium, and when Augustus was not ill the bad luck fell on his battles. In peace Agrippa knew how to apply the advantages gained in war, and as an upright provincial governor he was worthy to marry the daughter of Cicero's friend. With all his military prowess and many victories, he had refused to receive a triumph and chose rather to be faithful Prime Minister than Emperor. The magnificence with which he adorned Rome is not yet wholly vanished.

> "All the mountains topped with temples, all the glades
> Colonnades,"

have left their traces for us. Standing by the colossal pillars of his Pantheon, we read his name inscribed above the entrance, and feel the vigor and grandeur of his power still pulsing through blackened, blistered stone and storm-spent marble.

Merest time-worn fragments remain of his princely porticoes. Protected by colonnades from the cold north wind, with high walls of boxwood intersecting in graceful designs the inner space, with columns cut of rarest breccias and marbles, capitals of Corinthian gilt, and pavements of brass inlaid with jasper and porphyry, these porticoes furnished delightful winter walks. Every portico contained a musuem of sculpture and a gallery of pictures. The space enclosed by them was decorated with lovely gardens, with thickets of box and myrtle, laurel and plane trees, with lakes and fountains and waterfalls. Most interesting to us of them all is the one which Agrippa named the Vipsania Portico in honor of his sister, Vipsania Polla, for therein afterward were hung on public exhibition the geographical maps of the provinces of the empire, which were surveyed and drawn in the famous census recorded by St. Luke when the decree went forth from Cæsar Augustus that all the world should be taxed.

Doubtless it was a great match for little Attica, though Agrippa had not then reached the height of his promise and did not yet stand on the steps of the throne in whose sunshine he lived; and so the happy wooing was followed by a happy wedding, and though old Nepos avers in the hard Roman way that Mark Anthony was the "conciliator" of the nuptials, we beg leave to

doubt. It was a better man than that ferocious profligate who brought about the marriage. It was the heroic young soldier himself; it was the sprightly, scholar-bred, gentle Atticus, won each to each by mutual charm, who "conciliated" these auspicious nuptials.

Auspicious? Alas! A little daughter came to shed new light over the great circle, whom the proud father named with his own name, Vipsania Agrippina, and whom, fondling, the pleased Emperor betrothed before she was a year old to his little stepson, Tiberius—the same Tiberius Cæsar to whom, as well as to Augustus, it befell to be enshrined in the Gospel of Saint Luke, because a reformer came out of the wilderness in the fifteenth year of his reign preaching the baptism of REPENTANCE for the remission of sins. It was the same little stepson, grown a man and made an emperor by his mother, Livia, to whom a greater than John the Baptist referred when he was asked, "Is it lawful for us to give tribute unto Cæsar, or no?"

Jesus Christ would involve his spiritual mission with no political complications. He had not come to decide any question of legitimacy between the children of Livia and the children of Augustus, between a Jewish province and a Roman empire. He pointed them to the portrait of Tiberius on their common coin and bade them render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's.

But as a matter of biography it is interesting to remember that this Cæsar was the son of the lovely Livia and the wronged Tiberius Nero, and should have been the son of Cicero's Tullia, in which case he might have been a happier man, but we should probably never have heard of him!

Many and many a time, no doubt, the boy went with his stepfather to the house of Atticus to play with his baby bride, and many a time, no doubt, the little lady attended her father to the palace, and rambled with Tiberius and his little brother on the green terraces of Palatine Hill. A charming girl she could not but grow, with the merry vivacity and grace of her mother, the sterling strength of her soldier-statesman father, the civic pride and scholarly culture of her grandfather meeting and mingling in her pure young blood. And ever more and more she attracted and fascinated the reserved and silent boy, who found in her innocent and girlish gayety the spell which dissolved his too sombre mood, until she became his willing and worshipped bride.

There let us leave them awhile to their brief heyday of guileless happiness, or ever the storm overtook and overswept them.

The most prominent woman after Livia in the imperial circle was Octavia, the Emperor's half-sister, older than himself, his great favorite, in whose honor he had named his first state library the Bibliotheca Octavia. She was a woman who posed for virtue as persistently as Augustus himself, and who, by the Roman standard, was eminently virtuous. Indeed, she may almost be said to have been a Roman matron by trade, and was well used to being thrown in as a matrimonial make-weight to complete imperial contracts. When Julius Cæsar had wished to ratify his alliance with Pompey, he proposed that he himself should marry one of Pompey's daughters, and that Pompey in return should marry his grandniece Octavia, though Pompeia was at that time the wife of our old friend, Faustus Sylla, and Octavia was the wife of Marcellus. Pompey had views of his own, and Marcellus remained the husband of Octavia till his death, which haply came just as it seemed desirable for Augustus and Anthony to compose their quarrel and join forces if Roman liberty were to be permanently conquered. In pursuit of this object, it was proposed that Anthony should marry Octavia. No objection on her part is hinted, and she was transferred to Anthony with so indecent haste that the Senate had to pass a special bill exempting her from the law which forbade a woman to marry within ten months of her husband's death.

Mark Anthony has been glorified by Shakspeare and deified by De Quincey; but none the less was he a beastly and treacherous profligate. Associating in his youth with the most dissolute young men of Rome, he married the widow of the vilest, whose house he had frequented for the basest carousals. This wife, Fulvia, was as fierce as himself, noisy, clamorous, loving turbulence and strife. It was her daughter, Claudia, whom Augustus had first married, then speedily divorced, because he could not abide his mother in-law. Although Fulvia came so near the throne, she was so low-born that when Mark Anthony taunted Octavius with his provincial birth, Cicero retorted for him, not only that such a stigma would apply to the whole body of senators as well, but that Fulvia was the daughter of a Tusculum nobody, nicknamed Bambalio because he was a stutterer and a fool! Personalities were rather sharp in those days, but Cicero's personalities were at

least the points of argument. Argument there was none—nothing but brutal rage—in the rebuttal of Mark Anthony; for he never rested till he had silenced in death the eloquent patriotism which he could no otherwise meet; and Fulvia's bloodthirsty joy over the deed would leave too deep a stain upon these pages.

But it was not her blood-thirst which lost her her husband's heart. From his youth, no taint of vice or crime or coarseness had ever repelled him. When he journeyed with Fulvia by his side, a wanton journeyed openly at the other. From the most important state debate in the Forum, if Cleopatra was carried past in her litter, Mark Anthony left his place and rushed after her. It was nothing to him that she had already been the shame of Julius Cæsar and of Pompey; any more than Anthony's death signified to her, if by tricking herself out with finery, and surrounding herself with the portraits of Julius Cæsar, her somewhat sere and yellow charms might seduce the young Augustus, who had conquered Anthony, as her youth had seduced the great Julius, whom she had conquered. Such a woman it was from whom poor dishonored and dishonorable Fulvia, even by the desperate means of stirring up civil strife in Rome, strove to withdraw her husband, and failing, baffled, died.

Such a man it was to whom the model matron Octavia gave herself, or was given, and who would have broken her heart if she had had a heart to break. But though the Roman people were shocked when he turned her out of his house in Rome, it is not easy to see why she or they should have expected anything else.

The son of Octavia, Marcellus, that fine young man of our old Virgil acquaintance, was married to his half-cousin, the only daughter of Augustus, Julia. He died in early youth full of promise, and, dying, dealt a blow not only to the love, but to the ambition, of his mother; for as her brother had no son and only the one daughter, Julia, Marcellus would have inherited with Julia the empire. All this was buried in his grave, but, undaunted, Octavia and Augustus put their heads together to find another husband for Julia. Not unnaturally, the proper person to guide the empire successfully seemed to them the man who had hitherto so successfully secured and adorned it, Agrippa. Agrippa was already married to Marcella, the daughter of Octavia —but—Marcella? Where, then, was Attica? Alas! our little Attica has vanished from history. The best woman in it, the

most interesting, daughter of Atticus, pet of Cicero—there is no one to tell us what became of her. "Dead or divorced," says an obscure line, but that we should know without the telling, since Marcella suddenly appears as the wife of Agrippa. Nor is obscurity enough of ignominy for this knight's daughter among princesses. One little touch of malice the court chroniclers give before they let her go—this woman of loftier than royal lineage: "She was suspected of an intrigue with her father's librarian!" *That* we can English in the twinkling of an eye. Attica, reared by her father and Cicero, must have cherished a love of literature which the Livias and the Octavias never dreamed of, and could not understand. Little cared she for the court plots, still less for the court scandals; but chose, rather, to spend a part of her leisure in her father's library, no doubt often in Cicero's seat under the bust of Aristotle, and kept Tyrannio, the librarian, on a steady quest for books, and, being a scholar also, at his wits' end to meet her clever, piquant, delightful, talk about their contents. This the court could interpret only in its own corrupt, courtly way. But it dared only insinuate, never aver, for she was the great minister's wife whom even the Cæsar would not lightly offend.

"Dead or divorced"—no, she was not divorced. I choose to think that Agrippa was not the man to sacrifice our little Attica to a slander. The very fact that she passed in silence indicates that she passed in honor. When Agrippa stood by the dying bed of her father, praying him, with tears and kisses, to use means to prolong his life, it was not the imploring of a false husband. It was not the betrayer of his daughter who heeded the old scholar's last wishes and bore his body to burial on the loved library couch, and laid him to rest by the fifth milestone on the Appian Way. Attica died in her innocent youth, and her hero-husband buried his great heart in her grave, and, thereafter desolate, let the women and the court do with him as they would. The one love of his life was gone, and why should he resist?

So they thought to flatter his ambition and to strengthen the empire by marrying him to Marcella, and still further by unmarrying him from Marcella and remarrying him to Julia: what did it matter, one woman or another, since Attica was gone? And, after a life of honor, he died regretted, but not regretting, for Attica's daughter was happy with her noble husband, and Attica was gone.

Unhappy father! No sooner was he cold in his grave than the old question began to be mooted again of a husband for Julia. Then the model matron, Octavia, who had been match-making, and in it match-marring, all her life, fixed her fatal eyes on Tiberius and bade the Emperor mark how fit it was that Livia's son should marry Augustus's daughter, and thus have a claim of blood to the throne. Doubtless, this plan had been well arranged between herself and Livia to serve the interest of both. Octavia and her son had overpowered Livia and her son; but Octavia and a daughter were a weaker combination, and Octavia was skilled enough to know it. Her only chance for influence lay in making friends with the mammon of unrighteousness, and she made it remorselessly.

Augustus yielded. Livia yielded to him in his passion for pleasure: Augustus yielded to her in her passion for power. Livia had well learned her lesson from Scribonia. That wife of two consuls would not brook the infidelities of her third, though imperial, husband, and made him aware of it. Augustus would not brook her reproaches, and divorced her. Livia gave him loose rein, but kept the throne in her bridle hand. Of course Augustus yielded.

There was no one to speak for Vipsania. Father, mother, grandfather—all were gone. The sword of Agrippa could smite no more. The hand of Agrippa could build no more. The wisdom of Agrippa could guide no more. There was nothing to be lost by sacrificing his daughter, and his daughter was sacrificed.

And Tiberius—what horror smote him let his subsequent life attest. For the love of his youth, for the wife of his manhood, for the pure mother of his child, he was called on to receive her father's wife,—a woman so vile that by a certain natural affinity she had consorted with her stepson, that vicious scion of a vicious stock, Anthony, son of Mark Anthony and Fulvia, stepson of Octavia, who had magnanimously mothered him with her own children, and whom Augustus befriended and honored till a father's frenzy drove to death the betrayer of his daughter,—a woman so vile that when the Emperor heard that Phœbe, one of the servants, had hanged herself, he cried out, in his agony of shame, "Would that I had been the father of Phœbe!"—a woman so vile that the place of her nocturnal rendezvous is still pointed out

in the Forum, by the statue of Marsyas, near the rostra where public speeches were made, the lounging-place of pettifoggers waiting for clients that never came,—a woman so vile that her father in his despair came to meditate her execution, and though he could not bring himself to the point of ordering it, banished her from his presence in life and from his ashes in death.

Yet we may not judge even Julia too sternly, for had she not seen her mother repudiated and humiliated? How could she love virtue who saw every vice practised in its name? How could she be required to recognize the claims of purity whose mother had been disgraced for its too strenuous advocacy? With that mother's clear vision, and with remembrance of her wrongs, what wonder that she discerned the pollution beneath the polish, and wreaked for herself at least the revenge of a remorseless frankness? To this woman, sinned against, but terribly sinning, embittered, emboldened, corrupt, and corrupting, Tiberius was forced—away from the arms and the smile and the love that had been his life. Long after the sacrifice was accomplished, by chance he met her in the street one day—the woman who had been his wife. He stopped spell-bound, gazed, turned, followed her with wistful eyes till she had passed out of his sight; then burst into tears and silently went his way.

Is it unnatural that he should recoil from the dreadful Julia, choosing exile rather than her presence? Is it ungrateful that when his time of power came he could not kiss the hand that had won it for him so ruthlessly? Doubtless it was a terrible blow to Livia that she could not enjoy the sovereignty and the honor she had bought at such a price; but it is not to the shame of Tiberius that he was not bad enough to love the crime which he was not good enough to resist. Livia's son had done what Livia's husband could not do; *he had found her out.*

Nor did Octavia reap reward of gratitude or power from her terrible intermeddling. All the marriages and the divorces which she had procured failed to restore the prestige which perished with her son. His death preyed upon her mind, and in a profound melancholy she passed away.

There is not a throne in Europe which would not be overturned by such a marriage as that of Augustus and Livia. Napoleon came the nearest to it, though still far off. Ruin followed, and the world will never have done detesting him for the

act, though St. Helena was a bitter expiation. For the Livias and the Julias and the Octavias of the Palatine, Christianity shows us the beautiful, devout, and pure Margherita of the Quirinal, the Victorias and Augustas, the Christines, the Dagmars, the Alexandras of Gaul and Goth and Vandal—women of spotless characters, whose marriage-vows are not only inviolate, but inviolable. The pagan world wrought its best, gave us the women of Rome's Golden Age, and perished. Christianity has not yet wrought its best, is ever mounting upward, but already in place and power a pure womanhood sits enthroned.

GAIL HAMILTON.

TOLSTOÏ AND "THE KREUTZER SONATA."

BY ROBERT G. INGERSOLL.

COUNT TOLSTOÏ is a man of genius. He is acquainted with Russian life from the highest to the lowest—that is to say, from the worst to the best. He knows the vices of the rich and the virtues of the poor. He is a Christian, a real believer in the Old and New Testaments, an honest follower of the Peasant of Palestine. He denounces luxury and ease, art and music; he regards a flower with suspicion, believing that beneath every blossom lies a coiled serpent. He agrees with Lazarus and denounces Dives and the tax-gatherers. He is opposed, not only to doctors of divinity, but of medicine.

From the Mount of Olives he surveys the world.

He is not a Christian like the Pope in the Vatican, or a cardinal in a palace, or a bishop with revenues and retainers, or a millionaire who hires preachers to point out the wickedness of the poor, or the director of a museum who closes the doors on Sunday. He is a Christian something like Christ.

To him this life is but a breathing-spell between the verdict and the execution; the sciences are simply sowers of the seeds of pride, of arrogance and vice. Shocked by the cruelties and unspeakable horrors of war, he became a non-resistant and averred that he would not defend his own body or that of his daughter from insult and outrage. In this he followed the command of his Master: "Resist not evil." He passed, not simply from war to peace, but from one extreme to the other, and advocated a doctrine that would leave the basest of mankind the rulers of the world. This was and is the error of a great and tender soul.

He did not accept all the teachings of Christ at once. His progress has been, judging from his writings, somewhat gradual; but by accepting one proposition he prepared himself for the ac-

ceptance of another. He is not only a Christian, but has the courage of his convictions, and goes without hesitation to the logical conclusion. He has another exceedingly rare quality : he acts in accordance with his belief. His creed is translated into deed. He opposes the doctors of divinity, because they darken and deform the teachings of the Master. He denounces the doctors of medicine, because he depends on Providence and the promises of Jesus Christ. To him that which is called progress is, in fact, a profanation, and property is a something that the organized few have stolen from the unorganized many. He believes in universal labor, which is good, each working for himself. He also believes that each should have only the necessaries of life,—which is bad. According to his idea, the world ought to be filled with peasants. There should be only arts enough to plough and sow and gather the harvest, to build huts, to weave coarse cloth, to fashion clumsy and useful garments, and to cook the simplest food. Men and women should not adorn their bodies. They should not make themselves desirable or beautiful.

But even under such circumstances they might, like the Quakers, be proud of humility and become arrogantly meek.

Tolstoï would change the entire order of human development. As a matter of fact, the savage who adorns himself or herself with strings of shells, or with feathers, has taken the first step towards civilization. The tatooed is somewhat in advance of the unfrescoed. At the bottom of all this is the love of approbation, of the admiration of their fellows, and this feeling, this love, cannot be torn from the human heart. In spite of ourselves we are attracted by what to us is beautiful, because beauty is associated with pleasure, with enjoyment. The love of the well-formed, of the beautiful, is prophetic of the perfection of the human race. It is impossible to admire the deformed. They may be loved for their goodness or genius, but never because of their deformity. There is within us the love of proportion. There is a physical basis for the appreciation of harmony, which is also a kind of proportion.

The love of the beautiful is shared with man by most animals. The wings of the moth are painted by love, by desire. This is the foundation of the bird's song. This love of approbation, this desire to please, to be admired, to be loved, is in some way the the cause of all heroic, self-denying, and sublime actions.

Count Tolstoï, following parts of the New Testament, regards love as essentially impure. He seems really to think that there is a love superior to human love ; that the love of man for woman, of woman for man, is, after all, a kind of glittering degradation ; that it is better to love God than woman ; better to love the invisible phantoms of the skies than the children upon our knees—in other words, that it is far better to love a heaven somewhere else than to make one here. He seems to think that women adorn themselves simply for the purpose of getting in their power the innocent and unsuspecting men. He forgets that the best and purest of human beings are controlled, for the most part unconsciously, by the hidden, subtile tendencies of nature. He seems to forget the great fact of "natural selection," and that the choice of one in preference to all others is the result of forces beyond the control of the individual. To him there seems to be no purity in love, because men are influenced by forms, by the beauty of women ; and women, knowing this fact, according to him, act, and consequently both are equally guilty. He endeavors to show that love is a delusion ; that at best it can last but for a few days ; that it must of necessity be succeeded by indifference, then by disgust, lastly by hatred ; that in every Garden of Eden is a serpent of jealousy, and that the brightest days end with the yawn of ennui.

Of course he is driven to the conclusion that life in this world is without value, that the race can be perpetuated only by vice, and that the practice of the highest virtue would leave the world without the form of man. Strange as it may sound to some, this is the same conclusion reached by his Divine Master : "They did eat, they drank, they married, they were given in marriage, until the day that Noe entered the ark and the flood came and destroyed them all." "Every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my name's sake, shall receive an hundredfold, and shall inherit everlasting life."

According to Christianity, as it really is and really was, the Christian should have no home in this world—at least none until the earth has been purified by fire. His affections should be given to God ; not to wife and children, not to friends or country. He is here but for a time on a journey, waiting for the summons. This life is a kind of dock running out into the sea of eternity, on which he waits for transportation. Nothing here is of any

importance ; the joys of life are frivolous and corrupting, and by losing these few gleams of happiness in this world he will bask forever in the unclouded rays of infinite joy. Why should a man risk an eternity of perfect happiness for the sake of enjoying himself a few days with his wife and children ? Why should he become an eternal outcast for the sake of having a home and fireside here ?

The "Fathers" of the church had the same opinion of marriage. They agreed with Saint Paul, and Tolstoï agrees with them. They had the same contempt for wives and mothers, and uttered the same blasphemies against that divine passion that has filled the world with art and song.

All this is to my mind a kind of insanity ; nature soured or withered—deformed so that celibacy is mistaken for virtue. The imagination becomes polluted, and the poor wretch believes that he is purer than his thoughts, holier than his desires, and that to outrage nature is the highest form of religion. But nature imprisoned, obstructed, tormented, always has sought for and has always found revenge. Some of these victims, regarding the passions as low and corrupting, feeling humiliated by hunger and thirst, sought through maimings and mutilations the purification of the soul.

Count Tolstoï, in "The Kreutzer Sonata," has drawn, with a free hand, one of the vilest and basest of men for his hero. He is suspicious, jealous, cruel, infamous. The wife is infinitely too good for such a wild unreasoning beast, and yet the writer of this insane story seems to justify the assassin. If this is a true picture of wedded life in Russia, no wonder that Count Tolstoï looks forward with pleasure to the extinction of the human race.

Of all passions that can take possession of the heart or brain jealousy is the worst. For many generations the chemists sought for the secret by which all metals could be changed to gold, and through which the basest could become the best. Jealousy seeks exactly the opposite. It endeavors to transmute the very gold of love into the dross of shame and crime.

The story of "The Kreutzer Sonata" seems to have been written for the purpose of showing that woman is at fault ; that she has no right to be attractive, no right to be beautiful ; and that she is morally responsible for the contour of her throat, for the pose of her body, for the symmetry of her limbs, for the red of her lips, and for the dimples in her cheeks.

The opposite of this doctrine is nearer true. It would be far better to hold people responsible for their ugliness than for their beauty. It may be true that the soul, the mind, in some wondrous way fashions the body, and that to that extent every individual is responsible for his looks. It may be that the man or woman thinking high thoughts will give, necessarily, a nobility to expression and a beauty to outline.

It is not true that the sins of man can be laid justly at the feet of woman. Women are better than men; they have greater responsibilities; they bear even the burdens of joy. This is the real reason why their faults are considered greater.

Men and women desire each other and this desire is a condition of civilization, progress, and happiness, and of everything of real value. But there is this profound difference in the sexes: in man this desire is the foundation of love, while in woman love is the foundation of this desire.

Tolstoï seems to be a stranger to the heart of woman.

Is it not wonderful that one who holds self-denial in such high esteem should say, "That life is embittered by the fear of one's children, and not only on account of their real or imaginary illnesses, but even by their very presence"?

Has the father no real love for the children? Is he not paid a thousand times through their caresses, their sympathy, their love? Is there no joy in seeing their minds unfold, their affections develop? Of course, love and anxiety go together. That which we love we wish to protect. The perpetual fear of death gives love intensity and sacredness. Yet Count Tolstoï gives us the feelings of a father incapable of natural affection; of one who hates to have his children sick because the orderly course of his wretched life is disturbed. So, too, we are told that modern mothers think too much of their children, care too much for their health, and refuse to be comforted when they die. Lest these words may be thought libellous, the following extract is given:

"In old times women consoled themselves with the belief, The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken away. Blessed be the name of the Lord. They consoled themselves with the thought that the soul of the departed had returned to him who gave it; that it was better to die innocent than to live in sin. If women nowadays had such a comfortable faith to support them, they might take their misfortunes less hard."

The conclusion reached by the writer is that without faith in God woman's love grovels in the mire.

In this case the mire is made by the tears of mothers falling on the clay that hides their babes.

The one thing constant, the one peak that rises above all clouds, the one window in which the light forever burns, the one star that darkness cannot quench, is woman's love.

This one fact justifies the existence and the perpetuation of the human race. Again I say that women are better than men; their hearts are more unreservedly given; in the web of their lives sorrow is inextricably woven with the greatest joys; self-sacrifice is a part of their nature, and at the behest of love and maternity they walk willingly and joyously down to the very gates of death.

Is there nothing in this to excite the admiration, the adoration, of a modern reformer? Are the monk and nun superior to the father and mother?

The author of "The Kreutzer Sonata" is unconsciously the enemy of mankind. He is filled with what might be called a merciless pity, a sympathy almost malicious. Had he lived a few centuries ago, he might have founded a religion; but the most he can now do is, perhaps, to create the necessity for another asylum.

Count Tolstoï objects to music—not the ordinary kind, but to great music, the music that arouses the emotions, that apparently carries us beyond the limitations of life, that for the moment seems to break the great chain of cause and effect, and leaves the soul soaring and free. "Emotion and duty," he declares, "do not go hand in hand." All art touches and arouses the emotional nature. The painter, the poet, the sculptor, the composer, the orator, appeal to the emotions, to the passions, to the hopes and fears. The commonplace is transfigured; the cold and angular facts of existence take form and color; the blood quickens; the fancies spread their wings; the intellect grows sympathetic; the river of life flows full and free; and man becomes capable of the noblest deeds. Take emotion from the heart of man and the idea of obligation would be lost; right and wrong would lose their meaning, and the word "ought" would never again be spoken. We are subject to conditions, liable to disease, pain, and death. We are capable of ecstasy. Of these conditions, of these possibilities, the emotions are born.

Only the conditionless can be the emotionless.

We are conditioned beings; and if the conditions are changed,

the result may be pain or death or greater joy. We can only live within certain degrees of heat. If the weather were a few degrees hotter or a few degrees colder, we could not exist. We need food and roof and raiment. Life and happiness depend on these conditions. We do not certainly know what is to happen, and consequently our hopes and fears are constantly active—that is to say, we are emotional beings. The generalization of Tolstoï, that emotion never goes hand in hand with duty, is almost the opposite of the truth. The idea of duty could not exist without emotion. Think of men and women without love, without desires, without passions? Think of a world without art or music—a world without beauty, without emotion.

And yet there are many writers busy pointing out the loathsomeness of love and their own virtues. Only a little while ago an article appeared in one of the magazines in which all women who did not dress according to the provincial prudery of the writer were denounced as impure. Millions of refined and virtuous wives and mothers were described as dripping with pollution because they enjoyed dancing and were so well formed that they were not obliged to cover their arms and throats to avoid the pity of their associates. And yet the article itself is far more indelicate than any dance or any dress, or even lack of dress. What a curious opinion dried apples have of fruit upon the tree!

Count Tolstoï is also the enemy of wealth, of luxury. In this he follows the New Testament. "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of Heaven." He gathers his inspiration from the commandment, "Sell all that thou hast and give to the poor."

Wealth is not a crime any more than health or bodily or intellectual strength. The weak might denounce the strong, the sickly might envy the healthy, just as the poor may denounce or envy the rich. A man is not necessarily a criminal because he is wealthy. He is to be judged, not by his wealth, but by the way he uses his wealth. The strong man can use his strength, not only for the benefit of himself, but for the good of others. So a man of intelligence can be a benefactor of the human race. Intelligence is often used to entrap the simple and to prey upon the unthinking, but we do not wish to do away with intelligence. So strength is often used to tyrannize over

the weak, and in the same way wealth may be used to the injury of mankind. To sell all that you have and give to the poor is not a panacea for poverty. The man of wealth should help the poor man to help himself. Men cannot receive without giving some consideration, and if they have not labor or property to give, they give their manhood, their self-respect. Besides, if all should obey this injunction, "Sell what thou hast and give to the poor," who would buy? We know that thousands and millions of rich men lack generosity and have but little feeling for their fellows. The fault is not in the money, not in the wealth, but in the individuals. They would be just as bad were they poor. The only difference is that they would have less power. The good man should regard wealth as an instrumentality, as an opportunity, and he should endeavor to benefit his fellow-men, not by making them the recipients of his charity, but by assisting them to assist themselves. The desire to clothe and feed, to educate and protect, wives and children, is the principal reason for making money—one of the great springs of industry, prudence, and economy.

Those who labor have a right to live. They have a right to what they earn. He who works has a right to home and fireside and to the comforts of life. Those who waste the spring, the summer, and the autumn of their lives must bear the winter when it comes. Many of our institutions are absurdly unjust. Giving the land to the few, making tenants of the many, is the worst possible form of socialism—of paternal government. In most of the nations of our day the idlers and non-producers are either beggars or aristocrats, paupers or princes, and the great middle laboring class support them both. Rags and robes have a liking for each other. Beggars and kings are in accord; they are all parasites, living on the same blood, stealing the same labor—one by beggary, the other by force. And yet in all this there can be found no reason for denouncing the man who has accumulated. One who wishes to tear down his barns and build greater has laid aside something to keep the wolf of want from the door of home when he is dead.

Even the beggars see the necessity of others working, and the nobility see the same necessity with equal clearness. But it is hardly reasonable to say that all should do the same kind of work, for the reason that all have not the same aptitudes, the

same talents. Some can plough, others can paint; some can reap and mow, while others can invent the instruments that save labor; some navigate the seas; some work in mines; while others compose music that elevates and refines the heart of the world.

But the worst thing in "The Kreutzer Sonata" is the declaration that a husband can by force compel the wife to love and obey him. Love is not the child of fear; it is not the result of force. No one can love on compulsion. Even Jehovah found that it was impossible to compel the Jews to love him. He issued his command to that effect, coupled with threats of pain and death, but his chosen people failed to respond.

Love is the perfume of the heart; it is not subject to the will of husbands, or kings, or God.

Count Tolstoï would establish slavery in every house; he would make every husband a tyrant and every wife a trembling serf. No wonder that he regards such marriage as a failure. He is in exact harmony with the curse of Jehovah when he said unto the woman: "I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception; in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children, and thy desire shall be unto thy husband, and he shall rule over thee."

This is the destruction of the family, the pollution of home, the crucifixion of love.

Those who are truly married are neither masters nor servants. The idea of obedience is lost in the desire for the happiness of each. Love is not a convict, to be detained with bolts and chains. Love is the highest expression of liberty. Love neither commands nor obeys.

The curious thing is that the orthodox world insists that all men and women should obey the injunctions of Christ; that they should take him as the supreme example, and in all things follow his teachings. This is preached from countless pulpits, and has been for many centuries. And yet the man who does follow the Saviour, who insists that he will not resist evil, who sells what he has and gives to the poor, who deserts his wife and children for the love of God, is regarded as insane.

Tolstoï, on most subjects, appears to be in accord with the founder of Christianity, with the Apostles, with the writers of the New Testament, and with the Fathers of the church; and yet a Christian teacher of a Sabbath-school decides, in the capacity of Postmaster-General, that "The Kreutzer Sonata" is unfit to be carried in the mails.

Although I disagree with nearly every sentence in this book, regard the story as brutal and absurd, the view of life presented as cruel, vile, and false, yet I recognize the right of Count Tolstoï to express his opinions on all subjects, and the right of the men and women of America to read for themselves.

As to the sincerity of the author, there is not the slightest doubt. He is willing to give all that he has for the good of his fellow-men. He is a soldier in what he believes to be a sacred cause, and he has the courage of his convictions. He is endeavoring to organize society in accordance with the most radical utterances that have been attributed to Jesus Christ. The philosophy of Palestine is not adapted to an industrial and commercial age. Christianity was born when the nation that produced it was dying. It was a requiem—a declaration that life was a failure, that the world was about to end, and that the hopes of mankind should be lifted to another sphere. Tolstoï stands with his back to the sunrise and looks mournfully upon the shadow. He has uttered many tender, noble, and inspiring words. There are many passages in his works that must have been written when his eyes were filled with tears. He has fixed his gaze so intently on the miseries and agonies of life that he has been driven to the conclusion that nothing could be better than the effacement of the human race.

Some men, looking only at the faults and tyrannies of government, have said: "Anarchy is better." Others, looking at the misfortunes, the poverty, the crimes, of men, have, in a kind of pitying despair, reached the conclusion that the best of all is death. These are the opinions of those who have dwelt in gloom—of the self-imprisoned.

By comparing long periods of time, we see that, on the whole, the race is advancing; that the world is growing steadily, and surely, better; that each generation enjoys more and suffers less than its predecessor. We find that our institutions have the faults of individuals. Nations must be composed of men and women; and as they have their faults, nations cannot be perfect. The institution of marriage is a failure to the extent, and only to the extent, that the human race is a failure. Undoubtedly it is the best and the most important institution that has been established by the civilized world. If there is unhappiness in

that relation, if there is tyranny upon one side and misery upon the other, it is not the fault of marriage. Take homes from the world and only wild beasts are left.

We cannot cure the evils of our day and time by a return to savagery. It is not necessary to become ignorant to increase our happiness. The highway of civilization leads to the light. The time will come when the human race will be truly enlightened, when labor will receive its due reward, when the last institution begotten of ignorance and savagery will disappear. The time will come when the whole world will say that the love of man for woman, of woman for man, of mother for child, is the highest, the noblest, the purest, of which the heart is capable.

Love, human love, love of men and women, love of mothers, fathers, and babes, is the perpetual and beneficent force. Not the love of phantoms, the love that builds cathedrals and dungeons, that trembles and prays, that kneels and curses; but the real love, the love that felled the forests, navigated the seas, subdued the earth, explored continents, built countless homes, and founded nations—the love that kindled the creative flame and wrought the miracles of art, that gave us all there is of music, from the cradle-song that gives to infancy its smiling sleep to the great symphony that bears the soul away with wings of fire—the real love, mother of every virtue and of every joy.

ROBERT G. INGERSOLL.

OUR FUR-SEAL FISHERIES.

BY D. O. MILLS.

THE conclusion to be reached as the result of the diplomatic communications now going on between the governments of the United States and Great Britain in regard to the seal fisheries in Bering Sea is a matter of considerable importance to the commercial world. The question at issue is one which indirectly involves the permanence of an industry of large proportions and the preservation of conditions which appear to be essential to the continuance of a useful and desirable article of commerce.

For the supply of sealskin fur the markets of the world are at the present day all but entirely dependent upon the Bering Sea fisheries. The vast rookeries which at one time existed in the Southern hemisphere—in Patagonia, in the Falkland Islands, in Kerguelen Land, and in numbers of islands in various parts of the Antarctic seas—have been hunted nearly out of existence. Seals are practically unknown where three-quarters of a century ago they were to be counted by millions. Indeed, although that side of the globe is rich in breeding-grounds of the finest description, with cool water, misty atmosphere, and good landings, there are now but a few of these where the seal is found at all. The animal has disappeared before the ruthless energy and unrestrained greed of fishers of all nationalities, who for more than half a century traversed the waters bordering on the Antarctic and slaughtered it; careless whether the prized fur which had attracted them thither should be known to the markets of the future, so long as they succeeded in securing from it, in their own markets, the greatest advantage with the least trouble and expense to themselves.

But for the hospitable retreat offered to the seals in the islands of Bering Sea, it would seem that this wholesale destruction in their original habitat would have signified their total extermi-

nation. In the whole hemisphere north of the equator these islands are the only grounds which are frequented by the seal in any numbers, and are, indeed, the only grounds which meet his requirements. Mr. Henry W. Elliott, in his "Monograph of the Seal Islands of Alaska," states that none are to be found in the Atlantic Ocean above the tropics. As to the North Pacific, a Spanish legend pointed to an abundance of fur seals in prehistoric time on the Santa Barbara and Guadaloupe islands off the coast of California, and on the neighboring peninsula, whence a few were annually taken up to 1835, and some were wont to sport on the Farrallones, off the harbor of San Francisco. But even tradition locates no seal-rookery "anywhere else on the northwest coast, or anywhere else in all Alaska and its islands, save the Pribylov group; and across and down the Asiatic coast only the Commander Islands and a little rock in the Kurile chain have been and are resorted to by them. The crafty savages of that entire region," says Mr. Elliott, "the hairy *Ainos* of Japan, and the Japanese themselves, have for a hundred years searched and searched in vain for such ground."

It may help the reader to a clear comprehension of the situation to state that, of the islands in Bering Sea mentioned above, the Pribylov group, including St. George and St. Paul, belongs to the United States, while the Commander Islands, near the Asiatic shore, including Bering Island and Copper Island, are the property of Russia.

It is from the fact that these islands are, so to speak, the last refuge of a valuable fur-bearing animal, and the main source whence the world draws its supply of the commodity which this animal affords, that the Bering Sea question derives its commercial significance. From the point of view of the interests of commerce, the substantial issue is whether or not this commodity is to be allowed to disappear through the virtual extermination of the seal by the use of methods in the Alaskan waters which have proved fatal to its existence in every other part of the world.

The measures taken by the government of the United States for the regulation and preservation of the Bering Sea seal fisheries were intended to avert this result, and, being framed in accordance with the views of men who had knowledge of the conditions to be met, they were well fitted to accomplish that pur-

pose. The North American Company, which on the 1st of May last succeeded the Alaska Commercial Company as the lessee of the United States, is held, like its predecessor, to the strictest compliance with the rules enacted by Congress with a view to conducting this business so that it shall be at once profitable and economical. The number and the age of seals which may be killed during the year, the period during which the operations of the company's employees may be carried on, the methods which may be employed in securing and killing the seals, and other matters which are known to have an important bearing upon the maintenance of the herds, are defined in the clearest manner by the law; and these directions can be transgressed by the company or its agents only under severe penalties.

The government maintains also a force of officers to keep watch upon the work done by the lessee, and to make sure that the conditions of the lease are scrupulously complied with. The number of seals which may be killed in any year on the Pribylov Islands is limited to one hundred thousand—seventy-five thousand upon St. Paul and twenty-five thousand upon St. George; but, if it should be necessary at any time for the preservation of the fur seals, that number may be greatly reduced. No seals must be killed either on the islands or in the waters adjacent to them except during the months of June, July, September, and October, and it is unlawful to kill such seals at any time of the year by the use of firearms. No female seal, nor any seal less than one year old, may be killed at any season of the year. Such are the main restrictions placed by the United States upon the seal fishery; and there is no reason to fear that the great rookeries in Bering Sea would not continue—would not, indeed, improve—as long as the seal fur should be of value for the use of man, if the industry were carried on only under these salutary regulations.

In violent contrast, however, to these restrictions imposed upon the lessee of the United States government are the utter lawlessness and unscrupulousness of the poachers whose appearance on the fishing-grounds a few years ago led to the present diplomatic complications between our government and that of Great Britain. Their operations are carried on in absolute disregard of the future, their sole thought being of the immediate profit to be made by themselves out of the seals captured. Accordingly,

fishing in the open seas, they turn their attention to the very subjects—the female seals and the young animals—which, in view of the facility with which they may be secured and of the great injury to the herds which would result from their systematic destruction, the United States government has wisely placed upon the restricted list. When the herds enter Bering Sea, about the end of June, nearly every female seal is with young. After the long voyage of two or three thousand miles through the heavy, boisterous waters of the North Pacific, they are naturally tired when they reach these breeding-grounds, and in a condition in which they are an easy prey to the unscrupulous hunter. Even if every such female seal which is killed were secured, it is clear that two seal lives would be destroyed for the sake of a single sealskin. But it is estimated that the hunter secures only one out of three or four such seals killed in the open sea, and on this basis the enormous destruction of seal life by the poachers, in proportion to the sealskins which are furnished for the purposes of commerce through their operations, may be easily estimated. Every sealskin placed upon the market by them represents the destruction of six or eight seals—an utterly unjustifiable inroad into the vitality of the herds, already small enough as a source of supply for the world.

There is the best evidence that the poachers confine themselves almost entirely to this commercially-precious female portion of the herds. It is reported that, out of twenty-five thousand sealskins which resulted from the work of those engaged in this disgraceful traffic, not one male skin could be found. This may be easily understood, for the male seal is strong and alert, and no hunter can get within shooting distance of him, as he can generally escape from the fastest boat pursuing him. And these twenty-five thousand sealskins represented a destruction of seal-life amounting to one hundred and fifty thousand! At this rate it is not difficult to estimate how long seal life can be maintained, if any number of vessels can engage from year to year in its destruction in this way during the months of July, August, and September. In two or three years most of the females would be destroyed, with their young, and in a comparatively short time the entire family would be extinguished, and specimens would be found only in the museums, as the buffaloes are found to-day.

It would not materially improve matters to protect the females from the hunter before parturition takes place. They must be protected during the entire season if their young are not to perish with them. They live only upon fish, and must therefore go to the water for their food. The large fishing-banks on which the Pribylov seals must depend for subsistence are from thirty to sixty miles distant from the islands, and if the females are killed by the hunter there while feeding, the pup left on the island, which does not become able to take care of itself until after September, loses its protector and dies.

Enormous damage is done to the herds also by the manner in which the poachers hunt them in the open sea. It will be remembered that in the enactment regarding the Bering Sea seal fisheries Congress prohibited the use of firearms, and the Alaska Commercial Company, in its regulations for the conduct of affairs on the seal islands, even prohibited dogs from being kept on the islands. The seal is easily frightened, and for the proper development of the rookeries it is essential that he be exempt from any disturbance that can be avoided. Firearms are freely used by the poachers, however. Indeed, that is their chief instrument of slaughter, and the effect of attacking the herds in the water with flotillas of boats, while the air is filled with the sharp reports of guns, is injurious in the extreme. If, as was spoken of some time ago, the poachers should employ steamers in connection with sailing vessels in their work, the injury would be greatly aggravated.

The seals have been so much disturbed within the past two years, during which this controversy has lasted, that the government has been obliged to reduce the catch allowed under the contract for the present year from one hundred thousand to sixty thousand. The latest news from the islands strongly emphasizes the necessity for this step. The seals which have arrived at the grounds do not show the usual proportion of animals that, having regard to their age and quality, can be killed without detriment to the future of the herds. In these circumstances, the company has deemed it necessary to send special instructions to its agents on the islands to redouble the precautions against interference with animals whose capture would involve future loss. The method of killing employed on the islands is such as to render it perfectly practicable to carry

out with the greatest exactness instructions of this character. The seals are driven in droves from the shore to the killing-place, and as the work is done under the eyes of inspectors representing the government and the company, it is certain that no animals are slaughtered in violation of the restrictions it has been deemed proper to impose. From present indications it would not be surprising if the catch this year fell short even of the reduced number allowed by the government.

As confirming the wisdom of the United States in its course toward these islands, in endeavoring to maintain their commercial function as a source of supply of their special product, it is worthy of note that the seal islands on the Asiatic coast, which afford furs of an inferior quality and in considerably smaller quantities, are rigorously protected by the Russian government. These islands, though only a few hundred miles from the Pribylov group, are seldom approached by British or American vessels. The Russians make short work, by confiscation and punishment, of vessels found poaching in that quarter. They have even fired into foreign vessels, without eliciting complaint from the governments whose flags were thus assailed.

It is not the purpose of this article to trench in any measure upon points of international law which belong to the diplomatic discussion of this question. But there are considerations of an international character which cannot be overlooked in viewing the subject from a commercial stand-point. It is a specially pertinent fact that Great Britain has an interest in the maintenance of the Bering Sea fisheries which is shared by no other country. Nearly nine-tenths of the fur seal skins taken every year go directly to London to be dressed, at least ten thousand people being engaged in that city in the work of preparing the skins for the market. Here is an English industry which depends for its continued existence, at its present proportions at least, on the success of the policy of preserving the Bering Sea fisheries from the fatal inroads of poachers. As a fur-wearing people, the English have as deep a concern as we have in the preservation of the fisheries; and, indeed, Great Britain could profitably afford to pay some one to take care of the herd which has excited the cupidity of its unscrupulous enemies, rather than have the herd destroyed, or be instrumental in aiding those whose operations, if continued, must end in its destruction. And, looking at this

question from a commercial point of view, it would be difficult for any nation to justify itself if by contrivance or connivance it should be accessory to the practical extinguishment of a species of animal which is of commercial importance, and which with proper care might be preserved to commerce for all time. Indeed, the exigencies of the situation might justify combined action on the part of all nations interested for the protection of the waters of Bering Sea pending the settlement of the present diplomatic dispute.

D. O. MILLS.

THE McKINLEY BILL IN EUROPE.

BY GUSTAVE DE MOLINARI, EDITOR OF THE "JOURNAL DES ECONOMISTES," PARIS.

AS MIGHT have been expected, the two McKinley bills—that increasing the custom-house dues and that imposing even higher rates on various manufactured articles—have, especially the former, caused a lively commotion in the industrial and trading world of Europe. In France several chambers of commerce, that of Lyons in particular, have called the attention of the government to the Draconian provisions of the new tariff, "which," says this chamber, "is in a way equivalent to a prohibition of silk stuffs."

In a sitting of the Chamber of Deputies, which took place on the 21st of July last, the representative of a manufacturing district, M. Charles Dupuy, questioned the Minister of Foreign Affairs, asking him whether the government had entered into negotiations, either in concert with the European cabinets or separately, with the object that the McKinley Tariff Bill should be corrected by the admission of the guarantees afforded by international law. M. Charles Dupuy's strictures were chiefly levelled at the provisions of the bill which, in lieu of commissions wherein the exporters were represented, substituted a jury of custom-house experts or functionaries, and by which fraud was presumed whenever the difference between the value declared and that estimated by the jury should happen to exceed 40 per cent., thus entailing a penalty that might reach $5,000 and two years' imprisonment. As stated by M. Dupuy, those provisions were wholly new. None of a like nature were to be found in the custom-house regulations of the most advanced of protectionist nations. In France, even the law of August 21, 1791, which is still in force,

expressly says that "the examination cannot be made except in the presence of the owners of the goods or of their mandatories."

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, in his reply, hastened to assure M. Dupuy that the affair had awakened his entire solicitude, and that he had even applied to the cabinets of London, Berlin, and Rome to see whether steps should not be taken in common and representations made to the American government respecting the unusual provisions of the bill; but that he had everywhere found "an extreme coolness on their part to engage themselves in any degree whatever"; it had been pointed out to him, and he was of a like opinion, that any steps of the kind would be likely to produce in the American Congress an effect opposed to that which was desired; that, as regards the Tariff Bill, Americans were the judges of the political course which best suited them; that that course at present tended towards protection; and that the ideal of certain American statesmen would be to organize a custom-house union with the object of instituting a sort of continental blockade against the products of European markets; that the question of retaliatory measures had been raised, whereby a grand *Zollverein* directed against America should be established in Europe, but that the project did not seem to him so soon feasible. While sharing on the latter point the opinion of the Minister, M. Dupuy concluded the debate by a threat of reprisals. "Now," said he, "our custom-house commission knows what remains for it to do."

This short parliamentary incident gives a fairly correct idea of the impression which the ill-timed McKinley Tariff Bill has made in Europe. The impression is a general one, but it is characteristic and curious to note that the impression is most acute in the camp of the Protectionists, despite the fact that these gentlemen have always had uppermost in their hearts a desire to introduce into Europe the commercial policy and custom-house schemes of Mr. McKinley. What else are we to expect? They do not pride themselves on being logical. If we lent an ear to them, all the states of Europe would enter a league to make sweeping reprisals, and interdict as far as possible the markets of Europe to all American products.

But who will listen to them? And is the McKinley Bill likely to exert any sort of influence on the custom-house legislation of Europe? That it exerts a moral influence over our minds, and

contributes to cool the natural feelings of sympathy we entertain towards our old American friends, there can be no doubt, for sympathy is born of a community of interests, and a protectionist policy tends to separate and isolate interests, instead of uniting them ; but will it exert a material influence ? In view of the fast-approaching time (1892) when the treaties of commerce concluded and renewed since 1860 between France and most other countries are to lapse, are the clauses of the new American bill likely to determine a general increase in custom-house rates ? Or, at least, is it likely, as foreshadowed by M. Dupuy, to provoke a rise in the rates levied on products of American origin ?

To answer such a question it is, above all, necessary to examine the present state of opinion in Europe on the question of protection or commercial liberty.

We shall teach the Americans nothing new when we say that that opinion has perceptibly varied within the last fifteen years. Under the influence of the propaganda wrought by Cobden's Anti Corn-Law League, and the great reforms accomplished in England by such men as Robert Peel, Gladstone, and their emulators, a current of free-trade ideas had set in on the Continent. In 1860 France was prevailed upon to relinquish her old-time protectionist *régime*, and to conclude a series of commercial treaties on a relatively liberal basis. But, it must be admitted, this current of free-trade ideas had only influenced the upper classes of society ; the whole mass of traders and workingmen remained Protectionists. Such a reform, especially in France, could never have been accomplished under a constitutional and parliamentary form of government : it was necessary that Napoleon III, converted by Cobden and Michel Chevalier, should bring to bear his dictatorial power to impose it. Yet the results of the new commercial policy proved so favorable that, during the first years at least, its adversaries were reduced to silence. They had predicted that French industry and agriculture would be ruined : these branches, on the contrary, made extraordinary progress ; the foreign trade of France rose from $781,400,000 in 1859 to $1,245,600,000 in 1869 ; and in other countries—Germany, Italy, and Belgium—the policy of commercial treaties exerted an influence no less favorable.

Unfortunately, this honeymoon of continental free trade was brutally interrupted in 1870 by the deep commotion which the

Franco-Prussian war occasioned in trade and commerce, and the extra burden of military and fiscal charges which it imposed on the population. Even in Germany, where people flattered themselves with the notion that victory and the war indemnity of a thousand millions of dollars would impart a decisive impetus to public prosperity, the deception was complete. To the years of excitement and great expectations that followed the war, a period of acute trouble and depression succeeded. Thereupon the protectionist ideas which had remained dormant in the minds of the multitude reasserted themselves more strongly and more noisily than ever, and they were hailed as helpful auxiliaries by governments the continued increase of whose military expenses compelled an unceasing augmentation of their receipts. Bismarck was the first, in 1879, to give the signal for the reaction, which soon spread from Germany to Italy, France, and the rest of the Continent, with the exception of Belgium and Holland, in which countries commerce and exports kept the interests of free trade uppermost. But the commercial treaties opposed a barrier to a change of the tariffs in a protectionist sense: it was necessary to wait until those treaties, concluded for a period of ten years, should reach maturity, in order to increase the rates; and, on the other hand, a large number of exporting traders, even among the Protectionists, were loath to renounce the system of commercial treaties, on account of the security it gave to their exports.

This obstacle in part postponed the triumph of the reactionary party, but without diminishing its force. What, then, was to be done? There were a certain number of articles, and among others most of the agricultural products, which were independent of the commercial treaties, and on which, therefore, the dues could be raised at any time. It was on this weak side that the Protectionists attacked the liberal *régime*, and they found a hearty support among the agriculturists and especially the landlords, whose incomes, after progressively increasing for half a century, had experienced a period of arrest and even of decrease, and who particularly attributed this state of things to American competition.

These fluctuations in the ground rent and, along with it, the value of the soil in central and western Europe, constitute an economical phenomenon of considerable importance. We will therefore briefly examine the question. Thanks to the natural

increase of the population, the development of trade, and the multiplication of railways, the mean value of a *hectare** of soil, which was estimated in France, for instance, at $140 in 1815, reached in 1879, according to the computations of the Administration of Domains, $366, and the landed proprietors entertained the hope that this progressive rise would continue. It came to a dead stop, however; and its upward flight was arrested by the influence of that same progress which brought about its rise, viz., the progress made in establishing ready means of communication. Those means, from the outset, not only brought into closer relations the markets of consumption with the fields of production inside the country, but spread those relations beyond its boundaries. Within half a century steam navigation has diminished by more than two-thirds the ocean highway, and your enormous net-work of railways has further contributed to break through the monopoly of providing food for your people, which was formerly well-nigh exclusively reserved to the landed proprietors of our agricultural domain. Hence the arrest and even the decrease in the income derived from the soil; hence also, on the part of the landed proprietors, a furious reaction against the policy of free trade, which was looked upon by them as responsible for the diminution of their revenues.

Yet free trade was not alone guilty; it was merely an accessory to steam navigation and the railways. But, unable as they were to suppress the chief authors of the crime of reducing their incomes and the value of the soil, they laid the blame on the accomplice, and the "agricultural party" called for an increase in the tariff rates sufficient to compensate for the progress which, they alleged, exposed European agriculture to a complete submersion by reason of the constantly increasing inundation of American meats and cereals. These mournful complaints have been complacently heard by governments only too eager to seize an opportunity for increasing their own revenues; the rates on alimentary produce were accordingly raised, and carried from 25 to 30 per cent. in France, Germany, and Italy. And when the custom-house rates were found insufficient to stay the threatening flood of incoming transatlantic food, recourse was had to hygienic excuses. Thus, because a wretched

* The *hectare* is a little over two English acres.

pig happened to die of trichinosis in the little French commune of Crépy-en-Valois, the authorities at once rendered the whole race of American pigs responsible for its sad fate, and American pork was prohibited without further ado, in spite of the protests raised by traders in our seaport towns, and the complaints of the consumers.

Protection was thus easily set up again over articles which were outside the pale of commercial treaties. At the same time a way, certainly very ingenious, was discovered to get round the treaty difficulty and even to bring about an increase in the tariffs; I allude to the *droits de combat,* or "fighting rates." Prince Bismarck, we believe, if not the actual inventor, was the propagator of this novel scheme, and the example he set before Germany was promptly imitated by Italy in prevision of the renewal of the Franco-Italian treaty of commerce. As the process is, no doubt, unknown to the American reader, we shall briefly set forth its main features.

There are two treaty tariffs—the *general tariff,* which is applied to the products of nations with whom no treaty has been concluded; and the *conventional tariff,* which stipulates reductions more or less high on the general tariff rates, and which is applied, by virtue of the clause known as that of the most favored nation, to all countries with whom treaties have been made. Now, when it is desired to renew a treaty of commerce in a protectionist spirit,—viz., by according the weakest possible reductions on the rates of the general tariff for imported articles, and by seeking to obtain in exchange the highest possible reductions on the rates payable for exported objects,—what is the course adopted? Why, the general tariff rates are simply raised. They are carried, for instance, from 25 to 50 per cent., and you say to your adversary: "I consent to renew the treaty, and I generously grant you a reduction of 20 per cent. on my general tariff, subject to a like concession on your part." If your adversary has had recourse to the same process,—that is, if he also has estabtablished "fighting rates,"—the two strategic manœuvres neutralize each other, and the result is a renewal of the treaty, with a mere increase of 5 per cent. in the rates on either side; but if he neglects such a precaution, he risks a negotiation which takes for its basis the general tariffs of both nations and is obliged to concede an effective reduction of 20 per cent., while his

rival, who has previously raised his general tariff by 25 per cent., and who seemingly grants a like reduction, in reality raises his conventional tariff by 5 per cent. This is what took place when the Franco-Italian treaty was about to be renewed, and it brought about a rupture in the negotiations. The Italians, who are very sharp, had set up "fighting rates" which went so far as to increase ten times the former rates, and they wanted to negotiate on this new basis; while the French, who had neglected to take the same precaution, wished to negotiate on the old line. It was impossible to come to an understanding; the treaty was not renewed, and a "war of tariffs" ensued, which, if it has not interrupted, has strongly impaired, the commercial relations of the two countries.

These, then, are the results of the protectionist reaction: on the one hand, the rates on food products not included in the treaties have been raised by the principal Continental powers in Germany, France, and Italy; on the other hand, "fighting rates" have been established, which have raised the level of general tariffs in view of the expected renewal of the treaties; finally, a "war of tariffs" has followed the non-renewal of the treaties.

It would seem, therefore, that the protectionist cause has today gained a complete victory in Europe, and that to a relatively liberal period of commercial policy, opened in 1860, must succeed a new period of protection, and even prohibition, during which the protectionist majorities will impose on existing governments the obligation of favoring national agriculture and industry in view of supplying our home markets, and consequently of excluding as far as possible the agricultural produce of America, together with the industrial products of England. These forecasts, however, which appeared pretty safe even two or three years ago, now begin to seem less certain of fulfilment. Dark spots at present dot the sky of protection and threaten to cloud it over;—in Germany the increasing misery of the population, brought about by the advance in price of provisions and the diminution of external trade; and in Italy the results of the disastrous war of tariffs engaged in with France. To lend additional weight to the argument and further darken the picture, we have before our eyes the extraordinary development of England's trade, and the increase in the well-being of her people under the banner of free trade.

These are not purely theoretical speculations, but hard facts daily attested by more and more decisive proofs. German exports are decreasing : from 3,269,000 marks in 1883 they have fallen to 3,205,000 in 1888 and 3,166,000 in 1889 ; the rates on cereals have well-nigh destroyed the trade of Königsberg, Dantzig, and Stettin. In the face of the calamitous results arising from Prince Bismarck's protectionist policy, the principal chambers of commerce earnestly entreat the government to return to a more liberal *régime*. "The doctrine that the foreigner has to support the rates," says the Königsberg chamber, "is now altogether an exploded theory. An experience of ten years proves the contrary." The chamber of Frankfort says : "We have reached the culminating point of a period which has created numerous exaggerations. May the governments and the peoples soon recognize that it is time to turn from the road of reciprocal isolation." "By persisting in our autonomous custom-house policy," says the chamber of Mayence, "we are provoking reprisals and closing the outlets of our industry. Existing treaties of commerce should be retained and extended, and a careful watch kept that the custom-house war in Europe does not assume fresh proportions."

Exports in Italy have fallen from a mean annual total of 1,053 millions of *lire* from 1883 to 1886 to 950 millions in 1889, and the continuous outpour of emigration, which rose from 167,829 individuals in 1886 to 290,750 in 1888, attests the continual increase of misery among the people. M. Vilfredo Pareto, the author of a remarkable work on the economic crisis in Italy, published in the *Journal des Economistes* (May, 1889, and June, 1890), says : "There are localities in Venetia and the Neapolitan provinces where the exodus is complete. Entire villages have lost their population. The answer of the prefects, when questioned by the government, is unanimous : it is misery that compels these unfortunates to leave their country." Doubtless the system of protection cannot be held alone responsible for such a situation; the increase in the burden of military expenses and the general increase of public taxation have contributed their share; but the aggravation of hardships borne by the people incident to protective rates, and latterly to the war of tariffs with France, is shown by incontrovertible facts. Cast your eyes then on the brilliant picture offered by the prosperity of free-trading England, as sketched by

Mr. Medley at the last Cobden Club meeting, and you cannot fail to admit that the reporter in no wise exaggerates when he states that it is the real triumph of free trade.*

These opposite results of two policies, which official statistics fully set forth, and which gradually come to the knowledge of the people, begin to act on public opinion, and although in France, for instance, the Protectionists have in the Chambers a crushing majority, we much doubt whether they care to make such an ill use of their preponderance as they appeared ready to make a short time ago. For a like reason we do not think, in respect of the McKinley Tariff Bill, however damaging it may be to French industry, and however lively may have been the protests it gave rise to in the chambers of commerce and the parliament, that it will determine the adoption of a policy of reprisals towards the United States.

We consulted on the subject a member of the upper trading circles of Paris, who cares little for theory, but who is thoroughly well informed on questions relating to industrial pursuits, and especially in regard to the commercial relations between Europe and America, and this is what he said:

"Some speak of making reprisals in order to oblige Americans to give up their system of protection now carried to excess, and of which the McKinley Tariff Bill is the crowning feature; but to what purpose? It is a piece of work for which that system will itself furnish the cure. If protection ends by closing the American market to European products, will it not by the same stroke as effectually close the European market to American products? For it is quite clear that people only sell inasmuch as they are able to buy, and that products must be exchanged for products.

* We will here reproduce, in support of what we have said, a few of the more significant figures in Mr. Medley's report. From 1888 to 1889 England's foreign trade rose from £635,520,979 to £743,230,274; the railway traffic increased from £61,111,000 to £67,588,000; the operations of the London clearing-house, from £6,942,172,000 to £7,618,766,000; the bank deposits, from £580,000,000 to £610,000,000; and the savings banks, from £104,574,156 to £107,882,373. Agriculture has largely benefited by this general improvement: the number of acres brought under cultivation has increased by 106,809; the number of horses by 8,684; of oxen by 4,165: of sheep by 546,058; of pigs by 90,222. On the other hand, emigration fell by 185,500 individuals in the first six months of 1889, and by 158,964 in the corresponding period for 1890; the number of the poor succored in England and Wales, which was 825,509 on January 1, 1888, and 810,132 on January 1, 1889, was reduced to 793,465 on January 1, 1890. Finally, the number of criminals, which in 1868-1869 was set down at 58,441, fell in 1887-1888 to 43,336, although in that period the population increased from twenty-two millions to twenty-nine millions of persons.

The Americans, you say, will cause us great damage by rendering their markets inaccessible to our products : let them do so; they will entail much greater damage on themselves. In order to convince yourself of this you have only to compare the importance of the United States market for Europe and that of the European market for the United States. In 1887–1888, on a total export trade of $683,862,000, the United States furnished $519,298,000 of products, or seven-tenths of their exports, to the seven European nations with which they do the most business, viz., England, Germany, France, Belgium, Holland, Spain, and Italy. During the same year those seven countries supplied the United States, on a total export trade of $2,723,000,000, with only $264,300,000 of products, or less than one-tenth. Compare those figures. What else do they mean than this ?—that, while the closing of the United States market would only make us lose *one*, the closing of the European market would entail on the Americans a loss of *seven*.

"I know that some of our industries would be rather badly hurt, but not so much, after all, as some fancy. Thus, our woollen industry, the total production of which is estimated at $160,000,000 and the exports at $80,000,000, only supplies $8,000,000 worth to the United States, or one-twentieth of the production. Our silk industry, the production of which is set down at about the same figure, exported $3,000,000 worth more, but the rigors of the tariff have for several years past gradually lowered the exports to the United States under this head, without any very perceptible damage arising therefrom. The reason for this is that, side by side with an outlet which protectionism closes, there are others that free trade opens and extends. See, for instance, what took place in regard to our wines. Formerly the United States constituted one of our best markets. Forty years ago, in 1852, we sent them no fewer than 230,000 *hectolitres*.* In 1888, under the influence of increased rates, our exports under that head fell to 59,000 *hectolitres*, although the number of likely amateurs has doubled within that space of time in the American Union. But here is the compensation. Whilst the United States increased their tariff, England lowered hers : from five shillings and sixpence per gallon she reduced her rate to one shilling. The result was that our wine exports to England mounted from 27,000

* The *hectolitre* is a little over twenty-two imperial gallons.

hectolitres to 270,000, thus amply making good the loss American protectionism had entailed.

"Are the Americans likely to find similar compensations if the European markets were to close, or merely to contract, in front of them? In what consists nearly the whole of their exports to Europe? In three articles: cotton, food products (meat and cereals), and petroleum. They have not, however, the monopoly of these staples. We do, in fact, receive from the United States 66 per cent. of the total quantity of cotton used in our manufactures, and the failure of American cotton during the War of Secession brought about in England and other manufacturing countries a woful crisis. Still, the high price of cotton encouraged and developed its production in India, Egypt, and Brazil, so that if the war had lasted a few years longer, the deficit would have been fully retrieved. As regards petroleum, Russia is as well supplied in this respect as the United States, and the petroleum from the wells of Bakou daily takes up a larger place on our markets. As regards the food products, they arrive from all parts of the globe. Forty-five different countries vie with each other in providing England with cereals, and preserved meat or live stock comes to us even from the antipodes. I do not know whether American farmers are in such a state of prosperity as readily to dispense with the markets of Europe, but it is quite certain that their produce would visibly be replaced by Argentine, Chilian, and Australian imports, if the McKinley Tariff Bill gave rise to all the effects that are expected from it. Let us, I say, note its action. It will more effectually contribute to convert Americans to free trade than the most violent reprisals are likely to do."

We shall take care not to add theoretical reflections to this estimate of the McKinley Tariff Bill by one who is a thoroughly practical man. We would, however, seize the occasion which is offered us to compare incidentally the natural order which the great Ordainer of things has established with the artificial order which European and American politicians make it their business to put in its place. He has diversified the productions and the aptitudes of production in such a way that men, if they were willing to conform to his beneficent intentions, might readily procure all the things necessary to the satisfaction of their wants, in as great an abundance as possible, and in exchange for the least

amount of labor and trouble : the Americans might drink their fill of our good wines, whilst our poor workmen would eat their full quantum of the meat that encumbers your shambles, and of the maize that your farmers are obliged to burn in order to get rid of it. But political Protectionists have interfered, declaring that it is better to drink the sour national beverage rather than good foreign wine, and to go without food rather than seek for it beyond the frontier—in short, that each people should be self-supporting ; and while the great Ordainer of things has dug the beds of oceans and rivers that man may more easily communicate with man and exchange earth's products, they have raised barriers that are daily run up higher and higher to thwart and prevent those exchanges. If, moreover, the barriers were fixed, they would establish a certain stability in the scale of the production, and, while raising the cost of living, would insure to a certain extent the means of existence of the producers.

But those barriers are movable ! Their level rises and falls from one day to another, according to the caprice or the interest, more or less avowed and honest, of those who build them ; and each time the level changes, the conditions of existence of a multitude of individuals are upset, without their even being able to say whence comes the crisis to which they fall the victims. They are none the less told that the artificial system to which they owe these continual upheavings and troubles is instituted for their "protection." May we not be allowed to think that the system set down by the great Ordainer of things would protect them better and at less cost ?

GUSTAVE DE MOLINARI.

CLIENT AND ARCHITECT.

BY MRS. SCHUYLER VAN RENSSELAER.

FANCY a painter unable to make pictures except when some one says to him: Paint now, paint this or that, and paint it thus and so; or a poet or musician forced to wait for similar behests, and getting them, very often, in the shape of uncongenial themes and narrow limitations. Imagine this and you will realize the architect's actual position, and the contrast between his life and that of other artists. Of course, the difference is neither accidental nor designed, but inevitable. It is the natural result of the fact that architecture is not an art pure and simple. It has a practical side. Its products are not mere objects of beauty. They are useful objects made beautiful, and they cannot be spun out of the artist's brain, but must cost a great deal of money. When useful, costly things which take up a great deal of space are in question, demand must precede supply. The poet or the painter caters to the public's taste; the architect serves the public's express wishes.

These facts mean two things. They mean that the architect must be something more than an artist, and that the client has a part to play which is only less important—which from one point of view is even more important—than the architect's own. As neither perfectly fulfils his duty in America to-day, it may be worth while to define in brief what that duty is. Let us begin with the client.

I.

The client—whether a unit or that multiple of units called a committee—should remember that architecture is not practical only, but that its æsthetic side is as inevitable and important as its utilitarian, should realize that he who meddles with artistic things owes a duty to others as well as to himself, and know that this is especially the case when the result is to stand conspicuous-

ly before the public eye. It is false to say that there are structures which need not be "architectural" at all; that men may build at times, yet put all thoughts of art aside. Everything that ever was built is a good work of architecture or a bad one. If it plainly shows that its builders did not even try to make it good, it is only the more inexcusably bad. We are not naïve savages. We know that if a man is hungry for food or for beauty our obligation is the same, and we must give him the best that opportunity allows. When we insist that our neighbors shall daily look upon barrenness or deformity, when we fill what before was placid, empty space with crying shapes of ugliness, we are bad citizens, brutal neighbors. Some one has said that to build a hideous house is to indulge in the worst form of selfishness, and I am not sure that he exaggerated much.

Thus the client, whatever he means to build, should look about him for an architect, in the sense of a man who values at its highest the artistic side of every problem, great or small, elaborate or simple, and has thoroughly prepared himself to treat it. This is the first and the great commandment: an artist is needed for an "unimportant" as well as for an "important" building. Indeed, these words should not be used as they commonly are; for architectural things are most important in their aggregate, and in making up this aggregate it is the smaller units which play the larger part. If every twenty-five-foot house in New York could be made truly excellent, inside and out, would we not gladly give in exchange our few large and sumptuous buildings?

The second commandment is that when we set an artist to work we should let him work as freely as possible. "Undoubtedly," you may say; "but who is to decide just what is meant by these words?" In a letter I received not long ago from an American architect I find the following answer; it may sound startling, but, believe me, none could be more true and wise:

"The public must first learn to trust us as it does lawyers or doctors, before architecture can develop into a great art. Only when a public has learned to put its interests in building into the hands of trustees who are architects, can the latter do their best work. Any examples otherwise produced are accidental and not healthful developments."

That is to say, the architect's client should reason with himself somewhat in this fashion: Here is a problem to be solved which is very difficult, as demanding both a practical and an artistic solu-

tion. Here is a man whose profession it is to deal with such problems. The respect I feel for professional skill in other directions, artistic or practical, as the case may be, I should now feel with double strength. Of course, I must tell him exactly what I want, as I must describe my state of body to my doctor or my business tangle to my man-of-law. But, this done, I should feel sure that he will know best how my wants can be supplied. Of course, he is working for me, but so is my doctor, so is my lawyer. I am not more interested in the outcome of his efforts than of theirs; it is not a sign of folly, a confession of disgraceful ignorance, to defer to professional skill when they are concerned: the folly would be, and the ignorance and disgrace, did I try to doctor myself or to plead my own cause, or, after engaging some one more competent to do it for me, did I dictate to him, cavil at him, and hamper his hand at every turn. And by just so much as art is more subtile and, so to say, more professional than anything else, by just so much ought I to be most modest, most scrupulous, most trusting, when her ministrants are at work for me.

But this, American Public, is exactly what you do not say to yourself, except of very recent years, and in the very rarest instances. You do not see that it is just as foolish to refuse professional help in building as in law or medicine, and a great deal more selfish; nor, when you ask an architect's help, do you follow and help him with half enough docility and trust. You must have your own say about his work, and your own share of credit if it succeeds. Truly, you own the result. But it belongs also to the artist and to the world at large, and their interests are quite as important as your own. The architect, it cannot be said too often, works only when you give him the chance, and only as you permit. Just now our art is in a transition stage. This is a crucial time, when every effort is of such importance that you would be glad to escape from all responsibility, eager to shift it all upon the architect, if you were only a little less ignorant with regard to the depth of your own ignorance. What you ought to know is that in any profession, and especially in so complicated a one as this, the weakest professional is likely to do better than the cleverest amateur.

Whatever you want, then, go to an architect for it; not to a carpenter, or a mason, or your own still more profound incompetence. Tell him all your practical, material desires, and insist that

they shall be respected. That is to say, if you are quite sure what they are, and quite certain that it is possible to respect them. This is by no means always the case. To be unsettled, vague, self-contradictory, unpractical, impossible, is one of your most common faults, and one for the inevitable results of which you are only too apt to blame your architect. Settle your practical desires and state them clearly; and, if you will, pour out your vague æsthetic wishes; try to explain those crude artistic preferences, those misty, formless visions which you are pleased to call "my own ideas." But then go home, and leave him who is a trained artist, an experienced planner and constructor, to work out your problem in his own way. If what you get is exactly what you want, be very thankful; say that you are; and give the credit where credit is due. And if what you get is not quite all you want, or exactly what you think it ought to be, why, be thankful still; for the chances are (nay, the certainty is) that, had you interfered, the result would have been more unsatisfactory still.

This, then, American Public, is, as I conceive it, your duty in matters architectural. Or—for I must now confess that I have been playing the part of special pleader—this would be your duty, everywhere and always, and without possibility of doubt, if the architectural profession also recognized its duty clearly and was unanimously bent on its fulfilment.

II.

In turning now to you, The Profession, can it be said that you have no shortcomings? Are there not many things in your attitude towards your client and towards your art which must be reformed, if you, if he, and if that art are to profit and to prosper as they should? Of course, you will agree that the public should trust you as it trusts the legal or the medical profession. But are you sure that you deserve to be trusted to quite the same extent? We are pretty certain that any lawyer or physician "in good standing" will do his very best for us. He may be stupid, but he is not likely to be uneducated, careless, or unfaithful. Theory would teach us to have the same confidence in you; but does experience prove that we always can? When we ask you and pay you to do a certain definite thing, can we feel confident that you will know how best to do it, and will do it as exactly as you can? that you will not slight it in favor of more interesting

work, and will not causelessly alter it into something more like your own idea of what we ought to want? Can we feel confident that, if the task is small and cheap, you will approach it as carefully as though it were large and costly, or that, when we name the sum we want to pay, you will scrupulously respect the limitation, and scrupulously give us the most and the best you can within it? Many men in other professions sin by making things cost more in the end than they said they would in the beginning; but do they sin as frequently, frankly, and light-heartedly, or with as many specious maxims in excuse, as you? Do not say that the conditions differ. Of course they do, and of course in your case they are singularly complex and difficult. But your responsibility is increased, not lessened, by the fact. If it is peculiarly hard for you to make your clients understand the difference between a desirable or necessary increase in cost and an increase which comes merely from wilfulness, carelessness, selfish ambition, or stupidity on your part, then it is peculiarly needful that you should never be careless or selfish or more stupid than poor mortality is sometimes allowed to be. If it is essential that your client should have more confidence in you than in his lawyer or physician, then you should be still more conscientious. You should work unusually hard to inspire that trust which to you, and to the general progress of your art, is so absolutely indispensable. And this I do not think that, as a profession viewed in the mass, you yet have done.

I know that as a whole—as an Architectural Profession really worthy of the name, as something different from a mere body of building creatures—you are very young in America. Every one who cares for our art must recognize this fact, must see in your youth lusty strength, right ambition, and healthful promise; must have followed your progress thus far with admiration, and must believe in your future. If you could hear all that is said about you by serious and critical observers, I am afraid you would grow conceited. You are by no means conceited now. Indeed, you hardly realize as yet what surprisingly good work you have done as compared, not with your fathers only, but with your rivals over sea. Yet with all the respect, gratitude, and admiration that they feel for you, I think such observers see that you have faults, and that they are faults of character rather than of artistic endowment. Now, faults of character do not greatly matter with

artists who paint or carve or even write, but with you they matter in the most vital way. An architect cannot shut himself up in his closet. He must come in contact with the public both as artist and as man; the public must trust him, while it need only weigh the poet and the painter after the act; and their product it may take or leave, while it is obliged to keep whatever you bestow. Therefore it is that, as men and artists, you must set yourselves a lofty standard. You must respect yourselves, respect each other, respect your client, and respect your art (each for its own sake and always all together), if you have any hope that the public will do the same.

Let me hasten to say that there are some among you who fulfil this ideal. There are American architects who come pretty near to being models of all an architect should be. That is,—for I want to explain myself quite clearly,—they have prepared themselves in a thorough, all-round way to deserve the professional title; they think in the first place of their art and what it demands of them, in the second place of their client and his inalienable rights, and only in the third place of themselves; and in thinking of themselves it is still for art they care more than for pecuniary profit. To do all this means much labor and constant self-abnegation. But they know that they are artists, and if they did not mean to do it all, ought they to pretend to the artist's name or standing or reward?

Does this look like a fancy picture in your eyes, American Public? It is a faithful portrait, drawn from more than one original. As a picture of the whole profession it would, indeed, be flattered; yet it ought to be such a picture; and until it is, or, at least, until some distinct approach is made to the qualities it exhibits, the profession as a whole will never win the position it should, the public as a whole will never take the attitude it ought, and our art as a whole will never have the best chance of development. I may quote again, as a summing-up, from the letter already cited. It was written hastily for private reading, not as a formal confession of faith, but is, therefore, all the more significant.

"I have never spoken to you on the subject of the responsibility of my profession in this new country, where we have to create its status, but I feel its importance most keenly. The public must first learn to trust us as it does doctors or lawyers, before architecture can develop into a great art. . . . Therefore, every architect, no matter what his genius, who shows any lack of conscience or devotion to the responsibility his client has laid upon him, does more to ruin the cause of true architectural advance than any design of his creation can counterbalance. . . . I am proud of the men

in my office. Thus far they have been but average fellows, but all seem quickly to feel the responsibility and dignity of their profession, and learn to accept the self-restraint and sacrifice it entails. . . . Of myself I may say that I have never yet had a chance to do anything great, but I have been patiently fitting myself for that opportunity (should it ever come) by trying my best and uttermost on everything, no matter how unimportant it may be; and I do not really think that anything has ever passed through the hands of our firm that greater care could at the time have improved."

Is not this, in truth, the heart of the matter—loyal trust on the client's part, loyal service on the architect's ? When we say that the architect should think first of his art, do we not mean that he should prove that some kind of art may result from the faithful solution of the given problem, instead of trying to produce a higher kind, or a kind easier of production, by wilfully altering the problem ? If he reveres his art, and wishes to make the public revere it, he should never doubt of its capacity. And if he is sure that in the given problem his capacity cannot keep touch with the capacity of art, then, as an artist, he has no right to meddle with it—whatever he might decide to do as a mere money-making man.

III.

Which, now, will be more in fault, public or profession, if there does not soon grow up that happy accord upon which the future of our art depends ? If loyal trust is not the rule, and does not always meet with loyal service, where chiefly rests the responsibility of developing a better state of things ? Chiefly, I think, upon the public ; and for several reasons.

In the first place, it is the public which in each given case must take the initiative. The architect cannot choose his client; the client must choose his architect, and it is his own fault if today he does not choose a good one. Then, in the second place, the profession, with all its faults, has certainly gone further than the public on the road to ideal excellence. The great advance it has made in recent years towards loyal service—which means, be it remembered, both competent and conscientious service—has been due to its own right instincts. The public has never asked that its architects should fit themselves better for their work than they did in former years ; nor when they have thus fitted themselves is it properly conscious of the fact or properly grateful for it. Do we clearly see the kind and degree of difference which marks off our good buildings from our bad ones ? Do we so in-

telligently, so persistently, encourage trained ability that untrained incompetence need feel greatly discouraged ?

Nor are we more careful to foster professional honor and frankness than to foster true art. That system of competitions which has been supposed the best aid to art and the best protection for the client is answerable for much that we deplore. Open, unpaid competitions are an abomination. It is folly, and something worse, to ask the members of a respectable profession to show us their ideas for nothing, and to expect to get their best ideas or the ideas of the best among them. Limited, paid competitions, where certain chosen artists are asked to submit schemes for comparison, and are promised a fair reward for their trouble, should stand on a different footing. But they are often managed with so total a lack of respect on the client's part, not only for art, but for mere labor, and so total a disregard for the precepts of business good-faith and common honesty, that they, too, have become a by-word and reproach. I cannot dwell upon this thorny subject here ; those who care to pursue it may take a file of the *American Architect and Building News* and look up the references under the index heading " Competition." Let me only beg of my reader that, whether he be architect or client, he will never countenance in any way an unpaid competition; that, if as a client he shares in the management of a paid one, he will keep the Eighth and Ninth Commandments—will mean what he says and say what he means and stand honestly by his meanings and sayings, and will not try to get something for nothing, or more than he asked for the price he agreed to pay; and that, if as an architect he takes part in such an enterprise, he will try not to break the Tenth Commandment in deed, or word, or thought.

But a competition is a make-shift thing at best. In the majority of cases an architect should be chosen in the same way as any other professional adviser. It is easy to discover his standing among members of his own profession, easy to estimate his past results, and easy to draw conclusions from the effect he produces upon you as a man. Or, if all this is not always easy, it is not as hard or as risky as to judge from those architectural drawings which are so misleading to the untrained eye. Of course, it is more difficult to make sure in advance of conscientiousness than of capacity. But, as a general rule (which is not, perhaps, without exceptions), capacity implies at least artistic conscien-

tiousness, for it means thorough preparatory training; and such training means right ambitions, since no strong external pressure has enforced it.

The subject of architectural drawings is too important to be passed over with a word. Much of our trouble in the past has come because the public does not understand that it takes an architect's eye, or, at least, an experienced eye, to read an architectural drawing rightly. At its best it is a conventionalized thing; at its worst it is about as mendacious a thing as one could find. The effects a novice admires most on paper are often the very ones he will not notice or will not admire in the building. The points which on paper seem least important are often those which will tell most strongly in brick or stone. Even that picture which is called a perspective cannot easily be understood; and a plan, a section, an elevation, are not pictures at all, but signs and symbols, which the novice often misconceives most entirely just when he thinks he has unravelled every knot. It should be a maxim, therefore, that never in competitions of any kind should judgment be pronounced without the taking of expert testimony. The interests of the client and those of the architect both demand that some competent artist, not himself concerned in the matter, should be asked—and paid—to explain the submitted designs.

Even apart from competitions, the public's conduct is not what it should be to encourage loyal service. Often enough in all his dealings the client shows a disregard for truth, honesty, and business methods which he would find very shocking were the architect the sinner and he the sufferer.* And when the work is complete, he constantly takes credit for good ideas which do not belong to him, blames his architect for defects that his own ignorant demands have brought about, and, above all, cries out against an excess in cost that has been necessitated by changes from the original scheme which he himself has suggested.

Finally, our building customs are not yet arranged on a genuine business basis, and this is chiefly the fault of the public. With the best will in the world, a client rarely knows what he has

* See, again, the files of the *American Architect and Building News*, and especially the issues for January 16 and February 6, 1886, where there is an instructive account of a case of Architect vs. Client. It was pleaded in a New York court, the damages asked were heavy, the defendants were the building committee of a prominent club, and the verdict was given for the plaintiff.

a right to expect from his architect in the way of executive service, and almost always expects too much. "Superintendence" is a bone of contention between them, and will so remain until the public realizes all that is meant by architectural work, as a combination of art and science, and is willing to pay a fairer price than at present for its proper execution.*

In short, the American architect has less reason to trust the American public implicitly than the public has to put confidence in him. Therefore upon the client even more than upon the architect—and yet upon him, too, in no inconsiderable measure—lies at this moment the responsibility of improving our condition in matters architectural. If we are to have that reciprocal loyalty in trust and service from which alone can grow a healthy, prolific, and truly national art, the public must learn to bear itself as intelligently and honorably as the profession does to-day, and thus encourage the profession to still greater conscientiousness.

M. G. VAN RENSSELAER.

*See *American Architect and Building News*, "Building Superintendence"; and *Century* magazine, January, 1889, "Are We Just to Our Architects?"

LITERARY WOMEN IN LONDON SOCIETY.

BY MRS. CAMPBELL PRAED.

PERHAPS before I attempt to picture certain types of the literary woman one meets in London society it may be as well to define what London society is.

What do we in London call society?

It is certain that in the London of to-day the term Society admits of a far broader meaning than it did in the days of our grandfathers. Then society meant the court circle, into which only a few representatives of literature and art, and those mostly privileged by birth, found their way. Now the "smart people," as they are called, do not by any means constitute society. They are its most important element—the pivot, indeed, on which society turns; but aristocratic exclusiveness is a thing of the past, and fashionable people are only too ready to welcome as friends the men and women who amuse them or make them think. The English craving after social sensation has become rather a by-word among nations, but, at least, the craving is a healthy sign of dissatisfaction with the vapidity of ordinary social life. The old-fashioned seclusion of aristocracy has gone into the infinite azure of the past, and the aristocrats themselves recognize the fact and do not trouble themselves about it. There is place in society now for the leading members of almost every art and profession. The old fences have been broken down, and both in the geographical and the moral sense the area of London society is every day widening.

Thus one may describe society as bounded on the north by Regent's Park, on the south by Chelsea, on the west by Kensington Studios, and on the east by the Victoria-Street flats. That is the way it is bounded geographically and architecturally. Morally, it is bounded on the north by the Medical Profession, on the east by the Bar, on the west by Art, and on the south by the Church.

What I mean by this boundary is that here are the extreme limits which, if you cross outward or are unable to cross inward, show that you are not in society. Dissent is not in society; but the Catholic Church is—very much so, indeed, just now. The plutocrat can always get into society. Wealth's golden key opens society's doors of glass. The poet tells us that it failed to open beauty's door of glass, but things have changed since Moore's time. The plutocrat, however, counts for little or nothing in the literary question. He does not color literary society; he has to take his color from it. He has to fall in with society's latest craze after "light and leading,"—to quote the words which almost every one believes to be Disraeli's, but which Disraeli only cited from Burke's "French Revolution." He must know how to flavor his dinner parties with the wisdom of Cambridge and to brighten his drawing-rooms with the wit of Upper Bohemia.

There are ever so many literary women, nevertheless, who never take the trouble to get into, or anywhere near, society, and who yet are not Bohemians in the old-fashioned sense. The old-fashioned Bohemia can hardly be said to exist any longer. There are, indeed, some haunts where it still lingers, in a shadowy sort of way—some night clubs where belated authors and journalists and actors "smoke in" the dawn. But the Bohemia of literary men and women has hardly any existence. Musette and Mimi would no more be received among these literary women who do not seek after society than they would be received in a country rectory. Musette and Mimi would have a far better chance of being allowed to come and be looked at in society itself. If they were popular ballet dancers or burlesque actresses, and therefore curiosities, some daring duchess might ask a few friends to come and stare at them. The class of literary women I am now dealing with do not want the duchesses and would not have Musette and Mimi. They have a very happy society of their own. They used to inhabit the Bloomsbury and Fitzroy-Square regions at one time, but lately they have migrated to the quieter and less pretentious parts of South Kensington and to the slopes of Maida Vale. There they entertain each other, and very pleasant, bright parties they give, at which there are much good music and much clever talk, where every one of the guests has a name in the playbill; yet not one belongs to the smart society into which others of their kind enter. The aristocratic and "smart" people would come there

if they were asked, but they are not asked, for our friends have old-fashioned ideas, and, mistakenly it may be, decline to regard themselves as curiosities to be stared at or humble virtues to be patronized.

Very charming women some of these literary women are. They take to literature as a business, and are neither ashamed of it nor made self-conceited by it. They make no more fuss about it than a man does about being a doctor or a lawyer. They lead the simplest, most domestic, of lives. They work hard in the most unpretentious way. Over five-o'clock tea and especially on the long winter afternoons, when the curtains are drawn and the fire burns brightly, they allow themselves the relaxation of society such as the comradeship of work brings—society, for the most part, of intellectual men and women, who drop in and make themselves at home and talk over intellectual problems; the last serious novel; the last volume of critical essays; the latest scientific theory, which scarcely spreads beyond the inner circle of the elect. They talk "shop" even, and discuss prices and publishers; for these are matters of real and vital importance in homes which owe many of their comforts and luxuries to success in the literary market. Some of the best novels, some of the prettiest poems, come from these women, who, while they take little personal part in the world of London, influence society in an indirect manner a great deal more than they know. Was it not Ovid who spoke of his "little book" as destined to go without him and without envy on his part into the great city? So with these women. They send their clever books into society. They stay behind and envy not.

But, on the other hand, to be in society is the dearest aim of a certain type of the London literary woman—the type which courts paragraphs in the society papers and takes every opportunity of advertising itself into a cheap notoriety which it mistakes for genuine fame. Literary women of this type must be, to an extent, outsiders, and "society" for them means occasional invitations to dinners, luncheons, and evening parties at certain fashionable houses where the hostess makes it a specialty to have always a number of lions on show, without strict regard to the breed of the lions, Nemæan or other. Indeed, the ordinarily successful literary woman, be she either of the assertive or retiring sort, becomes accustomed to being had out "on show," and, if she

has a sense of humor, may derive considerable gratification from the parade. There are, of course, literary women who by right of birth belong to the great world, and others not "born" who take their place at once in it by reason of natural affinity or social gifts, or by force of genius, which commands equality everywhere. But as a rule the literary woman of average distinction, and without any special attractiveness or social qualifications, though she may be recognized by the great world, remains chiefly in that debatable region of London society that I have called Upper Bohemia.

And besides, democratic and eclectic as society has become, there must always be on the part of the literary man or woman who takes part in the life of fashionable London a certain vague sense of being in the world, but not of it; a sense of divergence of real interests, and of assisting as a spectator rather than a performer in the social masquerade. This result is inevitable where classes meet, but cannot, from the nature of hereditary training and association, entirely blend; but it is less marked than is generally believed. I remember an American man-of-letters once said to me that he thought the position of a literary person in London society must be a somewhat ignominious one, as he or she would almost certainly have to go in last at a fashionable dinner party. Yes, it is true, as a matter of fact, of the average literary success, but the inference is not quite correct. If Mr. Gladstone dines at a table where there are a dozen utterly obscure peers, half of whom he has himself created, he has to follow them out of the dining-room. But is his position ignominious? Does it matter how he enters the dining-room, so long as he does enter it? It is so with a literary man or woman of real distinction. Browning would have had to follow some rich soap-boiler who had been made a baronet. But the soap-boiler could not be made into a Browning. Where MacCallum More sits, there is the head of the table.

It is not, however, at the fashionable dinner parties that the literary woman shows to the most advantage. The luncheon party has begun to take the place of the old-fashioned breakfast party, which was always specially consecrated to intellect and real conversation—not talk. Macaulay used to say that he liked to be asked out to breakfast because it showed that his company was really desired, whereas people were invited out to dinner merely

as a ceremony or a social duty. The breakfast party is nearly gone. The luncheon party, and most particularly the Sunday luncheon party, has come into vogue instead. Dinner is a ceremonial. You entertain in due rotation the people who entertain you. But people are asked to luncheon because other people want to meet them and to hear them talk. The London literary woman who goes into society is much sought after for luncheon. She talks at her best there, and there is no weariness for her or others, because just when the gathering has become most delightful, it dissolves and all is over. "So soon" appears to be the feeling at the close of a luncheon; "so long" at the end of a dinner.

Still, it must be remembered that these luncheon parties are not strictly literary gatherings. They are entertainments given by fashionable hostesses at which the best literary men and women meet with cabinet ministers and popular preachers and painters and great lawyers and generals and earls and marquises, and so forth. There is not the faintest notion of patronage or condescension about them. Thank Heaven, the days of the patron for the literary man or woman are over. What could Lady Violet Lebas do for a young authoress now? How many copies of the new novel would be sold because it was dedicated "by permission" to her ladyship? Mr. Latham brought out his new and improved edition of Johnson's Dictionary and never troubled his head about Lord Chesterfield.

And certainly London society and London literature are to be congratulated upon the complete disappearance of the "Woman of Quality" authoress who was so common a feature in the society of a former day. There are many women of position in London society who write social, political, or philanthropic articles in newspapers and periodicals, and the lady of rank has taken to travelling a good deal of late and to making a book out of her travels; but if the woman of rank writes now, she writes on just the same conditions as any other woman, and her "quality" is not obtruded upon us. It may be partly due to the widening of society's doors that the days of the literary salon in London are no more. There is no Mrs. Thrale, or even Lady Morgan. There is no Holland House, with its imperious mistress, Lady Holland. There is no Gore House, with Lady Blessington. Or—to come to a later time—the Miss Berrys are gone, and George Eliot, who on Sunday afternoons used to

gather round her all that was most distinguished in the literary and scientific world, is gone too; and gone is Mrs. Proctor (Mrs. Barry Cornwall), who may be said to have had almost the last literary salon in London society, and who linked the London literary world of yesterday with the London literary world of a day when literature was a distinct stream not yet merged in the ocean of mere society.

There is, in truth, a sad want of organized literary entertainment in London society; the few efforts that have been made in that direction have not been successful, and have ended in mere evening parties, where there is much music and at which half the guests have no claim to be considered literary. We have no Nineteenth-Century Club, no Sorosis. The starting of an Authors' Club strictly confined to literary men and women has been talked of, but has never been carried out. At the annual banquets of the Royal Literary Fund or Press Fund literary women are not allowed to dine, but are brought in when the actual feeding is over, as children are brought in at dessert, and are then graciously permitted to hear the speeches. One of the dramatic societies was the first, I believe, to venture on the bold innovation of allowing women to dine at the table. The Society of Authors, a somewhat recent and important organization, solicits the membership of women and admits them to an equality with men at the annual dinner which of late it has offered to the representatives of foreign literature. But the time seems yet far off when the literary woman will sit down with the literary man side by side at every board in public, just as she does in private.

In France the literary woman and the political woman are in many cases identical terms, and the political salon means to a great extent the literary salon too. In England the reverse may be noticed, and with one or perhaps two striking exceptions the literary woman counts for nothing in English politics. Yet it is certain that the increased interest of women in politics has done even more, perhaps, than the increased interest in literature to break down the fences of Belgravia and Mayfair. The two great political divisions have got into a new form of constitutional agitation, which consists of drawing-room and garden parties, where speeches are made by men and women alike. Therefore the duchesses and countesses have to welcome the clever women who can talk and who have a name.

There are more women actively engaged in politics now in England than there ever were before, but they are not literary women, nor even, very often, pamphleteers. They make speeches; they canvass at elections; they organize constituencies; they hold drawing-room meetings; they are Primrose dames; they are leaders of the Woman's Liberal Federation; they carry on newspapers; they write for newspapers; but they do not write books. Literature with the English woman runs almost wholly into fiction. It might be said that it runs wholly into fiction, if one did not remember that there are a great many women who write for newspapers, reviews, and magazines, and that there are still a few women who write poems. The novel, and particularly the "society novel," seems the natural mode of expression for the woman who is discontented with an obscure lot, and who, having no drama to speak of in her own life, enjoys drama vicariously through the characters she creates.

The question comes, How does this expansion of society affect the literature produced by women? How does it, in short, affect the novel—since that is the main product of the literary woman? It affects it for good in one sense. Novels of society are written now by women who know what society is, and who can write something worth reading about it. In former days there were fashionable lady novelists who knew all about society; but then their merit consisted solely in that knowledge, and their books were hardly worth reading. Now we have novels written by women who are admitted to a study of society and who have artistic instinct enough to turn out works of art. On the other hand, it has to be owned that the more society welcomes the novelist, the more the novelist writes to please society.

Now, it is certain that the one great demand of London society in our days is amusement on cheap and intellectual terms. Society will not stand strain or even stress of mind and brain. Sometimes it will go so far as to put on an appearance of profundity and to go into raptures about some deep-thoughted book which some great man has praised. But its especial desire is to be pleased, and its novelist writes to please it, as the king's minstrel in old days sang to please the king.

Society likes to read of itself, of its own sports and follies and vices, its own drawing-room dramas, its "tragedy in trousers," its comedy of the teacup and palm-leaf school, its breaking hearts

which throb discreetly beneath diamond stars and hothouse "button-holes," its emotional subtleties conveyed in the droop of an eyelid, the movement of a finger, the inflexion of a "No" or a "Yes." Analysis, and not action, is the characteristic of our feminine fiction, as it is also of our modern and social life, and to dissect human nature under its society swathings needs the skill of a Balzac or a Thackeray, while the feminine counterpart of a Balzac or a Thackeray is difficult to find. Hence, though the mean level of the society novel may be higher for the wider social opportunities offered to our lady novelists, it is very doubtful whether the true novel of genius flourishes in proportion to the increased number of our imaginative writers; whether, indeed, genius is not apt to be stifled by the complexities and puerilities of our "end of the century" civilization. The atmosphere of the drawing-room encourages too much of superficial description, of conventional limitation, of cheap and airy cynicism, of languid mental introspection. It does not help to breed a passion-plant like Jane Eyre.

MRS. CAMPBELL PRAED.

POPULAR ERRORS REGARDING HEALTH.

BY DR. WILLIAM S. SEARLE.

BULWER has somewhere said that, "when a lie once gets into the world, it is astonishing how hard it is to get it out. You may beat it about the head until it seems to have given up the ghost, and then, the next day, meet it on the street as healthy as ever." Nevertheless, lies of all sorts should be clubbed at every opportunity. Else how shall truth prevail?

On scarcely any subject are more false notions current than on that of health; and among these few are more commonly accepted than this: that a changeable climate is an unhealthful one. "What horrible weather!" "How can any one keep well in the midst of such sudden and frequent changes!!" "It is a wonder we do not all die!!!" Such expressions are trite, and on the lips of even intelligent and educated people.

Our most variable and trying season is that of spring. And it is true (as is proved by the census) that it forms the most fatal quarter of the year. Then consumption reaps its harvest. The old and feeble succumb. Even the fierce heats of summer, if unaccompanied by epidemics, do not destroy so many lives. But are these results justly and wholly chargeable to the violent atmospheric changes of this season? By no means. Other factors are at work here which at present we have no space to discuss.

But let us look for a time at the reverse of the picture. No life at all could have birth or continuance without the stimulus of external forces. All life would be extinguished were the swing of these forces too widely extended. Life, on the average, is longest and best where a happy medium between death-like stagnation and volcanic explosion of natural forces exists. Let there be no change marked by the thermometer or barometer; let the sun always shine or never shed his blessed beams; let

electricity and magnetism be withdrawn, and how quickly would this globe be depopulated!

On the other hand, who could survive a doubled range of heat and cold? What form of animal or plant life could withstand reduplication of any of the natural forces which environ mankind? The question, then, is narrowed to this: What climate most nearly approaches the aforesaid happy medium which is conducive to the most perfect health, as well as the greatest longevity? The appeal must needs be to facts of a comparative nature, as to which, unfortunately, we are but partially informed. Concerning the average duration of life in our own and other civilized lands we are pretty well instructed. But of that in countries of comparatively invariable climate we are very ignorant. No estimates of the latter are upon record.

It can scarcely be doubted, however, that in such climates as prevail in our Middle and Eastern States, modified as they are by the inventive genius and art of man, the average extent of life equals, and probably exceeds, that of any other portion of the globe. True, our population suffers from certain forms of disease from which the inhabitants of milder regions are partially or wholly exempt. But, on the other hand, they are subject to maladies to which we are strangers. Here the organs of the chest suffer most; there those of the abdomen. They have also to endure malaria in its more violent forms, as well as fevers, both endemic and epidemic, which are here unknown. When, therefore, we take into account the greater number and severity of the diseases to which dwellers in invariable climes are exposed, and rightly estimate the protections from inclement weather afforded to the feeble by our intelligent civilization, there can be little doubt that, even in respect to mere longevity, we possess a decided advantage.

But there are other and worthier ways of measuring life than by numbering its days. Life, in its fulness and richness and fruitfulness, is developed and enjoyed only where the climate is fickle. The ambition, energy, inventiveness, and general capacity which have made our civilization what it is, and which are yet to make America a greater nation than the world has seen, are, to a large extent, the results of a variable climate. Henry Ward Beecher used to say that the land where no cellar was dug was the land of feebleness and inanity. Doubtless we owe much of our

development to free institutions. But we owe more to climate. It may even be doubted whether free institutions or constitutional government could have birth and growth under changeless skies. Certainly, as we understand and enjoy them, they never did so originate, for the republics of Greece and Rome were far from our ideas and realizations.

It may be set down as axiomatic that any external force applied to a living being, which is not too intense or prolonged to allow full reaction, provided that no disintegration of tissue is caused by it and that the necessary time is afforded for such reaction, is beneficial—contributes to both growth and endurance. It acts as a stimulus, awakening otherwise latent forces, and brings into fullest play the energies of both body and mind. As one creeps half-alive from his bed, after long and deep slumber, to be roused into full vitality by a shower bath, thus also do climatic changes act upon him.

It is said that to become a true poet one must experience the baptism of suffering; that one cannot be a true artist till his eyes have been opened to behold what ordinary men fail to discern; that he who would lead the mass must stand above it. All such truths find parallels in the physical sphere. He who knows what it is to get his "second wind" understands this point practically, if not philosophically. And there is a mental "second wind," as well as a physical; both, to a large extent, dependent upon climatic changes. A chilly, rainy day or week in spring time benumbs and depresses every faculty of body and mind and soul. But when it is over, and the sun bursts out, the rebound takes us to otherwise unknown and unconceived elevations. Hence the enervated inhabitants of unchangeable climes are unheard of as originators of thought and action. They exist. They do not live.

Which of the glorious achievements of man have found birth and growth in the regions so much envied by the grumblers who loudly complain of the fierce, swift buffetings of our climate? Where were born and nurtured the great poets, historians, novelists, scientists, musicians, inventors, orators, statesmen, dramatists, warriors, explorers, of earth? No sluggish air, no torrid heat, no frozen land, no changeless clime, produced them. Storms swung their cradle; rocks obstructed their footsteps; they were tossed about at the sport and whim of nature in her liveliest moods;

relaxed by heat and then benumbed by cold; cloud and sunshine followed each other swiftly over their pathway; they had to fight for their very existence, not gorge food ready at their hands or fallen at their feet. Thus were their natures made robust and capacious; thus they became such men as no tepid, placid, changeless regions ever saw.

Let us, then, cease to bewail that unsteady and fickle climate which mocks "weather bureaus" and laughs prophets to scorn. Rather let us welcome the changing seasons, and praise their blessings, as well as the beauties they unfold around us.

Exceedingly common is the notion that length of life is controlled by habits, and that a careful observance of what are called good habits must necessarily insure to every one longevity. Indeed, some appear to think that such self-denying persons ought never to sicken or die.

It was my fortune, many years ago, to know a man who held to this idea and who carried out to the full such a course of life with more than ordinary consistency and intelligence. His income enabled him to completely realize his ideal. He trained his body carefully and regularly; he had no "small vices," nor great ones; he ate the plainest food, but it was always of the best, well prepared and abundant. Not one of those habits which are esteemed good was neglected, and those which are called bad were shunned with abhorrence. He boasted that he was never sick, and that he would live to celebrate his one-hundredth birthday. He had a neighbor of the most self-indulgent kind. He also was a man of wealth, who took no exercise beyond an occasional pleasure drive, who uniformly ate a hot and rich supper at ten o'clock at night, and of whom it was asserted that, though never drunk, he was rarely, if ever, perfectly sober. The former of these gentlemen died at sixty-four; the latter at sixty-eight. Of the heredity of either I have no knowledge.

Now, while it would be entirely unwarrantable to argue from these facts that the former did not lengthen, nor the latter shorten, his life by his habits, these, in common with many similar instances, tend to demonstrate the truth that good habits do not necessarily insure longevity, nor bad habits surely prevent it. They enforce our opinion that too much influence of this sort is commonly attributed to each proposition, and that other and more

powerful causes determine the period of existence of individuals and of mankind.

Of these causes it is unquestionable that heredity is easily the chief. Habits have much to do with our comfort and happiness while we do live. But, given hereditary longevity, bad habits must be very bad, and steadily persisted in, to enable them to destroy life; while, given hereditary brevity of existence, no habits, however good, can greatly prolong it.

Among my acquaintances is a woman, who some years ago, was alive at the age of ninety, and of whose decease I have not heard, who, for a large portion of her life, has been a drunkard and an opium-eater. One of her sons has been a drunkard of the most reckless type for thirty years, and during that period has aged as little as any man of my acquaintance.

Another instance which well illustrates our position came under observation in my hospital clinic. A patient complained of deafness. Inspection showed ears filled with impacted cerumen. This was easily removed, and perfect hearing restored. As a record is kept, his name and age were asked. To all outward appearances he was about fifty years old. But he claimed to be seventy-five. The following conversation ensued:

"Are you sure of that?"

"Yes."

"How old was your father when he died?"

"He is not dead yet. He is between ninety-five and one hundred."

"How old is your mother?"

"She died at about eighty."

"What is your business?"

"A tailor."

"On the bench?"

"Yes."

"All your life?"

"Yes."

"Well, tailors have not the best reputation for habits: how is it with you?"

"About like the rest."

"Get drunk occasionally?"

"Yes."

"Drink coffee and tea, smoke and chew?"

"Yes."

"Ever sick?"

"Not since childhood."

Here was a man, poor, living under the worst conditions, a slave to bad habits, who did not appear to have exceeded fifty years, and who was seventy-five. Why? Solely because of heredity.

It will be found, on investigation, that this general law prevails throughout both the animal and vegetable world. Accidents excepted, plants and animals live as long as their progenitors; and this, too, under many unfavorable conditions. A striking illustration is furnished by our common domesticated birds. The parrot and canary are constructed of like tissues; they are kept in captivity; equal care is bestowed upon them; and yet, as a rule, the canary dies within ten years, while the parrot often survives one hundred. And for this most remarkable difference there is no assignable cause but heredity. Why should one flower be an annual and another a perennial? Again, heredity. Why should the elephant so long outlive the tiger or lion? Again, heredity.

That habits do influence longevity no sane man will deny. To habits more intelligent and more in consonance with nature's laws, perhaps, may justly be attributed, at least in part, the gradual increase in the average duration of life in this and other civilized countries. Our theorem is, not that there are no absolutely good and absolutely bad habits, nor that they have not an influence upon longevity; but that this influence is much less than is customarily supposed—so small, indeed, as hardly to be taken into account when compared with that of heredity.

One other phase of this subject is worthy of mention. Good habits, long persisted in, may and do become bad habits. To some this proposition may appear paradoxical. But it will become clear when we reflect that any routine in habit tends to the over-use of certain organs, and to a corresponding lack of the use of others; so that, on the one hand, the former become liable to diseases of over-excitability, while the latter are rendered liable to those of torpidity. Thus even good habits may become productive of disease. Indeed, it is so common as to be within the observation of every one that a change from such routine is conducive to health—in fact, often entirely renovates the individual.

Hence the benefits of vacations which afford an entire revolution in the scenes and employments of professional and business men. Broadly considered, change, which brings about an alteration of vital action, is the sole curative principle in disease, whether accomplished by fresh scenes, unaccustomed diet, altered habits, or drugs. As a conservator of health, too, it is preëminent.

Those, therefore, who expect to retain health or attain long life as rewards of unvarying regularity, even though in accord with the best of habits, reason unphilosophically, and rely upon insufficient and illusory causes. They overlook or fail to comprehend what may be called the doctrine of catastrophism in nature —nature, whose notorious irregularities they deprecate and bemoan —nature, which rears animals and plants, and keeps both in perfect health by the most complex, variable, and apparently lawless influences.

With the moral bearings of this subject we have no present concern, though we recognize their great importance, and the limitations which, properly understood, they impose upon all men. They are often and fully and wisely set forth by competent instructors in the family, the press, and the pulpit. Nor do we desire to lesson the force of such teachings.

Physiological truth, however, like truth of all kinds, needs no apology, nor defence, nor reticence. The only question, which is older than Pilate (nay, coeval with man), is, "What is truth?" Let that once be settled, as it can only be by free and intelligent discussion, and we need have no fear of expressing it.

W. S. Searle, M. D.

A JANUS-FACED STATUTE.

BY THE HON. RICHARD P. BLAND, REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM MISSOURI.

GREAT interest was manifested throughout the country as to the probable outcome of the agitation of the silver question in Congress during the current session. The anxiety concerning the legislation likely to take place was not confined to financial or commercial circles, but was the subject of universal interest among the masses of the people everywhere.

The result, like all measures adjusted to meet the exigencies of party harmony, to tide over party dissensions and differences, is unsatisfactory to the country. The bill is a master-piece of duplicity and double-dealing.

Its Janus face is so moulded as to have the appearance of silver to the West and of gold to the East. The interpretation can be made to conform to the prejudices or wishes of all classes. To the bullion-owner it is made to appear as offering him a larger market for his product. To the gold advocate it is interpreted to mean the gold standard and gold-redemption. To the Greenbacker it holds out the temptation of increased issue of legal-tender treasury notes. To all it promises a larger volume of money.

The bill is as follows:

"SEC. 1. That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby directed to purchase, from time to time, silver bullion to the aggregate amount of 4,50 ,000 ounces, or so much thereof as may be offered in each month, at the market price thereof, not exceeding $1 for 371.25 grains of pure silver, and to issue in payment for such purchases of silver bullion treasury notes of the United States to be prepared by the Secretary of the Treasury, in such form and of such denominations, not less than $1 nor more than $1,000, as he may prescribe; and a sum sufficient to carry into effect the provisions of this act is hereby appropriated out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated.

"SEC. 2. That the treasury notes issued in accordance with the provisions of this act shall be redeemable on demand, in coin, at the treasury of the United States or at the office of any assistant treasurer of the United States, and when so redeemed

may be reissued; but no greater or less amount of such notes shall be outstanding at any time than the cost of the silver bullion, and the standard silver dollars coined therefrom, then held in the treasury purchased by such notes; and such treasury notes shall be a legal-tender in payment of all debts, public and private, except where otherwise expressly stipulated in the contract, and shall be receivable for customs, taxes, and all public dues, and when so received, may be reissued; and such notes, when held by any national banking association, may be counted as part of its lawful reserve. That, upon demand of the holder of any of the treasury notes herein provided for, the Secretary of the Treasury shall, under such regulations as he may prescribe, redeem such notes in gold or silver coin, at his discretion, it being the established policy of the United States to maintain the two metals on a parity with each other upon the present legal ratio, or such ratio as may be provided by law.

"SEC. 3. That the Secretary of the Treasury shall each month coin two million ounces of the silver bullion purchased under the provisions of this act into standard silver dollars until the 1st day of July, 1891, and after that time he shall coin of the silver bullion purchased under the provisions of this act as much as may be necessary to provide for the redemption of the treasury notes herein provided for, and any gain or seigniorage arising from such coinage shall be accounted for and paid into the treasury.

"SEC. 4. That the silver bullion purchased under the provisions of this act shall be subject to the requirements of existing law and the regulations of the mint service governing the methods of determining the amount of pure silver contained, and the amount of charges or deductions, if any, to be made.

"SEC. 5. That so much of the act of February 28, 1878, entitled 'An act to authorize the coinage of the standard silver dollar and to restore its legal-tender character,' as requires the monthly purchase and coinage of the same into silver dollars of not less than $2,000,000 nor more than $4,000,000 worth of silver bullion, is hereby repealed.

"SEC. 6. That upon the passage of this act the balances standing with the Treasurer of the United States to the respective credits of national banks for deposits made to redeem the circulating notes of such banks, and all deposits thereafter received for like purpose, shall be covered into the treasury as a miscellaneous receipt, and the treasury of the United States shall redeem from the general cash in the treasury the circulating notes of said banks which may come into his possession subject to redemption; and upon the certificate of the Comptroller of the Currency that such notes have been received by him and that they have been destroyed, and that no new notes will be issued in their place, reimbursement of their amount shall be made to the Treasurer, under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe, from an appropriation hereby created, to be known as 'national-bank notes: redemption account,' but the provisions of this act shall not apply to the deposits received under section 3 of the act of June 20, 1874, requiring every national bank to keep in lawful money with the Treasurer of the United States a sum equal to 5 per cent. of its circulation, to be held and used for the redemption of its circulating notes; and the balance remaining of the deposits so covered shall, at the close of each month, be reported on the monthly public debt statement as debt of the United States bearing no interest."

It will be noticed that the bill is adroitly drawn so as to vest in the Secretary of the Treasury almost unlimited discretionary powers, so that, according to his interpretation and manipulation, the law can be so enforced as to lead to general disappointment.

In its regular order the first comment to be made upon the bill concerns the purchasing clause. The Secretary of the Treasury is directed to purchase monthly four million five hundred thousand

ounces of silver bullion, *or so much thereof as may be offered, at the market price thereof.*

The power to purchase is to be exercised by the Secretary of the Treasury. He is to ascertain what the market price is. The bullion-holders may or may not offer bullion at the price ascertained or fixed by the Secretary of the Treasury. So at last the amount of bullion to be purchased is largely left to the results of dickering between the holders of the bullion and the Secretary of the Treasury. Those who count on a large increase in the circulating medium may be disappointed. The representatives of the interests of the silver-producers who voted for the bill with a view of affording a larger market for silver bullion may also be deceived. The law of 1878, restoring to the coinage the standard silver dollar, provided that the Secretary of the Treasury should purchase not less than two million nor more than four million dollars' worth of silver bullion monthly, and coin it as purchased. The only discretion given him here was between the two million and four million dollars' worth. He was bound to purchase at least two millions' worth. This was mandatory. No such language as "so much thereof as may be offered at the market price thereof" appears in the law of 1878, which statute is repealed by the act under consideration.

That this provision was not deemed satisfactory by the representatives of the silver producers is shown by the debates. The following colloquy took place in the Senate, pending the consideration of this Conference Bill, between Senator Stewart, of Nevada, and Mr. Sherman, the chairman of the Senate conferees :

Mr. STEWART—I should like to ask in regard to the phrase "or so much thereof as may be offered in each month, at the market price thereof."

Mr. SHERMAN—I have already stated about that. If it is not offered, as a matter of course the Secretary cannot buy it.

Mr. STEWART—I should like the views of the Senator from Ohio as to whether it would be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury, under the language used in the bill, to buy four and a half million ounces per month if that amount were offered, or could he decline to buy on the pretext that it was not offered in this country at the market price in London? Could the Secretary of the Treasury depress the price of silver by refusing to buy unless he could get offers at the London price?

Mr. SHERMAN—I have no doubt the Secretary of the Treasury, under the gravest responsibilities and gravest obligations to obey this law rigidly, would not allow himself any doubtful construction. He would go on and buy, whatever might be the results to him or to anybody, four and one-half million ounces a month. We cannot legislate upon the idea that the officers of the law will disregard the law, or evade it, or avoid it. If I thought so, I would want to abolish the office of the Secretary of the Treasury. The eye of any man holding that position would be keenly set upon the language of the law, and a fair construction of the law, and it is not to be

assumed that he will avoid or evade the duty imposed upon him, whether he approve it or not. I have not the slightest doubt that the present Secretary of the Treasury, or any other Secretary, whatever may be his party creed, would obey the law; and if not, he ought not to be there a moment, and he would be liable to impeachment if he disobeyed the law.

Mr. STEWART—I merely want to get the Senator's idea. The Senator, then, does not think there can be any danger of the Secretary's failing to buy four and a half million ounces of silver a month if he can get it for less than par as provided in this act?

Mr. SHERMAN—I have not the slightest doubt of that. You cannot legislate upon the idea that the officers will not execute the law.

We imagine the apprehensions of the Senator from Nevada were not entirely quieted by the evasive answer of the Senator from Ohio. Nor is the Senator from Nevada content with the policy of Mr. Windom thus far adopted, if reports of the press be true.

In explanation of this clause, Mr. Conger, of Iowa, chairman of the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, and chairman of the House conferees on this bill, said:

"The first section of the House bill has been adopted in the conference report with this exception, that we have changed the amount of silver bullion to be purchased from $4,500,000 worth to 4,500,000 ounces, or so much thereof as may be offered. In changing the measure of the amount from dollars to ounces we do not prescribe the exact amount that is to be purchased each month. When we say dollars' worth, no matter whether silver goes up or goes down, the currency is increased just that much and no more. By the other plan of purchasing so many ounces, if silver goes down, the circulation is decreased, while if it goes up, the amount of treasury notes issued is increased. By adding the words, 'or so much thereof as may be offered in each month,' we do not, in the judgment of the majority of the conferees of both houses, change the amount that will be purchased and treasury notes issued therefor, but we do take away the possibility of a 'corner' or of speculation on the part of the bullion-owners, and give the Secretary of the Treasury some opportunity to defend himself and the treasury against the sharps who might attempt at the end of each month to force him to purchase, at a fabulous price, the amount directed by law."

It is to be noted that the original Windom Bill or proposition introduced in the House by Mr. Conger, and referred to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, contained two safe provisions, as was claimed by the Secretary of the Treasury and by Mr. Conger. One was that the Secretary of the Treasury should have the power at any time to suspend silver purchases, if, in his opinion, there was an attempt to unduly bull the price of silver or to corner the market. The other was to reserve to the Secretary the power to redeem the treasury notes in silver bullion. This was to preserve intact the gold standard. It will also be remembered that these provisions were bitterly fought by the silver-men in the House and the Senate. Secretary Windom was

so positive and determined in his opinions that he came out in a newspaper article in the Washington *Post* insisting that some such provisions should be incorporated in any bill that passed, or it would be better that no legislation at all should be had; evidently meaning a veto.

To meet this difficulty two provisions were inserted in the conference report and adopted as part of the law. The first is to be found in the purchasing clause, which practically gives the Secretary the powers he insisted on—that is, to purchase bullion only when offered at such rates as he may ascertain to be normal. In lieu of the bullion-redemption clause, the language of the second section is inserted, as follows:

"That, upon the demand of the holder of any of the treasury notes herein provided for, the Secretary of the Treasury shall, under such regulations as he may prescribe, redeem such notes in gold or silver coin, at his discretion, it being the established policy of the United States to maintain the two metals on a parity with each other upon the present legal ratio, or such ratio as may be provided by law."

This was, no doubt, intended as a direction to the Secretary of the Treasury to redeem the notes in gold on demand. It has always been held by the gold advocates, and all the Secretaries of the Treasury since the restoration of silver, that silver cannot be paid out or coined and utilized, except in such quantities and subject to such limitations as in their opinion can be safely allowed, without disturbing the gold standard of value; that, should the government at any time refuse gold for its obligations when demanded, such refusal would be tantamount to a suspension of gold payments; that gold would immediately go to a premium, and our standard would be the depreciated silver dollar. "Under such regulations as the Secretary may prescribe" may mean, and doubtless was intended to mean, the sale of bonds under the Resumption Law, should such a course be deemed necessary to procure the gold required to preserve the gold standard or the parity of the two metals.

Again, it must be observed that the language used is the parity of the two *metals*, not the two *coins*, for the two coins are now at par. If the Secretary is not to redeem in silver till the parity of the two metals is established and maintained by this bill, then, of course, silver payments are forever prohibited. This bill can never restore this parity. While the provisions and objects of the original bill of the Secretary of the Treasury are so obscured

and covered up that the law can be made to read one way to a Western audience and the opposite way to an Eastern constituency, yet it must be confessed that the objects and purposes of the Secretary's bill are amply provided for.

The new law is a radical departure from the law of 1878 in respect to the basis or ratio of utilizing silver for monetary purposes. The law of 1878 compelled the coinage of the bullion as fast as purchased. The coin could be deposited and silver certificates issued thereon. Whether the coin or certificate was in circulation, it went into circulation at the ratio of 16 to 1. This is the established legal ratio between the two metals. The new law, however, provides for issuing notes on silver bullion at its cost price or gold value—not coining value. The metal is not to be coined at all after July, 1891, except at the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury, and in amounts sufficient only for the redemption of the notes. But, as before pointed out, the notes must be redeemed in gold if the theory of the gold standard is to be adhered to; hence no redemption in silver will be made; consequently no silver will be coined.

The net result is a practical suspension of the coinage of silver at the legal ratio. The only use to be made of the metal is as a bankable commodity on which notes may be issued, based upon the market value in gold of this bankable commodity. Thus silver is virtually demonetized and discredited as a standard of value, and gold, and gold only, fixed upon as the standard of payments. To accomplish this result more effectually, if possible, the law of 1878 providing for the continued coinage of the standard dollar is repealed. The effect of the bill is to repeal the law of 1878, requiring the purchase and the coinage monthly of not less than two million nor more than four million dollars' worth of silver bullion, and to substitute therefor a law that may be construed to mean the purchase of so much silver bullion as the Secretary of the Treasury and the holders of the bullion may agree upon, not to exceed four million five hundred thousand ounces monthly; treasury notes to be issued in payment of these purchases, in amount equal to the market or gold value of the bullion, and to be limited in amount in circulation to the gold value of the bullion so purchased; these notes to be redeemed in gold when demanded, in order to maintain the parity of the metals on the gold standard of payments; the silver dollar no longer to be coined as a standard

of value. The bill is an evident abandonment of the double standard.

In the foregoing the gold face of the bill has been exhibited for Eastern admiration. Now comes the silver side for the delight of the West.

First, it will be contended that the purchase of four million five hundred thousand ounces of bullion is mandatory; that the Secretary of the Treasury would be impeached if he sought to evade it; that these purchases will put in circulation from fifty-seven to sixty millions annually; that the result will be a large appreciation of silver bullion, and as the price increases the amount of currency that will result will also increase; that there is the possibility of sixty-five or seventy million dollars to be added annually to the circulation of the country; that by the operation of the law silver will reach so near a par with gold that its free coinage will result in a short period of time; that the first clause in section 2, providing for the redemption of the notes in coin, has no gold direction in it, and this clause is just as binding as the subsequent one; that the requirement for coining a sufficiency of the bullion for the redemption of the notes will preserve the ratio of 16 to 1, and dispels the idea that silver is to be used as a mere commodity.

These inferences are fairly drawn from the terms of the bill. The law is a two-faced monstrosity—one face looking with smiles of golden promise to the East, but, on the other side, one radiant with the image of the Goddess of Liberty engraven in silver, beckoning the plaudits of the West.

That the law will be executed in accordance with the wishes and views of the friends of silver till after the next Presidential election may be predicted. First, because up to that time no great accumulation of silver bullion can be had under its provisions, even by purchasing the full amount authorized. Secondly, the party in power will not incur the hostility of the mining States, so much interested in a market for silver bullion; nor, on the other hand, that of the masses of the people of the Northwest and the West, who are demanding a largely-increased circulation.

After the next Presidential election much will depend upon the character of the administration. Should the succeeding administration entertain the same views in regard to silver as the present and the predecessor of the present administration, the law will

no doubt be executed in a manner that will cause great disappointment to those friends of silver who supported it.

If the law remains upon the statute-book, the silver question will necessarily be an issue in the coming Presidential election.

The fate of silver will greatly depend upon the manner in which the law shall in the future be carried out.

The last section of the bill, covering into the treasury the lawful money held for the redemption of the notes of national banks, makes available about fifty-four million dollars to be paid out in current expenditures. This was necessary to meet an expected deficiency caused by the extravagant appropriations of the present Congress. But the currency will not in the end be expanded, since the bank-notes outstanding, for the redemption of which this fund is deposited, are constantly coming in to be cancelled and retired.

In closing this article I must be indulged while attempting to urge the practicability of and the absolute necessity for the unlimited coinage of silver. It is assumed that our bank-note issues will soon disappear. There is no probability of the people of this country in the near future electing a House of Representatives favorable to any system of national banks.

The only mode at this time of augmenting our circulating medium, to meet the needs of growing business and the rapid increase of population, is the issuing of circulating notes upon the deposits of gold and silver coin. Our policy now is to issue these notes, dollar for dollar, on the coin or bullion. The bankers' rule would permit the issuing with safety of three dollars of notes for one of specie. This we are not doing. We require a dollar of coin to be held for the redemption of every note outstanding. What greater security than this could be reasonably asked? It will not do to say that the silver dollar is depreciated, for as to the coin that is not true, and as to bullion the depreciation would disappear with the demand for it which free coinage would give. Besides, the reserve of dollar for dollar would so restrict the issue of notes as to guarantee their par.

The contention that we would be flooded with a *dump* of the silver of the world is not tenable. The conditions at present, as well as the history of the world, are against it.

There is no country now having a surplus of silver, or even a dollar to be dispensed with at a loss. No coined silver could be

sent to our mints from the old world except at a loss of about three cents on the dollar, owing to the difference in our ratio of coinage and theirs.

The history of all ages shows that from the beginning of civilization the precious metals have been held in such high esteem and so largely sought for that nothing—not excepting wars, pestilence, and famine—will not be endured before a people will consent to part with their stock of these metals. The disastrous failure of Germany to part with her silver at a sacrifice is a warning too recent to be ignored by any other country. To show the passion of mankind for the acquisition of precious metals, we might instance the dangers and privations endured in the search for them. The discovery of gold in California was immediately followed by an exodus of our people on a journey of three thousand miles across the continent. They forced their way through the great "Sahara of America," contending with the hostile savage, battling with famine, disease, and death that left victims on every mile of the perilous road. Nerved and sustained by the hope of reaching the land of gold, the hardy pioneers moved in continuous train from the Missouri to the Sacramento. There they were met by the people of every clime. The land and sea were brought into requisition to pour forth the peoples of the world upon the mountains and the plains of the new Eldorado. There was found a veritable modern Babylon. Every tongue was heard; every nation was represented. All this for the innate love of the nations of the world for the precious metals.

The discovery, ten years later, of the rich silver deposit of the Comstock lode in Nevada reversed the tide of immigration. The hardy miners of California, with their caravans of pack trains loaded with mining implements and provisions, performed the hazardous feat of crossing the summits of the Sierra Nevada in midwinter to be the first on the ground to locate their claims upon this famous lode. Napoleon's crossing of the Alps was no more perilous, or more awful in the grandeur of the undertaking, than the crossing of the dismal Sierras by the brave Californians in the winter of 1859 and 1860 in search of silver on the eastern slope.

Rome by wars and conquests robbed the nations of their precious metals, and thus conquered the world and exacted tribute from every source of commerce. The discovery of vast and rich deposits of gold and silver in the jungles of Africa would be the

prelude to the immediate conquest of that country and the subjugation of its inhabitants to the rule of civilization, science, and art.

So long as this innate and insatiable desire of all mankind for the precious metals exists, none will willingly part with their accumulations of ages, that have cost so much of privation and suffering, simply to accomodate our mints or to surfeit us with silver.

The truth is that, no matter how we accumulate silver or gold, or both, whether by the purchase in open market or by the open mint, the stock of precious metals so accumulated will prove a source of wealth and power, which in the near future will enable us to dominate the commerce of the world and make New York, instead of London, the world's clearing-house for the exchange of gold and silver at our present ratio, or such as we may reasonably establish. The annual product of gold is rapidly declining. The richest of our silver mines are also being rapidly worked out. It cannot be expected that the present yield of silver will long continue. With gold mines now failing the world over, and the great probability that the yield of silver will also in a short period lessen from year to year, the world in the near future will be compelled to draw upon the treasury stock that we must accumulate if we enter upon free coinage.

It is the aim of wise statesmanship, as well as husbandry, to lay up wealth for a rainy day.

RICHARD P. BLAND.

THE PAN-AMERICAN CONFERENCE.

BY M. ROMERO, MEXICAN MINISTER TO THE UNITED STATES.

I.

ALTHOUGH the idea of assembling a congress wherein all the American nations should be represented is not a new one,—as it originated when they accomplished their independence, and was brought about in South America by its liberator, Bolivar, very heartily supported in this country by Henry Clay, then Secretary of State,—the Hon. James G. Blaine can be properly considered as the originator in this country of the movement which resulted in the recent International American Conference. He first proposed it in 1881, when he served as Secretary of State for the first time, under President Garfield's administration. He then limited the object of such a conference to the negotiation of an agreement for the purpose of settling by arbitration all differences that might arise between American nations.

The change of administration which soon afterwards took place, following the assassination of President Garfield, caused this idea to be abandoned, as at that time it had not been well received. Chili was engaged in a war with Peru and Bolivia, and some thought that the proposed conference was an attempt to interfere in that difficulty. Mexico also received it very coolly, for she had then a boundary question pending with Guatemala, and Mr. Blaine had proposed that the President of the United States should arbitrate thereon. But, unfortunately, the way in which he made the offer indicated an opinion unfavorable to the rights of Mexico, which were based on undeniable historical facts; and for this and other reasons the proposal was not accepted. The idea remained latent in this country, however, and it was revived under President Cleveland's administration, although without any intervention on his part. It was brought forward in the House of Representa-

tives by Mr. McCreary, a distinguished Democratic Representative from Kentucky, and in the Senate by Mr. Frye, the distinguished Republican Senator from Maine. These facts show that it was not taken up as a political measure, since it was supported by both the parties which have struggled for the ascendency in this country. President Cleveland's administration did not second the proposal in an active manner; all it did was not to oppose it.

The personal views of the new promotors of the project were not limited to arbitration, but embraced every subject which might affect the relations of the United States with the other American republics. To avoid opposition, it was necessary to accept new suggestions which came up during the discussion of the bill. Finally, the act of May 24, 1888, embraced eight different subjects which the Conference was called upon to consider, some of them covering even four branches.

From this plain statement of facts it appears that Mr. Blaine had nothing to do with the enactment of the law which convened the Conference, and therefore he is not, and cannot be, responsible for the form in which it was finally approved.

As this law was passed, during a Democratic administration, by a Congress with a Democratic majority in the House of Representatives, although the Republican party had control of the Senate, it was natural that it should embrace several of the principles contained in the platform of the dominant party, as, for instance, those referring to the development of foreign trade and to a silver coin of uniform fineness and weight to be a legal-tender in all the American nations. It was natural, too, that the delegates of the United States, appointed by a Republican administration, should represent the protection principles of that party, and that, therefore, they would not be eager to accept the measures concerning the development of foreign trade, and would look with concern on the coining of silver into legal-tender money. This is owing to the diversity of political and economic views in the two parties which control this country, and which from time to time attain ascendency; and it happens sometimes that one house of Congress is controlled by one party and the other house by the other party. For these reasons, and from the frequent rotation of political parties in the government of the United States, it is very difficult to carry out successfully any

complicated affair which requires complete continuity of views and efforts on the part of all the branches of the government for any length of time.

It may be assumed that, as a general rule, the Latin-American nations, except, perhaps, the Central American states, and two or three of the South American, looked with distrust on the meeting in Washington of an International American Conference, fearing that its object might be to secure the political and commercial ascendancy of the United States on this continent, to the disadvantage of those nations; but this distrust did not go so far as to make them refuse the invitation. Fortunately, when they were invited, there was no serious question pending between the Latin-American states which could prevent their acceptance, as was the case when a conference was suggested in 1881. The invitation was therefore accepted by all the American nations, with the sole exception of San Domingo, which gave as her reason that she thought it unnecessary to be represented in the Conference, because a commercial reciprocity treaty made with the United States in 1884 had not been ratified by this government. Chili declared her acceptance so far as economic questions were concerned, but stated that she would take no part in political questions or arbitration.

Mexico, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Colombia, Venezuela, Peru, Chili, the Argentine Republic, and Brazil accredited as delegates to the Conference their ministers resident at Washington; Colombia, Venezuela, the Argentine Republic, and Brazil each sent two more delegates, while Mexico and Chili had each only one more; all the other republics were represented by one delegate each. The delegates from Honduras, Ecuador, and Bolivia were, besides, accredited near the United States government as envoys extraordinary, and those from Chili and Brazil had a similar character before the Conference. The representatives of Salvador, Costa Rica, Paraguay, and Uruguay came only as delegates, as did also the first representative from Hayti. The Uruguayan delegate was the only one who left before the close of the session. The first delegate from Hayti was obliged to return home on account of sickness, and his place was filled by the Haytian minister resident at Washington. The delegates who were accredited as ministers at Washington found out very soon that their official relations to the United States government considerably restricted the liberty

of action enjoyed by those of their colleagues who came in a transient manner.

It has been stated that the Chilian government presented its views to the governments of the Argentine Republic and the empire of Brazil, with a view that the three nations should act in concert in the Conference, and that it had answers which it understood to mean that those governments shared its views in regard to arbitration, and that they all would stand together. Probably this was the reason why the Chilian delegates consented to take part in some discussions relating to arbitration, and did not refrain from voting on that subject, except in the last days of the Conference, when the question had assumed a definite shape and it was plain that their views in this regard were not shared by any other of the South American nations. It is probable that, if Brazil gave Chili assurances that both would act in harmony, the political change which occurred in the former in November last caused a change in its foreign policy. The Argentine delegates declared that their government had not committed itself to Chili on this question.

Although President Cleveland issued the invitation for the Conference, he refrained, out of deference to his successor, from naming the United States delegates, and their appointment was made soon after the present administration was inaugurated. These appointments have been highly censured in some quarters, because it was thought that some of the gentlemen named were not the best fitted for the mission, and some have gone so far as to imagine that their selection was an act of disrespect to the Latin-American nations. Whatever may have been the motive which governed the President of the United States in making the appointments, I am sure that he did not intend to choose as representatives of this country gentlemen of little worth ; much less to show any disrespect to the nations which he had invited to send delegates to Washington. The appointments were made in the manner usual in connection with offices of the highest rank. They were all ratified by the Senate. The gentlemen appointed represented all political parties, all sections of the country, and all branches of its industries ; and they were all very honorable gentlemen. Among them were two ex-Senators, four manufacturers, and two merchants; from which it seems that the intention was to select business men rather than diplomats.

It certainly would have been preferable if all the United States delegates had spoken Spanish and been conversant with diplomatic affairs in general, especially with those of the Latin-American nations. It would have been desirable, also, if all the Latin-American delegates had spoken English and been familiar with the United States; but the inconvenience which resulted was not essential, and was remedied in some degree by means of an interpreter. Besides, the advantage of knowing both languages was a secondary one compared with all the other qualifications of a delegate.

It is entirely useless, so far as the Latin-American nations are concerned, to inquire whether this government could have selected gentlemen better fitted for the work, because if those appointed had not the necessary qualifications, the United States was the principal sufferer from any embarrassment that resulted.

The habits and manners of the two races represented in the conference are so widely different; the urbanity of the Latin race is so exquisite, and it attaches so much importance to forms of courtesy and personal attention which, as a general rule, are somewhat disregarded by the Anglo-Saxon race, that, when they came in contact, the contrast was very apparent. It was natural that the Latin-Americans, who did not know the Anglo-Saxon Americans well, should wonder at the simplicity of their manners, which almost looked like discourtesy, and attribute to impoliteness what was only the result of different customs and ways of life. The daily intercourse of the delegates for several months dispelled this impression, which had disappeared almost completely when the Conference adjourned. There were, however, among the United States delegates several who distinguished themselves for their courtesy and conciliatory spirit, very likely because they had been somewhat acquainted with the Latin race.

It was apprehended by some, as already intimated, that the object of the United States in convening the Conference was to obtain decided political and commercial advantages over the other nations of this continent, making them almost its dependencies; and this view caused decided opposition to the project. There is nothing that can be shown to prove that this was the purpose of the United States. Its delegates did not propose in the Conference anything seemingly intended to accomplish such an end. Judging, therefore, by facts and results, these apprehensions were

entirely ungrounded. In speaking of arbitration and commercial union this will appear more plainly.

There are in South America two nations which have acquired very great importance—one on account of its great territorial extension, its immense natural sources of wealth, favored by an excellent system of navigable rivers, and its extraordinary material progress; the other by its unrivalled position on the Pacific, by possessing almost one-half of the western coast of South America, by its habits of order and labor, and by its rapid career on the road of progress. I refer to the Argentine Republic and to Chili. Although Brazil has a larger territory and population than these two nations together, the political transition which is in progress in that country prevents it, for the present, from being a centre of political combinations. The recent war on the Pacific, whose results are not yet an accomplished fact, naturally caused very great excitement. It was only natural that the nations which were conquered in that war should look upon the Argentine Republic as the centre of strength to maintain the political equilibrium or *status quo;* and that, for the same reasons, they should look with distrust upon Chili and apprehend a repetition of events similar to the war of 1879–1883. It was natural, too, that this political excitement, which is only mentioned here, should be felt in the workings of the Conference, and it is absolutely necessary to take it into consideration to explain some of the incidents which took place in that assembly.

This conflict of political views and interests, however, did not prevent personal and official relations among the South American delegates from being so courteous and cordial that no one who was not aware of the feelings and tendencies of the various countries could perceive that differences existed among them. On almost all questions presented in the Conference they acted in accord: even the Chilian and Argentine delegates did so in the discussion about the rules and, especially, that concerning the minority report on customs union and reciprocity treaties.

Central America is too far from Chili and the Argentine Republic to take any part in their affairs, but she has a pending question of her own—the confederation of the five Central American states—which is a transcendent one, on which, it seems, they are not in complete accord, and which could not fail to influence the conduct of their representatives in the Conference. The

projected Nicaragua Canal is also a source of differences between that state and Costa Rica.

I would not convey an exact idea of the tendencies and apprehensions which prevailed in the Conference, should I omit to say that Guatemala looks at Mexico with distrust, because she imagines that the Mexican government entertains some plans against her —a supposition by no means correct. It was inevitable that this fear should also be felt in the Conference.

Mexico was, if not the only one, one of the few Latin-American nations which could properly be considered as really impartial in regard to the South American questions. On account of the immense distance which separates her from her southern sisters, and the lack of means of communication, which almost wholly prevents commercial relations with them, Mexico has no political interest in the subjects agitated in those countries. Hence she looks upon all the nations of the Southern continent as friends and sisters, and has a most cordial and sincere wish for the prosperity and welfare of each of them. Although Mexico ardently wishes that the principles of equity and justice should prevail among the American nations, and although she might disapprove of the conduct of any of them which, in her opinion, was subversive of those principles, and might even go so far as to express her disapproval, she is not called upon to take any active part in regard to questions which may arise in South America, and, therefore, she is not only neutral, but perfectly impartial.

Perhaps in the beginning this caused the Mexican delegates to be looked upon with some distrust by their colleagues, who feared that they might be disposed to interfere in the South American questions; but the impartial and friendly conduct of those delegates in regard to the sister-republics of South America ought to have satisfied them all that Mexico, so far from having any feelings or views against any South American nation, or any wish to interfere in their questions, had, on the contrary, the most sincere wishes for the preservation of their peace and the promotion of their common welfare.

One of the principal difficulties which arose in the Conference, and which, although apparently insignificant, had an influence that can hardly be appreciated, was caused by the different languages spoken by the delegates. Only one of the United States delegates, Mr. Flint, spoke Spanish; one, Mr. Trescot, could read it; but

the other delegates of the United States knew nothing of it. Several of the Latin-American members, and among them the Argentine delegates, who took such an important part in the proceedings of the Conference, did not speak English, although one of them by the end of the session understood it tolerably well. These circumstances made the services of interpreters indispensable. It is well known how difficult it is to translate a speech properly. Besides a perfect knowledge of the language in which it is delivered and of that into which it is translated, other conditions are required, which seldom are found in any one person, as, for instance, perfect familiarity with the subject matter of the speech, a very good memory, the ability not to forget any of the points made, and great facility of expression for the purpose of translating with correctness and precision, if not with elegance, the views expressed.

The difficulty of correct translations, which was felt more especially in the early sessions of the conference, caused the delegates of quick temper, when they did not understand the ideas expressed in the other language, to misinterpret them, and sometimes to consider them offensive and to give back sharp answers, which provoked sharp retorts, and not only disturbed the harmony among the delegates, but in some cases seemed even to threaten the success of the Conference.

The Conference, when organized, decided, very prudently, to frame a code of rules for its deliberations and decisions, and the committee appointed for that purpose took as a model the rules approved by the South American Congress that met in Montevideo in 1888, which had the advantage of having been put in practice successfully at that congress. Señor Quintana, an Argentine delegate, and a member of the Committee on Rules, who was also a member of that congress, was requested by the committee to prepare the rules and to support them in the discussion before the Conference.

The parliamentary practices of the Latin and the Anglo-Saxons nations being so widely different, the rules reported by the committee of seven, of whom six were Latin members and only one an Anglo-Saxon member, met with great opposition on the part of the United States delegates. A long discussion of each article, which lasted for several weeks, ensued. This discussion, which was mainly sustained by the Argentine delegates, cordially

supported by Señor Alfonso, a Chilian delegate and the chairman of the committee, showed at once the firmness of character of both sets of delegates, who were not quite disposed to accept the modifications suggested to them, especially by the United States delegates, even though these were not of much consequence. This was an indication of what was to happen later on more important subjects. The rules were finally approved substantially as they were presented by the committee.

Señor Quintana, realizing his own merit and worth, and influenced always by firm convictions, was not ready to yield in such points as might be considered of a secondary nature, as in some cases it is indispensable to do for the purpose of obtaining the cordial and spontaneous support of an assembly wherein, necessarily, different views exist. Tact, which, in such a case, consists in yielding on secondary points for the purpose of securing the principal ones,—although frequently there are differences of opinion as to which are the principal and which the secondary points,—perhaps is a characteristic of weaker minds.

Mr. Henderson, the chairman of the United States delegation, possessed somewhat similar convictions, and for this reason the discussions which had a more lively character, and sometimes went so far as to be personal, were those which took place between this gentleman and Señor Quintana. The Argentine delegates, inspired by the great progress of their country, and having no political relations and no business of any importance with the United States, showed an independence which in every case was very laudable ; but sometimes, perhaps, on account of their personal qualities, displayed an extraordinary and exquisite susceptibility. Whatever may have been disagreeable in the discussions of the Conference was disposed of, however, in a satisfactory manner by the following remark of Mr. Henderson in closing the session : "If in that freedom of speech a word of acrimony has been used, let us now consider it expunged from the record, and resolve to forget it forever."

Soon after the Conference met, some papers in this country began to attack the Argentine delegates with extraordinary and unjustifiable rudeness, even going so far as to say that they were paid agents of England for the purpose of preventing the success of the Conference. Such uncalled-for and ungrounded attacks caused, as was only natural, a strong reaction, by which the merit

of those gentlemen was brought out, and the reflections upon them were disposed of in such a successful manner that they did not appear any more thereafter. Any unpleasant feeling which these comments may have caused the Argentine delegates was, certainly, abundantly compensated for by the satisfaction they must have felt when they were so victoriously and successfully defended.

Although I realize how disagreeable it is to come down to personal matters, I think it indispensable, with a view to a better understanding of what happened in the Conference, to make some explanation of affairs of this nature. Mr. William E. Curtis, who had acted as secretary and at last as a member of the South American Commission sent out by President Arthur, in 1884, for the purpose of promoting trade with South America, was appointed by Mr. Blaine to take charge of the work preparatory to the meeting of the Conference, and especially to supervise the excursion which the government of the United States arranged in honor of the delegates. It seems that it was the wish of Mr. Curtis, and supposably it was the intent of Mr. Blaine, that he should act as secretary of the Conference ; but Mr. Curtis was not a *persona grata* to the delegates, as the publication of his book, "The Capitals of South America," had caused some dissatisfaction against him in those states, and it was said that he had made several serious errors and uncomplimentary remarks in speaking of their capitals. This would not have been strange, taking into consideration that his visit to each city was a very short one, and remembering how difficult it is under such circumstances to know and understand a country, and, still more, to write about it without making errors, which must almost always be to the detriment of the country treated of.

The Committee on Rules presented a resolution, which was approved by the Conference at its second meeting, to elect two secretaries, one to take charge of the Spanish work and the other of the English, both to be conversant with each language, and both elected directly by the Conference. The Secretary of State accepted this resolution out of deference to the Conference, notwithstanding that the law which convened the assembly gave him the appointment of all its clerks ; and his right to do this was still more clear because the salaries of the secretaries were paid by the United States government. As Mr. Curtis did not

know Spanish, he was prevented from being a secretary; Mr. Blaine then appointed him executive officer of the Conference, and he acted up to the end as chief of all the clerks. I must state here, in justice to Mr. Curtis, that during the time he served in this capacity he succeeded in dispelling many of the unfavorable views which existed regarding him.

I always thought that the excursion in honor of the delegates was barren, at least so far as the delegates were concerned. Most of them knew this country well, and those who did not could hardly form an adequate idea of it in such a rapid trip. Some of those who took an active part in the proceedings of the Conference, among them the Argentine delegates, did not join it, despite the fact that they were specially invited by Mr. Blaine; and although Señor Quintana accompanied the excursion for a few days, he returned to Washington as soon as he could. If any favorable result grew out of the excursion, it was most likely among the inhabitants of the cities visited by the delegates, on account of the good impression which may have proceeded from their personal acquaintance, although it was very superficial. This may, too, have dispelled some wrong views that had been entertained. Those who enjoyed the excursion principally were the young men, attachés of delegations, and others who joined it.

The notoriety acquired by a person who acted as Spanish secretary of the Conference makes it necessary to say a few words about him. Señor Don Fidel G. Pierra is a Cuban who has lived many years in New York, where, I understand, he has some commercial business. He accompanied the Spanish-American delegates on the excursion which preceded the Conference, as representative of the Spanish-American Commercial Union of New York, and secured their acquaintance and friendship by rendering them services as an interpreter and in other ways. The Conference elected him Spanish secretary; but, on account of his peculiar temperament and disposition, he was not able to remain very long in that place, although he had the good-will and support of the Latin-American delegates. He complained that he did not have competent clerks to assist him, and he thought the executive clerk, Mr. Curtis, was unfriendly; he also alleged that the salary assigned to him by the Department of State was not sufficient compensation for his work,

although it was higher than the salary of the Assistant Secretaries of State, and as high as the highest paid to clerks of the Conference. Finally his resignation was accepted, and since then he has sent to South American newspapers scurrillous correspondence, in which he states incorrectly several incidents connected with the Conference, and abuses the United States delegates, being thus guilty of the plainest breach of propriety.

The President of the United States fixed the 2d of October, 1889, as the date for the meeting of the Conference. Two days before, the delegates assembled in Washington, excepting those of Ecuador, Paraguay, and Hayti, who had not arrived, and held a preparatory meeting to agree upon their organization. The first question which was presented to them was the election of a president.

It is an act of courtesy, sanctioned by the example of diplomatic congresses and conferences which have met hitherto, that a representative of the inviting government, on whose territory the conference meets, should be elected president; and therefore all the delegates agreed that the president should be a member of the United States delegation. The Latin-American delegates were not in accord as to the gentleman whom they intended to elect president: some thought that Mr. Henderson, being the chairman of the United States delegation, ought to be chosen; others were disposed to vote for Mr. Trescot, because he had had great experience in diplomatic affairs, and was supposed to be better fitted for the position. Perhaps this difference of opinion determined the United States delegation to propose that the president should not be one of their own number, and to suggest that the Secretary of State should be elected, although it was said at the time that this suggestion came from President Harrison himself. A technical objection was at once presented—whether a functionary of this government who was not a member of the Conference, not being a delegate, could be made president; but this objection, which was only one of form, was happily solved, since the Secretary of State represented his country in a truer sense than the ten United States delegates together. Hence if the election was to be made for the purpose of fulfilling a duty of courtesy towards the inviting government, that duty could be most satisfactorily performed by choosing the Secretary of State, even though he were not a del-

egate. On the other hand, the high position of this functionary made his election as president an act befitting the dignity of the Conference. Although several delegates objected at first to his election, all were satisfied with the foregoing explanation, excepting the Argentine representatives, who stated that they could not vote for him because he was not a member of the Conference. With a view of not casting a negative vote, they decided not to be present at the first meeting of the Conference, when the president was selected; but both of them attended the official banquet which Mr. Blaine gave on that day to the delegates. The judgment of the Argentine delegates is certainly entitled to great weight, but it is not likely that they alone were right in this matter; and if this incident involved a question of the dignity and independence of the delegates, it is not probable that only the delegates of one among the fourteen States represented in the Conference would have entertained such an opinion. If this objection had been a valid one, those presenting it would not have attended the subsequent meetings of the Conference, as they were presided over by a gentleman who, in their opinion, was not qualified to be its president.

Subsequent events, and especially those which occurred during the last meetings of the Conference, showed in a very clear manner how wise was the election of Mr. Blaine, because he was invested with full powers to negotiate with the Latin-American delegates—powers which were really broader than those of the United States delegation—and because, on the other hand, possessing exquisite tact and a great desire to prevent the failure of a high purpose in an assembly of which he was the promoter, he went further in order to come to an agreement with the Latin-American delegates than in all probability the United States delegation would have deemed themselves authorized to go.

M. Romero.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

THE RECENT CRISIS IN CONGRESS.

BY REGINALD F. D. PALGRAVE, C. B., CLERK OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THE editor of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW has asked me to consider an incident in the recent history of his nation—the Congressional crisis of January last—from such a point of view as may be afforded me by the thirty-six years which I have spent in the service of the House of Commons.

To meet the wishes of an eminent literary authority in the biggest English-speaking community in the world is an honor to anybody, and would be to me a pleasure, did I not justly dread the intermeddler's proverbial fate. Nor can the undoubted likeness which exists in the demeanor of all deliberative assemblies allay the feeling that an attempt to spy out the ways of Congress through a Westminster telescope may seem to be an impertinence. And such espial must place before me, close at hand, the turbid stream of party strife. To keep clear of those muddy waves is the condition of my official life—a condition quite in accord with my natural inclination.

So—in the brief description which I must attempt of the crisis of January last—to escape from personalties, a retreat will be made into the utmost impersonality. Names and dates will be cast aside ; the hated word " party " shall not be used ; and an imaginary congregation of men shall be summoned into existence, which may, by way of illustration, be called a Conclave.

The president of this Conclave shall, accordingly, be pictured duly seated in his chair ; its members are ranged around him in orderly session ; but still, despite these excellent appearances, the Conclave is a Conclave only in show.

The action of the assembly has been paralyzed by resort to a kind of practical joke ; and, as the actors in a performance

must somehow be distinguished, the men who reduced the Conclave to stagnation may be styled the jesters; whilst their opponents are the serious ones. Naturally enough, the serious ones are serious and angry, and the more so because their adversaries constructed their excellent jest out of the ordinary business arrangements of the Conclave.

To guard against a chance or sudden vote, to secure that each decision shall fully represent the opinion of the assembly, this regulation had been established. Under its provisions, when the members were required to give their votes of "yea" and "nay," the Conclave could not arrive at a valid decision; it could not accept or reject a resolution unless the record of the Conclave showed that at least one-half of its members were present. If the hall of the Conclave did not on such an occasion contain the requisite complement of members, every proceeding was null and void. This regulation was to the jesters their vantage-ground. Whenever acted upon, victory was theirs if they could keep the record of the members sitting in Conclave below the prescribed number.

The jesters accordingly put the rule into operation. They insist that the votes shall be recorded. The serious ones duly answer to the roll-call of their names. The jesters, on the contrary, remain silent: they refuse to vote. The action of the Conclave is thereby at once dead-locked. The serious ones cannot muster amongst themselves the requisite one-half of the Conclave; they are, therefore, powerless; the Conclave is powerless: the more motions they make, the more it remains immovable.

Like those skilful tormentors, the Galilean children in the market-place, the jesters pipe their brethren into the dance; they then sit still and decline to make up the set. So the jesters kept their places in the Conclave hall. They sat there whilst they rejoiced over the witty device of benumbing by their torpidity their serious playfellows.

Whether the result be to him an offence or a gratification, it is the bounden duty of any president over a deliberative assembly to maintain its freedom of action; to keep it on the march, whatever way it may go. The president of our "stickit" Conclave did his duty. He entered into the joke; he checkmated the jesters by their own device; he converted their torpidity into motive power. They gave him the opportunity. Again he put the question from the chair; again they demanded

the call of the yeas and nays; again they kept silence; but he spoke out.

The president rose up and reminded his hearers that whilst they were in the hall of the Conclave they were of the Conclave; that they could not, by refusing to vote, unclothe themselves of their membership; and accordingly he directed that the names of all present, both of the voters and of the non-voters, the serious ones and the jesters, should be enrolled upon the record. The entry was made; the proceeding was enforced by the requisite number of members; by the needful one-half of the congregation. He had driven the jesters into the game; he made them set the Conclave in motion; he made them dissolve the deadlock which they had created.

The jesters in their turn were powerless. They contended that the men of renown, "the masters of the assembly" who shaped the ark of the Constitution into being, intended that the record of the Conclave should contain the names only of the voters, and that to include the non-voters was a constitutional impertinence, a new and violent interpretation of the rules and regulations of the assembly. But the jesters could not deny their membership. They were occupying their appointed places in the hall of Conclave; they must, therefore, be Conclavists. If so, who could forbid the entry of their names upon the record?

Nor did the president act without authority drawn from a region far from his sphere of influence. In the claim which he made, that he must see and take note of those Conclavists who sought the modest seclusion of non-voting invisibility, he saw as he ought to see and acted as he ought to act, in the opinion of the English judicial bench. Precursors of our friends the jesters have, from time to time, appeared at the council boards of our own "Little Pedlingtons" that lie scattered over the face of England. Seduced by the crafty wiliness of the parochial mind, the village magnate also sought to be, at the same time, a nobody and a vestryman. He refused to vote, and thought thereby to escape the responsibilities of his high office. But our judges emphatically condemned, by a series of decisions ranging over some hundred years, the subtleties natural to the vestryman; and they declared that when he sat in solemn session he could not "be deemed absent" from the board by sheltering himself in the obscurity of a donothingarian.

Acting as he did in complete accord with the traditions of the presidential chair, justified as he was by judicial sanction, un doubtedly the stiff dose of common-sense by which the president stimulated the Conclave into vitality was a violent remedy. And a need for violent remedies and the irritation which they provoke are indications that some mischief is at work throughout the body politic; that some bad habit exists, which, though utilized by contending factions, is not of their creation, and for which all alike are responsible.

Party strife, therefore, forms no ingredient in the conclusion at which I have arrived, and free speech is permissible to me. I therefore, though an insular outsider, assert that the mischief which caused that Congressional crisis sprang from the flabby treatment of their voting power which seems habitual to the representatives of the United States.

A variety of attendant circumstances, functional, financial, emotional, and constitutional, conspire to degrade and pauperize that impressive power over the popular imagination which Congress ought to exert in the highest exercise of its authority—the declaration of its judgment by the final and formal vote.

Among these circumstances exists one apparently remote, but which has, all the same, an immediate and hourly influence. The demeanor of Congress in every-day session, and especially in the discharge of its vote function, is injuriously affected by the payment allotted to its members. In return for money down they must come down daily and attend assiduously in Congress hall. They duly obey; but obedience to a law can never rival, in grace and acceptability, the willing, unforced discharge of duty. Compulsory attendance must differ essentially in its nature from voluntary attendance. Enforced presence is uniform, mechanical, prosaic. A free presence is enhanced by the attractiveness of freedom, and derives an interest even from the play of accident.

In the exercise of the vote function the essential difference which exists between compelled and uncompelled service is specially apparent. The law which requires the daily presence of its members takes all elasticity and spontaneity of action out of the vote function of Congress; it brings the whole mass and force of Congress to bear equally on things both great and small; the volume of the vote cannot rise and fall with the fervor of the occasion. The moral effect of a "big division" which draws

members to Westminster from all parts of the empire, and the excitement of a snap division during Ascot week, alike are withheld from Congress by the law of compulsory attendance. Neither the animation of animosity nor the seductions of the race-course can affect the hired uniformity of that monotonous state machine. Even in mere variety there is interest; interest and excitement are the necessities of political life; and most of all does the dreary routine of Congress need the stimulus both of accident and of the fancy. To arrest the attention of the world outside, a political battle, more than any other battle, should be enlivened by the roar and rush of a grand final explosion. Under the vote-taking method adopted by Congress the fiercest contest there fizzles off in a dull alphabetical roll-call of its members, in a succession of single shouts of yea and nay as they answer to their names from A to Z.

Nor is any attempt made to heighten the effect of this unimpressive performance. The vote takes place in a vast hall, free to the entrance of some 2,000 spectators; the "rear area" and the "aisles" are thronged; a motley crowd of actors and of onlookers, "of members, ex-members, and no members," walk and talk, heedless of the fact that Congress is engaged in deciding on the fate of the sixty-five millions whom it represents. The solemnity of the occasion is thrust out of sight and apparently out of mind.

The ceremony of the vote by the call of yea and nay, moreover, exposes Congress to worse evils than a lack of dignity. It facilitates—it provokes—indecisive, even shifty, courses.

To obtain a clear, unbiassed decision, it is essential that the decision should be in delivery as instantaneous as possible. Vacillation is a danger which attends a decision pronounced in instalments; and to this uncertainty a vote by driblets is equally exposed. As the call of the members' names passes onward from the A's to the central letters of the alphabet, their replies disclose the growing result; but until the Z's are reached the final result is undetermined. This season of uncertainty is a season of temptation. Of desertion during a contest human frailty is capable: to side with the victorious to some men seems a duty. And that sympathy with the weaker members of the congregation which distinctly influences Congress has induced that body to give express sanction to this temptation.

Empowered both by practice and by precedent, a member of Congress, on the call of yeas and nays, "has the right to change his vote before the decision of the question has been finally pronounced by the chair." Thus licensed, whilst the call is in progress, the Hon. P. P. C., who began the contest as a yea, can bid good-bye to his comrades and transform himself into a nay, if he perceives, as the call ranges over the alphabet, that the yeas will undoubtedly lose the day.

The sooner such an Hon. Member as the Hon. P. P. C. leaves his farewell card on Congress, the better would it be both for him and his constituents.

No lax or indecorous treatment of his vote is possible to a member of the House of Commons: his virtue is guarded by the serjeant's lock and key. The mode of taking the final decision of the House, though cumbrous, is stringent. There is no lingering, no listlessness, when the Commons proceed to a division. The electric bells clatter and jangle with no uncertain sound. Strangers are ejected; the doors are locked. Even the narrow dimensions of the House impart dramatic force and fervor to the scene. When a stand-or-fall division takes place, the aspect of the thronged and restless room, packed with impatient voters, bespeaks the stress and pressure which have driven them together. The sound-volleys of answer and retort, which respond to the Speaker's clear ringing voice, are sharp and solid: in two solid lumps the members troop towards the division lobbies. No one knows for a certainty the result of his vote; no one can change his vote. If, in answer to the Speaker's challenge, the most pronounced aye accidentally called out no, a No he must be, and as a No he is numbered. If a No strays into an aye lobby, an Aye he will perforce remain.

Nor is evasion of the vote possible. Every single unit in the crowd which fills the House is forced, by locked doors and by the authority of Parliament, to take his part in the contest. The form and manner of a division, the moral and physical conditions of the process, deny existence to a shabby, half-hearted neutral. Those who might incline to try the sitting-down game are fundamentally squeezed out of their seats. That game was tried once, some years ago, but the trick failed ignominiously.

During this very session members of a select committee of first-class distinction, themselves most distinguished, were

tempted to adopt the sickly attitude of the vote-abstainer; but this attitude was no more permissible in the seclusion of the committee room than on the floor of the House. The "proper authority" over the committee warned them that they must either vote or withdraw themselves into the corridor.

To stiffen the responsibility of the voter is the principle which governs the usage of the House of Commons. Yet this principle is enforced by no standing order; fear of no specified penalty or punishment sends the members into the division lobbies.

On the other hand, when we look from Westminster to Washington, as if to heighten the difference in the voting methods and principles enforced by these brother-assemblies, Congress ordains by a rule as old as the United States that every member present during the call of yeas and nays "shall vote on each question put from the chair," and then by established custom Congress ignores that wholesome rule. Yet let not the House of Commons plume itself on its sagacious behavior; nor let Congress abase itself too much because of the sad contrast exhibited by its professions and its practice.

Common-sense strength is apparently the distinction of the one assembly. The feebleness of laxity obviously clings to the other. But whose is the strength, and where does the weakness lurk? Why may credit be claimed by the House of Commons, whilst penitence should be the portion of Congress?

An attempt to solve this problem establishes as a fact that disobedience by Congress to the compulsory-vote rule is as old as the rule itself. Congress evidently agreed, ever since Congress was born, to substitute the secret commandment, "Thou need not vote, if thou choosest," for the written law, "Thou shalt vote upon every question." Neither one jot nor one tittle of that precept has ever had binding force, though there that precept stands upon the roll of the law of Congress. And that the rulers of the United States Sanhedrim, despising the prophets who shaped the Sanhedrim into being, at the very first reading of that commandment cut it to shreds by the effective penknife of utter disregard, is shown in many ways.

The schemers of the game of obstruction which ripened into the Congressional crisis of January last evidently knew that the law was a sham. They foresaw that a vote could not be extracted from between their teeth. Of that unpleasant operation they had

no dread; that their jaws would not be subjected to any kind of Congressional forceps they obviously felt certain. If the compulsory-vote rule had been enforced, and had they resisted, they might have been severely punished. If they answered to the roll-call, their nays would have swelled the tale of those present in the hall above the requisite number, and the game would have ended in a trice. Yet they took their course, and they enjoyed throughout the transaction the impunity on which they had reckoned.

And the Speaker by his conduct attested the accuracy of that forecast. The compulsory-vote rule lay handy at his elbow; it afforded a ready cure for the crisis; yet there that rule lay, all through the contest, absolutely untouched; whilst to unparalyze Congress he invented a new, and therefore a disputable, proceeding. No prudent shepherd seeks for strange methods of avoiding a pitfall if he can use an accustomed door of escape. The old way is the better every way, both for him and his flock. The fact that the Speaker was driven to invent a novel engine of repression is a conclusive proof that no other resource was in his grasp. And as if to show how persistent error spreads and roots itself, the Speaker has actually placed on the journal of Congress a proof even more signal than his ruling of January last that, despite both precept and penalty, a member, if he chooses, may shirk giving his vote.

The Speaker has, by a regulation of his own drafting, sanctioned the existence of the non-voter. Quitting the sweet security of a general principle, based upon common law and common-sense, which forbids a member of Congress, sitting in session, from trying at one and the same time to be in and out of the hall, the Speaker has prescribed by rule that, when the call of yeas and nays occurs, the names of the members in the hall who do not vote shall be recorded, and shall be reckoned up into the needful number for the transaction of business. Thus he has done his best to nullify the compulsory-vote rule, and has exposed his policy to severe comment from that very able critic, "X. M. C."

The Speaker to that review makes energetic reply; but he is compelled to defend his position by falling down and making this pitiful confession. "Spare me," the Speaker cries out; "I am weak; Congress is weaker, and our sixty-five-million nation is

weaker still." Gathering strength from his very weakness, the Speaker stoutly protests that to compel an unwilling member of Congress to give his vote exceeds the powers of law, nature, art, conscience, custom—of any and every influence human or spiritual. And he backs up this assertion by confident appeals to the practice and example of the most distinguished among his predecessors in the chair, men of vast ability, "unrivalled resources," "wonderful genius"!

These be mighty protestations, but they are mighty only in show. That they are unsubstantial is proved by a glance at that room in Westminster. An evasion of the vote by a member of the House of Commons who hears the question put has never been tolerated for a moment. And why? Because the national force which creates the House of Commons would not for a moment tolerate such conduct. Indignant constituencies would call to quick and sharp account any weak-kneed politician who refused to back his opinion by his vote. Neutrality in political warfare may be permissible among our vestries, but not in Parliament. The United Kingdom would, in the punishment of such mean conduct, be united as one man.

The root and nature of the error which created the Congressional crisis of January last are now exposed. Had the error been "The Speaker's Error," or an error of the House of Representatives, I should not have ventured to intervene. But the error has such wide proportions and rests on so many shoulders that from it all personality, all partisanship, is eliminated. It is the error of the United States. By their tacit and by their active sanction, they have, during the course of many years, supported their House of Representatives in the low regard they pay to the highest duty of a citizen.

Here, then, lies the remedy. If Congress will not give vitality to the rule which directs the members to come out like men with their yea and nay, surely those who sent them to the hall of the House might impart vitality to Congress. Had they done so ere now, the legislative assembly of "a continental nation of 65,000,000 people" would not have been injured and annoyed by a device beneath the tactics of the most radical vestryman in effete old England.

REGINALD F. D. PALGRAVE.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

I.

THE REWARDS OF LITERATURE.

IF THE journalists of the United States care to advance the cause of the Copyright League, they can assist it somewhat by simply discontinuing a piece of foolishness that has already run too long. The literary guild, like all others, contains a certain number of simpletons and fibsters. Every now and again some one of these, or some superserviceable friend of another, sets afloat a paragraph representing that for his last piece of literary work he has been paid the price of a farm or two. Large figures are always attractive, and half the journalists of the country copy these pleasant little items without testing or questioning them. I know of one writer who excites the derision of the initiated by always using the same phraseology when he originates one of these interesting bits of information about himself. His formula is this: "The largest price ever paid for a single magazine article, $——, was paid to ——, for his paper in the current number of ——." Sometimes he fills the first blank with 1,000, and sometimes with 2,000; but everybody in the business knows that he could not get, at the utmost, more than $100 for any article that he could produce. A few years ago I heard a woman of moderate, but respectable, literary reputation introduced to an audience as "the author of nine hundred stories published in *Harper's Magazine*." The lady thereupon rose gracefully and began her lecture, without contradicting or correcting the extraordinary statement as to the fertility of her pen; and the audience appeared to think it was all right, though a slight calculation would have exposed its monstrous impossibility. *Harper's Magazine* was founded only forty years ago, and to publish nine hundred of this lady's stories it would have to insert one in every number for seventy-five years. I once received a letter from a dabbler in literature in which he solemnly declared that he had been paid for his magazine articles at rates ranging from $40 to $70 per thousand words; whereupon I addressed an inquiry to half a dozen magazine editors, and learned, as I had expected, that he would be fortunate if he found a market for his productions at $10 per thousand.

The latest instance of this mathematical romancing that I have seen is a paragraph in a recent number of *The Writer*, a bright and generally well-edited periodical, which ought not to make any serious mistake on those subjects to which it is specially devoted, yet which publishes this: "Mr.——has just sold the right to publish his new novel,——, to the —— Publishing Company, for $10,000, the largest sum paid for any recent work of fiction." The editor of *The Writer* ought to know that one may flatly contradict and disprove such a statement without consulting either the author or the publisher of the book. A royalty of 10 per cent. of the retail price is the basis of all contracts between publisher and author, and the terms seldom vary much from that figure. If a publisher buys outright the manuscript of a book, he fixes the price at something less than the amount he thinks it would probably earn for the author if published on a royalty. The author mentioned in the paragraph just quoted is a bright and racy newspaper contributor, but is not known as a novelist. Let us suppose that the publisher, for some powerful reason, is willing to pay him double royalty. His novel in the present state of the book trade must be issued in paper covers, at a price not greater than fifty cents. This paragraph, then, affirms that a publishing house has been discovered which will pay in advance double royalty on an assumed sale of 100,000 copies (or the usual royalty on 200,000) for a novel by a writer who has no reputation as a novelist! The works of light literature written in the United

States that have attained a sale of 100,000 copies do not exceed seven, and the novel in question will do remarkably well if it has one-tenth of that circulation.

There is a widespread belief among people of average intelligence and information that to write a single successful book is to make an independent fortune; and the publication of these silly paragraphs leads to the production of innumerable worthless stories, which enormously increase the labors of editors who read manuscripts, and return only bitter disappointment to the writers. Furthermore, just at this time there is danger that Congressmen, reading what handsome sums are paid to authors and believing the statements to be true, will think it a justification for voting against any international copyright law. The author of a good book ought to be handsomely rewarded, and we all heartily wish that such prices as have been mentioned could be obtained; but those who are in the business know perfectly well that such prices are not paid, and could not be; and if American journals will simply cease to copy these boastful paragraphs, they will confer a benefit upon every honest literary worker. ROSSITER JOHNSON.

II.

CAN GOLD BE MANUFACTURED?

"WITH the gods and the chemists all things are possible," said the illustrious chemist, Hofmann. Nor does the statement seem much overdrawn when one considers the stupendous results obtained during the last quarter of a century by chemical investigators. The extraordinary researches of Newlands, Mendelejeff, and Meyer have shown that the atomic weights of the chemical elements, of which all matter is composed, occupy definite and unchangeable positions in a geometric figure, and that the properties of matter may be considered as mathematical functions of numbers. These discoveries throw open for investigation a territory that contains treasures beyond the power of the imagination to describe. Welsbach, following these investigators, split up the metal didymium into two other elements, proving—what had long been suspected by chemists—that some of the heavy metals could be resolved into simpler elements had we the requisite forces wherewith to break them up; and, as the conclusive demonstration of his discovery, he then reunited the new elements, phræsodymium and nemodymium, and gave us back the compound substance, didymium. Crookes published a series of brilliant experiments on the metal yttrium, similarly breaking up this element into a number of substances, which he united again to reproduce the original yttrium. Last comes Gruenwald, who infers from spectroscopic investigations that all our elements can be reduced to but two primal forms of matter.

Now that this field has been opened to investigation, there can be no limit assigned to the discoveries that may follow. The forces at our control are growing daily more powerful and more manageable. Victor Meyer has been able to heat iodine until it exists in its atomic condition. What the next condition will be no one can tell.

These facts, and many others that could be given, make it probable that the so-called chemical elements are not really elements, but compounds, which in time we shall be able to separate into their constituents, and, conversely, to reproduce by combining other substances.

Among the heavy elements—and hence those that would be expected to yield to the searching attacks of the chemist—is gold. It is not improbable that in time it will become possible to make gold in large quantities—an event which would throw it out of use as a standard of value, so far as it derives its own value from its rarity. The consideration of such an event falls under two heads:

First, the value to the arts of cheap gold.

Second, the effect on civilization of making gold a common metal.

The first consideration is an obvious one. Gold would be very useful in the arts, for it is not corroded and it forms many excellent alloys. If it could be obtained in large quantities, it would probably, in a short time, aid in the production of articles that would be of far greater use to civilization then all of the available gold now is in its character as a standard of value.

The second consideration is one of general interest. Ever since the human race has existed barter has taken place, and exchanges have been conducted as best they might be by means of such a rude system. To conduct exchanges, more satisfactorily standards of value have been introduced, such as shells, beads, coins, etc. Now, in the civilized parts of the world, gold or some other rare metal is used as a standard of value. The chief reason that these metals are so used is that they combine rarity with usefulness and beauty, being obtained in quantities sufficient to keep their values about the same. Instead of gold or silver, representatives of these metals on deposit, promissory notes, or guarantees of the country's prosperity are used. But of all these forms of money gold is at present the most important; and hence if gold could be produced in large quantities, a standard of values selected because of its rarity, and from its supply about equalling the demand for it, would have to be given up.

Vox populi vox dei has been a popular and rather arrogant expression for many years, but it is not true, even though the people themselves announce it. As a matter of fact, many of the customs of to-day seem to be rather the outgrowth of ignorance in the past than of inspiration. So long as the standard of values was used simply to measure values in ordinary exchanges, the system worked fairly well; but when men began to accumulate the standard metals, they also began to control the values represented by the standards, and thus caused much suffering. For by accumulating much gold, one is able to buy up much corn and compel others to pay a higher price for it; for if those who need the corn cannot do this, they must go without it, and this often means that many must starve.

Every one seems to be able to do some valuable labor, however little, but all must toil to obtain some of the standard of value, gold, in order to obtain the necessaries of life. Many who are not well fitted for toil or endurance, but who are by no means useless, are driven to crime or dishonor, for even dishonor may have a gold value. He who has something to offer may not find a buyer, for neither he who offers nor he who would take may possess the standard of value wherewith to effect the exchange, and thus the opportunity of making a needed exchange may be lost.

Science shows that the cost of the support of life is small. Men may be fed for a few cents a day, and by the proper organization of manufactures they could be clothed for a few cents more a day. Coöperation and combination are at last beginning to be sensibly talked about, both by political economist and capitalist. The presence of hungry and destitute men ought to be considered either as an absurdity or a crime in the light of our modern knowledge. Yet about us is a slough of misery of which it is painful to think, especially when one bears in mind how little keeps one's self out of it. For the loss of eyes or hands, or a blow on the head, may mean the loss of one's ability to procure gold wherewith to buy the necessaries of life. Of course misery is very often only another name for ignorance; but even knowing this, the problem of how to do away with ignorance still remains unsolved.

The present system of a standard of value, consisting of a rare metal, has little to recommend it. It is faulty, not ingenious, inconvenient, and unfair in its working; for it allows the means to an end to be changed into the end itself. Rare articles undoubtedly possess a value due to their rarity; but this value is not intrinsic, and disappears if the articles become common. Thus the diamond has an extrinsic value because it is rare. It has an intrinsic value because of its beauty, and still more, perhaps, because it is the hardest substance known, and hence is of great value as a cutting agent. If the diamond can be made in quantity, as in due time it may, it will lose its extrinsic value as a rarity; but its intrinsic value is so great that it would be of far greater use to the world than it now is, for it would make easy many cutting operations, thus lessening the labor of producing many necessary articles, and lessening the labor of mining, the extension of which is now largely dependent on the diamond drill. Whatever true beauty it has as a gem would not be lost by its becoming less rare. Indeed, all might enjoy it if it were easier to obtain. Rarity increases relative value, but not true beauty or artistic worth.

As matters now stand, every one must be a slave to the yellow-faced king, Gold, for nothing can be done without its assistance. In spite of all arguments to the

contrary, the first object of life is to get food, and to get food one must have gold. To get this gold, work must be given in exchange. But there is no relation between the supplies of gold and work. Hence the machinery must be, and is, continually out of adjustment. As Lessing wrote in "Emilia Galotti," "Die Kunst geht nach Brod." So does everything else sooner or later. By means of gold great power is often placed in the hands of the ignorant, and much harm wrought. Anything to which a value in gold cannot be assigned is more or less without position, although it may be really of the highest value to us. Not intrinsic value, but exchange value in gold, determines the worth of objects, thoughts, or actions. Many new thoughts can thus have no value in gold. Unhappiness, misery, destitution, and crime may have their origin in this perversion of the uses of gold. It strikes the strings of human feeling till minor harmonies ring out like a devil's counterpoint on the psalm of life.

Exactly what will happen when chemists succeed in producing at will the rare metals, it is impossible to predict, but that there will be a far-reaching readjustment of values is evident. Some sort of medium or standard of value is needed in order to enable business to be transacted, but such a standard need not consist of a rare metal or other substance, whose value is in large part extrinsic. It should rather consist of some arbitrary unit of adjustment, such as are those used by scientific men. It would expand this paper far beyond its proper limits to undertake a discussion of such an adjustable standard of comparison, for it would involve a discussion of the whole subject of political economy; but it is well worth consideration, and in time will demand attention from our best minds.

PETER TOWNSEND AUSTEN.

III.

THE MANNERLESS SEX.

PERHAPS it were best to say at once that woman is referred to under this title, that the reader may not remain one moment in doubt which sex is meant. The phrase, "the gentler sex," is, I consider, a most misleading one as applied to women, and I have been led to assume as a result of my personal observations that the title given to this paper is, on the whole, the most purely descriptive of woman.

I am very well aware that to declare an absence of good manners in woman is to run decidedly counter to received opinion on the subject; but I maintain that this same "received opinion" is founded on a basis that is very largely imaginary. The world has been told for so long a time that it is woman who supplies the restraining, softening, and refining influences at work in human society, that it has in great measure come to believe the assertion most implicitly, even in the face of a strong current of testimony setting quite the other way. Men believe it, or affect to believe it, from considerations of gallantry. Women believe it without question.

It is my purpose here to assert that, however great an influence may be exerted in behalf of the conservation of manners by exceptional women, the statement that woman in general is the refiner of manners is, in any large sense, an utterly false one. Furthermore, I have no hesitation in declaring that the code of manners followed in public by the average woman is disgracefully inconsiderate, superlatively selfish, and exasperatingly insolent; such a code, in fact, as would not remain in force among men in their intercourse with one another for one half-hour.

Regarding the rudeness of women in their intercourse with the world at large, I shall refer, in passing, to a few forms of it which have doubtless forced themselves upon the attention of very many persons who can readily furnish illustrations drawn from their own experience:

First—The indifference with which a woman will contemplate the fact that the convenience of others has been sacrificed to her caprice. Very observable in *young* women.

Second—The needless delay a woman often causes in making her appearance when visitors have called upon her. Most commonly noticed among women who are no longer classed as girls.

Third—The unwillingness of a woman to wait for another to finish speaking before beginning to speak herself. Characteristic of nearly all women.

Fourth—Woman's failure to recognize the importance of an engagement. Most noticeable among women who have the fewest social duties.

The rudeness of women to men is, for reasons which will be sufficiently obvious to the discerning reader, less common than that of women to each other, but it is too frequent to be suffered to pass without comment in this place.

The behavior of women in the horse-cars has received in certain particulars rather more attention than I think it has deserved. The charge has often been brought against women that they have accepted seats in the cars without acknowledging the courtesy of the men who rose up to accommodate them; but, so far as my observation goes, the charge is not wholly borne out by the facts, although the man who has given up his seat usually fails to hear the acknowledgment in his haste to escape to the car platform. Something might be said against the custom practised by many women of entering a car filled with men and relying on the gallantry of the occupants to give up their seats, instead of waiting for a car offering better seating capacity; but until railway authorities provide better accommodations it will not do to be strenuous on this point. Much more might be justly said against a favorite custom with many women, which consists in delaying an open car for several moments while they debate which one of two or more shall enter the car first. What does it matter to them if the men on board are in haste to get to their business? They have the satisfaction of knowing that every one on the car has lost one or more minutes by their senseless, amiable wrangling.

Let us look at a more flagrant instance of woman's rudeness toward her fellow-man. We will suppose ourselves in a railway station in which a number of men are in line before the ticket window. A woman enters and, instead of taking her place at the foot of the line, goes to the front at once and informs the agent that she wants a ticket to Evercrech Junction by way of East Cato. Sometimes she adds that she is in a great hurry. She either cannot or will not understand why she is sent to the foot of the line, and when she arrives before the ticket window again, she becomes voluble over her grievance, and, after securing her ticket, remains to ask a number of questions, the answer to any one of which she might learn from the railway time-table she holds in her hand, or from the porters at train doors. That any one is waiting behind her whose time is presumably as precious as her own is nothing to her, and if asked by the agent to make room for the next person, she is overwhelmed by what she terms his impertinence.

There is not a person who reads this who cannot recall similar scenes, I am very sure. At the post-office or any other place where the invariable rule is "first come first served," woman endeavors to reverse this rule in her own favor, and, failing to secure this reversion at times, she sets down the fact to man's lack of gallantry.

Towards men of a rank which woman considers beneath her own she is often shamefully inconsiderate or shockingly impertinent. I have more than once in English railway stations seen porters, while staggering under the burden of heavy trunks, stopped by women who kept them standing several moments while they put to the unfortunate victims questions which would much better have been asked of the station master or of unemployed porters close at hand. But what of that? It is the duty of porters to be civil when questioned, no matter what Atlas-like load is crushing their shoulders. Then, too, I have witnessed American women browbeating persons whom they termed their "tradespeople" in a manner which would have resulted in their being knocked down had they been men, and which made one regret the desuetude of the ducking-stool which they richly deserved.

It were useless to multiply instances in illustration for this part of my subject. To put it briefly, a very great number of women in their relations with men presume upon the privileges of their sex, the degree of presumption depending very often upon the rank of the persons with whom they are brought into contact.

Perhaps the most common example of the ill manners shown by women to each other is the habit, in which they seem to take much delight, of saying spiteful little things to one another. Du Maurier has lately satirized this trait very cleverly. The sisters Tiptylte are represented in his drawing as taking a sociable cup of tea with their friend, Miss Aquila Sharpe. On their informing her that they mean to attend

Mrs. Masham's fancy ball as Cinderella's ugly sisters, wearing false noses on that occasion, Miss Sharpe commends their plan as most excellent, but adds: "But why false noses?" The artist's satire will not be called exaggerated by any one who has noted the unfeeling, spiteful onslaughts with which most women diversify their intercourse with one another.

But it is when fair woman goes a-shopping that she becomes least admirable. Then her hand is raised against every woman who crosses her path. From the moment she pushes open the swinging doors of the first retail shop she enters, and lets them fly back into the face of the woman behind her, till she reaches her home again, she has laid herself open at every turn to the charge of bad manners. She has in her progress made tired clerks spend hours in taking down goods simply for her amusement, when she has not the smallest intention of purchasing from them She has made audible comments upon "the stupidity and slowness of these shop girls." She has swept off from loaded shop counters with her draperies more than one easily-damaged article, which she has scorned to pick up and replace. She has jostled against other women and met their indignant looks with a stony, not to say insolent, stare. She has needlessly blocked the way when others wished to pass her. She has carried her closed umbrella or sunshade at an angle that was a perpetual menace to any woman who came near her. She has put up her glass and stared haughtily through it at the gown of the woman next her at the bargain-counter. In her shrill, penetrating voice, she has discussed in the most public places gossip reflecting more or less injuriously upon other people. She has, in short, done very little that she should have done, and very, very much that she ought not to have done; yet she returns from it all with a serener conscience than a mediæval saint coming home to the convent after a day particularly well filled with meritorious deeds. She will tell you complacently that a man can never learn to shop like a woman. And man can never be too thankful for his inability in this particular direction.

It is needless labor to recount in detail instances of woman's rudeness to her fellow-woman. They can be supplied from the reader's own experience in numbers great enough to justify the truth of the assertions made in this paper, and I have no desire to dwell at length on the subject.

I do not mean to declare in broad terms that man is mannerly while woman is not, for I observe with regret in many of my own sex an indifference to the rudimentary courtesies which is fatal to their reputation for good manners, and I recognize in many women a watchfulness for the rights of others, a gentleness in the assertion of their own, that deserve a respect little short of veneration. What I do insist upon, however, is this: that in public the average woman shows an inconsiderateness, a disregard for the ordinary courtesies of existence (which amounts sometimes to positive insolence), to a degree which is not anywhere nearly approached by the average man.

The reason for this difference in the behavior of men and women I do not propose here to discuss. I will not say, for instance, that man is altruistic and that woman is selfish, because I do not believe in any such putting of the case. But I leave for others the task of pointing out the causes of this difference between men and women, and indicating, if they will, the remedy for the present state of affairs, and content myself in this article with a brief presentation of the subject, in the hope that its healthy discussion may induce a reform in the public manners of our sister-woman.

OSCAR FAY ADAMS.

IV.

CHILD-SAVING LEGISLATION.

ONE of the most interesting phases of social advancement in this country in recent years is the legislation for the protection of children. Such legislation has two aspects. Its first purpose is the amelioration of the conditions of child life among the pauper and criminal class, the protection of children from all forms of cruelty and misuse, from motives of humanity. All statutes prohibiting the employment of children under twelve years of age, or in severe or dangerous vocations, as rope-walkers, acrobats, gymnasts, circus-riders, or for indecent exhibitions, or for

begging or playing musical instruments upon the streets, dancing or acting in theatres, or the overworking of them in factories, or the infliction of extreme punishments, have this purpose.

The second and ultimate object is the protection and preservation of society. That pauperism and crime are the result of heredity and association is no longer doubted. To cope effectually with these evils we must begin at the source. The power of the State must be interposed, and the children taken away from parents or guardians who do not properly care for and educate them, or who keep them in surroundings which degrade them.

It is a vulgar supposition that the parent has some natural property in his children; that children "belong to their parents." Such is not the legal status of the infant. From the time of its birth the infant is a subject of the State, having an individuality separate from its parents, with distinct rights of person and property, with separate obligations to and claims upon the sovereign. The only right of the parent recognized by the law is one of guardianship. The right of custody and control of their children comes to the parents, however, not by the course of nature, not by birth or blood, but is derived from the State, and must be exercised under the authority and supervision of the State.

In all the States the custody and control of children is fixed by statute. This power of custody and control so delegated by the State cannot be transferred or delegated without the consent of the State through its proper courts. A parent cannot give away his child or confer upon another any legal right to its custody or control.

From time immemorial the king in his court of chancery has been the protector of the persons and estates of all the infants in the kingdom, and this power has been conferred upon courts of chancery which sit as the representatives of the sovereign. The jurisdiction is founded in the prerogative of the crown and in its general power and duty, as *parens patriæ*, to protect those who have no other lawful protector. Accordingly, courts of chancery have exercised the jurisdiction to take the custody of children away from parents, or from one parent to give it to the other, and, without regard to the parental rights, but looking only to the welfare of the child, to place it where it will receive good care, education, and moral training. Parents are intrusted with the custody of the persons and the education of their children upon the natural presumption that the children will be properly taken care of and brought up with a due education in literature, morals, and religion, and that they will be treated with kindness and affection. But whenever this presumption is removed, and it is found that a father is guilty of gross ill-treatment or cruelty toward his infant children, or that his domestic associations are such as tend to the corruption and contamination of his children, the court of chancery will interfere, and deprive him of their custody and appoint a suitable person to act as guardian, care for them, and superintend their education.

On a first impression this jurisdiction of courts of chancery would seem to be a sufficient shield and refuge for children, but although this power of courts of chancery has existed in every State, and the facts upon which it might have been justly exercised have existed in numberless cases, yet the jurisdiction has not been invoked.

Practically there are two points of failure. First, there is no officer, person, or body charged specifically with the duty of investigating and prosecuting the cases. Secondly, as such children have no estates out of which they may be maintained and educated, the court cannot find a guardian who will undertake the task at his own charge. Experience in such cases shows that it is difficult to induce neighbors to prosecute. The fear of revenge, the reluctance to attend court, a common belief that a child "belongs" to a parent, who has a right to do as he pleases with it, and sympathy for a mother deprived of her child, however depraved she may be, are prevailing motives which hinder the prosecution of such cases, and unless there is some person specially interested in pushing them, nothing will be done. The number of persons who will not only give the time and incur the annoyances, but also undertake a liability for court costs, pay counsel fee, and find a suitable person to act as guardian and maintain the child or children in such cases, is exceedingly small.

The States of Michigan and Indiana are experimenting with statutes passed at recent sessions of their respective legislatures. The Indiana statute creates a board of six persons, three men and three women, appointed by the circuit court of the county, serving without pay, called "The Board of Children's Guardians." This board has the power to take under its control children under fifteen years of age who are abandoned, neglected, or cruelly treated by their parents; children begging on the streets; children of habitually-drunken or vicious and unfit parents; children kept in vicious or immoral associations; children known by their language and life to be vicious or incorrigible; juvenile delinquents and truants. It provides a temporary home, where such children may be maintained and educated. Under order of the court such children may be indentured as apprentices, or be adopted without the consent of the parents, by the consent of the board, filed in the circuit court; or such children may be in any manner disposed of as the circuit court shall direct.

This board files a petition in the circuit court setting forth the facts, and the court issues a writ for the custody of the child, which is served upon the parent or person having actual custody of the child, or, if the child is under no actual custody, then upon the child itself; and upon this writ the board takes and keeps the child at the temporary home of the board until the final order of the court upon such petition. The parent, or person having custody of the child, has the right to call witnesses and be heard as to his or her right, fitness, and ability to care for and educate such child. If the statutory causes exist, the court orders that the child be committed to the custody of the board. The county pays twenty-five cents per day for each child in the care of the board, the remainder of the expense being made up by private contributions. The first board appointed under this new law for the city of Indianapolis organized for business April 6, 1889. The following is a statement of the work of the board up to November 30, 1889:

Number of complaints investigated by board			87
" children involved			166
" cases filed in circuit court			50
" " won by board	21		
" " lost "	12		
" " settled by agreement upon a proper guardian	6		
" " where parents have fled from the jurisdiction taking children	6		
" " filed but not yet tried	5		
		—	50
" children involved in cases filed			87
" " placed in board's care	34		
" " discharged	24		
" " placed with proper guardians by agreement	11		
" " fled from jurisdiction	9		
" " not yet finally disposed of	9		
		—	87
" " committed to board			34
" " sent to homes	9		
" " at Children's Home	14		
" " at orphan asylums	4		
" " at House of Good Shepherd (reformatory)	3		
" " died	2		
" " adopted	2		
		—	34
Amount expended by board			$992.01

Owing to the delays caused by want of funds and other causes, this board had not had more than five months of effective work. It proposes to find homes for the children as rapidly as possible, and not to keep them longer than absolutely necessary in the receiving institution.

From what has been said it will be perceived that the Indiana statute was drawn with direct reference to the chancery jurisdiction, the principal aim being to provide a body charged with the duty of prosecuting the cases, and also to supply a body to act as guardians and custodians of such children.

The Michigan statute was drawn from a project for a law upon this subject, which was pending before the French Chamber of Deputies, and from an extensive

report on the subject by Senator Roussel. Every child under sixteen years of age who is ill treated by parent or guardian may be removed from such parent or guardian. An ill-treated child is declared to be one who is permitted to engage in public exhibitions as a gymnast, acrobat, or rider, in begging or in any occupation injurious to health or dangerous to life, or for any indecent, obscene, or immoral purpose, or to be in any dance-house, saloon, or variety theatre, or to engage in the sale of obscene books or papers or police reports; one whose parents or guardians permit the health of such child to be injured or endangered by exposure, want, or injury to his person, or permit him to engage in any occupation that will endanger his health or life or deprave his morals; one whose parents or guardians are habitual drunkards, prostitutes, thieves, or beggars. A sworn complaint must be filed before the probate judge, who issues a writ for the custody of the child. A hearing is had, and a jury of six may be demanded by the accused to find the facts. Upon a finding against the parent or guardian, the judge may appoint a suitable guardian for the child, who shall have the custody of it, or commit the child to the State School or deliver it to the superintendent of the poor, if it is over two and under twelve years of age, or not sound in mind or body, to be indentured to some suitable person or provided for by the county like other poor persons.

This act lacks one of the essentials referred to above—namely, the duty of executing it is not placed upon a particular person. Most of the powers, if not all of them, resided in the courts of Michigan before the passage of the act, but they were never invoked. It may be that, with the attention of the people drawn to the matter by the discussion and passage of the statute, some cases will be prosecuted and some good be done; but observation convinces me that thorough, effective work will be accomplished only by charging somebody with that special duty. The right to trial by jury is entirely superfluous, and will prove a hindrance to the effective administration of the statute. Such cases belong to the equitable jurisdiction. They are intrusted to the conscience and wisdom of the chancellor. They require the intelligence, wisdom, and firmness of a chancellor, and not the ignorant sympathy or prejudice of a petit juror.

Both these statutes lack a provision to compel the delinquent parents to contribute to the support of the child taken from them. How to make such a measure enforceable, unless the parents have property, is a difficult problem yet to be solved.

In Massachusetts a statute enacted in 1882 provides that selectmen of towns of 5,000 inhabitants shall appoint persons to make complaint concerning children under sixteen years of age who, by reason of the neglect, criminal conduct, drunkenness, or other vices of parents, or from orphanage, are without parental control and education and liable to lead idle and dissolute lives. A judge of a superior court or of a police, district, or municipal court, or a trial justice, may order such a child to an institution to be provided by the town, or the child may be committed to the custody of the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. If the parents reform, such child may be returned to them.

A statute enacted by the State of New York in 1886 confers upon societies for the prevention of cruelty to children the right to prosecute delinquent parents and to become guardians of children. Such societies are, however, voluntary corporations. Their number and efficiency in the city of New York is peculiar to that place, and there is, perhaps, no other city in this country where the same work could be so effectively carried on by voluntary private effort. The value of their work can be appreciated somewhat from the showing that, although the population has more than doubled in the last twelve years, and the number of arrests increased 8½ per cent., the number of children arrested for petty larcenies decreased from over 1,000 to about 300 a year, and about the same rate of decrease is observable in the arrests for juvenile delinquencies.

Other States are studying these laws and observing their operation, with a view to adopting similar statutes. It is along these lines that the best preventive of pauperism and crime will finally be worked out.

CHARLES MARTINDALE.

Seventy-Sixth Year. Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur. Vol. 151: No. 4.

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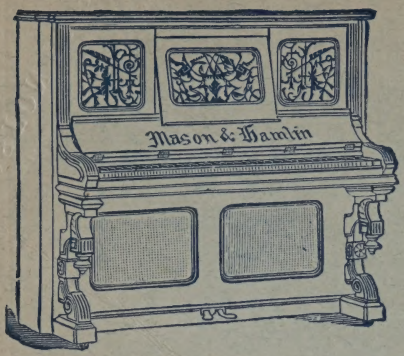

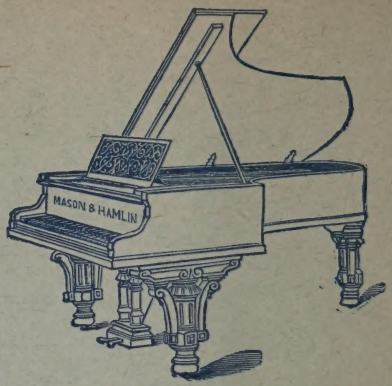

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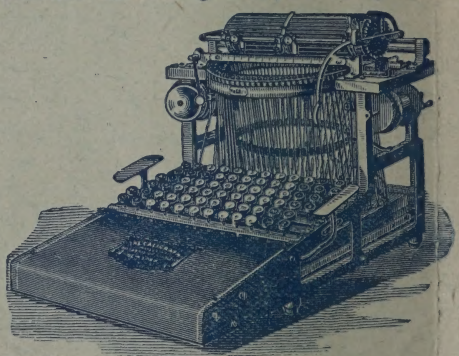

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OCTOBER, 1890.

A WORD AS TO THE SPEAKERSHIP.

BY JAMES BRYCE, M. P., AUTHOR OF "THE AMERICAN COMMONWEALTH."

THE editor of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW has asked me to take some part in the interesting controversy which has been carried on in several recent numbers of THE REVIEW upon the functions of the Speaker of the House of Representatives, upon the action of the present Speaker in counting members present, but not voting, for the purposes of a quorum, and upon certain changes that have been recently made in the rules of the House. This is an undertaking which I must respectfully decline, not merely because it involves matters of party dispute in the United States, wherewith a stranger ought not to intermeddle, but also because it raises fine points of constitutional law on which it would be presumptuous for a stranger to pronounce an opinion. All I can attempt is to state some considerations regarding the nature of the Speaker's office and the best modes of dealing with obstruction, or, as it is called in America, "filibustering," which are suggested by the recent experience of the British Parliament; a body in which questions of this kind have been largely canvassed during the last ten years, and in which experiments full of interest for Americans as well as Englishmen have been tried.

The conduct of government by assemblies of men instead of by individual men is proverbially one of the most difficult things in the world. When the number of an assembly rises beyond thirty or forty, so that conversation is superseded by speech-making, the difficulty increases in proportion. When the number passes one

hundred and fifty or two hundred, a new element of trouble is introduced in the excitement produced by the sympathy of a multitude, under whose influence men will say and do things which the judgment of a single man or a small group would at once condemn. Legislation is government: a great deal of legislation in the British Parliament and a good deal even in Congress are scarcely distinguishable from executive government. To be efficient, a governing assembly must be able to economize its time. It must be able to reach a prompt decision and a clear decision—a decision which represents not a mixture of several discordant views, but that one self-consistent view which seems the best of all that have been suggested. There must, therefore, be some method of enabling an assembly to act promptly and vigorously—that is to say, of ascertaining its collective will and giving effect thereto. It was long ago perceived that the only way of determining and using the will of an assembly, in which there may be as many opinions and wills as there are individuals, is to take the will of the majority as being the will of the whole. The majority may be wrong, but presumably it is more likely to be right than the minority, and it, at any rate, represents a presumably physically-stronger mass of men. The majority, therefore, is treated as if it were the whole assembly. Its will is the assembly's will; and it becomes entitled to use all the means necessary to make its will effective by reaching prompt and clear decisions.

Nevertheless, a divided assembly cannot be treated as a unanimous assembly. The fact that there is a minority which entertains a different opinion has material consequences, and calls for some limitation of the powers of the majority. Full and fair discussion of the questions to be decided must be secured, not simply for the sake of the so-called rights of the minority, but in the interests of the whole people whom the assembly represents. It is always possible that discussion may change the views of the majority, convincing some, at least, of them that their first impressions were erroneous, and so shifting the numerical preponderance in the assembly. It is also possible that such discussion may affect opinion in the country at large, and that the time occupied by discussion may enable manifestations of opinion from outside to reach and affect the majority so as to change its views. And even if no change in the assembly results, but the majority persists in its first view, it is clearly desirable that the country

should perceive that the matter has been duly considered, objections advanced, arguments *pro* and *con* sifted, so that the minority may not go away with a rankling feeling of injustice, and that the law or act which the vote of the assembly has approved may have the better chance of being loyally accepted and obeyed by the people as a whole.

These considerations, of whose importance many illustrations could be given from English and American history, were so much regarded in England that till a very recent period no limit whatever was placed on the duration of Parliamentary debate. Speeches might be of any length, even in Committee of the Whole. Questions might be discussed for any number of hours or days. Amendments might be multiplied to any extent, so long as they did not offend against the rules by raising afresh a question already disposed of. Motions to adjourn the House, or to adjourn a debate, or to report progress when the House was in committee, were always in order. Now and then, when party feeling ran unusually high, as in the debate on the great Reform Bill of 1832, discussion was so intolerably prolonged that it passed into filibustering. But in general the good feeling of men who mostly belonged to the same social class and were in the habit of meeting one another on social occasions, the obedience of the followers to the leaders, the interest which the leaders of an opposition had in checking practices sure to annoy themselves when they in turn came into power, and, above all, the generally-diffused respect for the dignity and authority of the House, combined to prevent abuse of the great latitude which the rules allowed.

Systematic obstruction seems, in recent years, to have been first tried in 1872, when the bill for the abolition of purchase in the British army was pertinaciously, but unsuccessfully, resisted by a group of members in the interest of the officers. In 1877 and the following years it was again resorted to by a section of the members from Ireland, who found in it an effective and not unconstitutional means of calling attention to their contention that the British Parliament was unfitted to deal with Irish questions. Their opposition to the Coercion Bill brought in by Mr. W. E. Forster in 1881 was so persistent and protracted that it had to be overcome partly by the action of the Speaker in interrupting a member while actually speaking, and putting the main question on his own authority,—a proceeding for which there was no prece-

dent,—and partly by the passing of some temporary rules called "Rules of Urgency," which were used in the sessions of 1881 and 1882, but have not since been revived. However, in 1882, a new set of regulations was enacted; and among these the power of closure—called in America the "previous question"—was for the first time introduced. It was strenuously resisted by the party who were then in opposition, but when that party found themselves in power in 1887, they were obliged, by the evident impossibility of pushing through business without some means of bringing debate to an end, to enact a code of rules stricter than those of 1882. Under this code, which is that now in force, any member may move "that the question be now put," and "unless it shall appear to the Chair that such motion is an abuse of the rules of the House or an infringement of the rights of the majority," the question shall be put forthwith and decided without debate. It is, however, required that at least one hundred members shall vote in the majority for closure. The Chair has also the power to refuse to put a motion "that the House do adjourn," or "that the chairman do report progress" or leave the chair, if he thinks such motion an abuse of the rules; and he has, further, the power of calling on members who, in his opinion, frivolously or vexatiously claim a division, to rise and he counted in their places. But there is no limitation on the length of speeches or on the number of times the same member may speak in committee.

It will be noticed that under these rules the functions of the Speaker are very important. The rules of 1882 gave to him the right of informing the House if he thought the time for closing a debate had arrived, so that a motion to that effect might then be made. The rules of 1887 allow him to interpose his veto, or, rather, to refuse to put a motion actually made for ending the debate, where he thinks that the necessity for such a motion has not arisen. This provision for the interference of the Speaker is a provision unknown to Congress, and, of course, quite unknown in the earlier history of Parliament. What were the reasons which suggested it?

There was a strong repugnance in the House of Commons to the closure (as we in England call the previous question) pure and simple. We are a conservative people, and shrink from taking long steps if it is possible that short ones may do. Moreover, the ministry who proposed the closure felt that they might before

long become an opposition, and be silenced by the application of the very "gag," as its enemies called it, which they had just invented. Some safeguard against the abuse of the closure was thought essential. The obvious safeguard, and that which the Tory party had approved in 1882, was to require a proportional majority, say of two-thirds, to pass a closure vote. But to this plan there was the fatal objection that, though it would be effective against a small section of the House, it would be useless against the opposition as a whole, since a party in power can very seldom command a two-thirds' majority. The only alternative, therefore, was to vest in the presiding officer a discretion to protect the minority by refusing to let a closure motion be voted on.

American readers may be surprised to hear that any protection for minorities was expected from the presiding officer. In Congress the Speaker is for many purposes the leader of the majority. The majority is often advised by him, and usually reckons on him to help it to carry out its will. The hare might as well hope that the huntsman would call off the hounds as the minority expect the Speaker to restrain an impatient majority. But in Parliament the Speaker and the chairman of committees (whom for shortness I generally include when I refer to the Speaker) are and have always been non-partisan officials. Each, no doubt, has belonged to a party and has been chosen on the proposition of a party leader. But the Speaker is deemed, once he has assumed the wig and gown of office, to have so distinctly renounced and divested himself of all party trappings that, if he is willing to go on serving in a new Parliament in which the party to which he belonged is in a minority, the majority is, nevertheless, expected to elect him anew. Thus Speaker Brand, although he had once been whip of the Liberal party, was reëlected Speaker in 1874 by the Tory party, which had then gained a majority, and served on till 1883. The Speaker is not permitted, so long as he holds office, to deliver any party speech outside Parliament, or even to express his opinions on any party question; and in the chair itself he must be scrupulously fair to both parties, equally accessible to all members, bound to give his advice on points of order without distinction between those who ask it. It is to this impartiality, which has never been wanting to any Speaker within living memory, that the Speakership owes a great

part of the authority it enjoys and the respect it inspires. And for that very reason many prudent statesmen condemned in 1887 the rule which lodged in the Speaker's hands this discretionary power to put or refuse to put a motion for the closure of debate. They argued that such a function imposed too severe a strain upon the Chair, whose action was likely to be condemned by partisans on one side or the other. Things might be said by angry members, comments might be made in the public press which would sap the deference hitherto paid to this exalted office. It was not, however, I must again repeat, intentional partisanship on the part of the Chair that was feared, but occasional errors of judgment which might breed criticism and censure. The traditions of the Speakership have acted so strongly on those who have held the office, and have so permeated the political life of England, that practical politicians believed the Speaker would use his new powers in a fair and impartial spirit.

How, then, have these new powers been, in fact, used, and what has been the result upon the House of Commons of the rules which sanction the closure? This is a question of interest for the Senate of the United States, which has recently been invited to enact a "Previous-Question Rule" for itself. But it is one which cannot as yet be answered adequately, for four sessions are a short time in which to test an institution. At present we have two exceptionally firm and fair-minded men presiding over the House and over Committee of the Whole. Their disposition seemed at first to be to construe very strictly the rule which gave them a veto, and to allow the motion for closure to be voted on unless there was a palpable impropriety in making it; in the view, apparently, that the responsibility of closing the debate belonged to the House itself, and that, if the majority determined to close it, they ought, unless under circumstances so flagrantly unjust as to demand the Chair's interference, to bear the sole responsibility and the consequent approval or censure of public opinion.

It was soon perceived, however, that this was a responsibility which the majority were ready to accept with a very light heart. Majorities are usually impatient and anxious to go home to dinner or to bed. They are very loyal to their leaders when action of a distinctly party nature is to be taken. Under our English practice, moreover, the majority consists largely of per-

sons who have been lounging or playing chess in the smoking-room, or writing letters in the library, and who, rushing into the House when the division bells ring, know nothing about what has passed, but vote just as the party whips tell them. Experience, in fact, showed that, whenever a leader of the majority moved the closure, the majority would vote for it, and showed also that the chiefs of the majority cannot be trusted to move it only on proper occasions. The present leader is a diligent and kindly man, who (as he has often declared) desires to do his duty to his Queen and his country—nothing more and nothing less. Yet even he, and his lieutenants much more frequently than he, repeatedly err in demanding the stoppage of debate when discussion is proceeding in a legitimate way, and members well entitled to be heard desire to speak. The most sensible and best-intentioned ministers must sometimes commit such errors, for their great anxiety is to press on their own business, and they forget that, even assuming proposals to be substantially good, the House and the country are entitled to satisfy themselves by ample debate that such is the fact. Accordingly the Chair has latterly tended to take a somewhat wider view of its own functions in the matter, and has frequently refused to put a closure motion even when the leader of the majority claimed to have it put, declaring that, as it was not clear that the main question had been fully discussed, debate ought to be suffered to proceed.

Thus the closure, though now more frequently applied than was intended when it was introduced in 1882, has curtailed the freedom of debate less than might have been expected. This, however (I must repeat), has been due, not to any scruples on the part of the majority, but to the action of the chair, which has protected the minority in a way that has more than once irritated the hotter spirits among the rank and file of the majority. Let it, however, be remembered that we in England have had an experience of three and a half years only. Those who occupy the chair in future may be less scrupulously fair than Mr. Peel and Mr. Courtney have shown themselves. The majorities of the future, perceiving how much a biassed Speaker can aid them, may resolve to choose men of less impartial mind; and the result of giving to the Speaker these great political powers—for political they are—may be ultimately to alter the conception

and character of the Speakership itself and turn it into a partisan office.

It cannot be doubted that, if the control now exercised by the Chair were withdrawn, the closing power would be constantly and recklessly used. A majority is the least scrupulous thing imaginable, because everybody puts his conscience into the keeping of his party, and the party justifies its conduct, sometimes by supposed zeal for the public interest, always by its corporate spirit. Nothing restrains it but the fear of public opinion. And English experience, so far as it has yet gone, shows that the fear of public opinion is, in ordinary cases, only a feeble protection. The country does not, even with our comparatively full newspaper reports of the proceedings of Parliament, realize what passes there. It does not know when obstruction is being practised, and apparently does not much care; for each party habitually accuses its opponents of obstruction. So, too, the country does not seem to resent the application of the closure, unless an instance of oppression arises so patent and glaring that it can be made clear to the meanest understanding. Probably, therefore, unless the interposition of an impartial Chair continues to govern the development of our Parliamentary habits, the closure will come in time to be as frequently employed at Westminster as at Washington. The minority, when they are now silenced by it, console themselves with the thought that their turn will come. "We are chastised with whips, but when we are the majority, we will chastise them with scorpions." The minority in the next Parliament will, when they suffer, comfort themselves in like manner. As in the civil wars of the Roman republic, each faction, when it came into power, took a more ferocious revenge upon its enemies than those enemies had taken upon it before, so the tyranny of a majority in the legislature is likely to become more and more pronounced on every change of power from party to party.*

*I have not referred in these remarks to the most dangerous form which an application of the power of closing debate takes viz., that of fixing a day and hour at which all discussion of a particular bill shall cease, and after which no amendment can be voted on, but the bill shall be passed or rejected as a whole, because this form is entirely independent of the action of the Chair, being prescribed by the vote of the majority only. It has twice been resorted to in the present Parliament; whether wisely or not I do not now inquire. On both occasions it has excited the strongest resentment and been recognized to be a weapon liable to grave abuse on the part of a tyrannical majority.

A few words only are needed as to the other powers over debate which the new rules give to the Speaker in England. The power of refusing to put a dilatory motion because, in the opinion of the Chair, it is an abuse of the rules of the House, has been seldom resorted to, because its mere existence has done much to check these motions when they are frivolous or vexatious. It has proved a valuable power, and not least so because the Chair, by refusing to use it when the majority desired to see it used, has indirectly intimated the opinion that a protracted discussion which the majority disliked was in fact legitimate. More than once during the session of 1890 things would have taken a quite different turn if the Chair had used this power in the way the majority desired. The right of requiring members to rise in their places and be counted, instead of going through the division lobbies,—a process which consumes from eight to fifteen minutes,—has been still less frequently employed; but the fact that it exists has tended to check purely frivolous divisions, and no complaint (so far as I know) has been heard of any mistakes made by the Chair in applying either these rules or that under which a member indulging in tedious, repetitious, or irrelevant remarks may be directed to resume his seat.

The conclusions which may be fairly deduced from the history of Parliamentary procedure in England during the last ten years seem to be the following :

That some power of terminating debate by closure, or previous question, had become absolutely necessary.

That a majority is certain to abuse this power—*i. e.*, to use it where it is not absolutely required, and where its use is not only oppressive, but prejudicial to the public interest.

That the veto of the Chair has tended to check such abuse and has given frequent protection to the minority.

That the conduct of the Chair, whether or not it has been always right, has been invariably impartial, so far as intentions went, and that its reputation has not hitherto suffered.

That it is, nevertheless, possible that English ministers and majorities may in the future desire to have a partisan in the chair, seeing how helpful he may be to them, and that the traditional character of the Speakership is, therefore, not exempt from danger.

On the whole, therefore, we in England are not disposed to

retrace the steps we have taken. The House of Commons could not get on without a closure. But the incidental evils are real evils, and we look with some anxiety to the future.

Let me now attempt, before closing this paper, to apply what has been said regarding the House of Commons to the questions of Congressional procedure which have been fought over in the pages of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

There are three conspicuous differences between the position and practice of either house of Congress and that of either house of Parliament.

The House of Representatives is not supreme over its own procedure. It is subject to the Constitution, which has absolutely secured to a minority of one-fifth of a quorum the right to have the names of the yeas and nays on a division entered on the journal—a right which not only tends, but invites, to filibustering. The House of Commons, on the other hand, can take its divisions in any way it pleases, recording the names or not. Owing to its method of making the Ayes and Noes walk through different lobbies, it takes its divisions in less than half the time occupied by the calling of the roll in the House of Representatives, although the number of members in the House of Commons is more than double that of the House of Representatives. Moreover, the Constitution of the United States expressly confers upon the House certain powers which there is nothing in English law to prevent the House of Commons from delegating, if it pleases, to the Speaker. That the House of Representatives cannot delegate these powers has been powerfully argued by Speaker Reed in the pages of this REVIEW. Thus the House of Commons is in several respects far more completely master of the situation than its trans-Atlantic compeer.

In the United States long habit has made the Speaker a recognized partisan—a partisan limited, no doubt, by usage and good feeling, but still understood to be entitled to use his power in the interest of his party. In the House of Commons he is expected to be absolutely impartial. Consequently many powers may be intrusted to an English Speaker, whose equity and fairness are above suspicion, which it might in America be unsafe to commit to one who is virtually, however personally honest, a party chieftain.

In both Houses of Congress another long habit has established the right of members to be physically present during a division

and yet to abstain from voting. In both Houses of Parliament every member present has always been held bound to vote, and recusant members have more than once been positively compelled to vote. The only resource of a person who seeks to escape this duty is to hurry out of the House before the two minutes allowed for members to come in have elapsed and the doors have been locked. I do not know whether the American habit of permitting members to have each his own desk, where he can read and write, has anything to do with this permission to remain a silent spectator of a division. To us Englishmen both the desks and the habit of non-participation while physically present, as well as the right to change one's vote while the division proceeds, seem unfortunate; and we are not surprised that technical difficulties should arise out of the regulations for a quorum where the anomaly exists of divisions of the House which are not divisions of the whole body of members present. Such a question as that which Speaker Reed decided, and his decision on which has been embodied in the rule since enacted by the House, could not have arisen at Westminster, where we know of only one quorum—the quorum consisting of every member within the four walls of the chamber whom the eye of the Speaker sees and his finger (or, rather, the cocked hat he points with) and voice count audibly when a count is required.

If an English member were asked to give his *primâ-facie* impression on the point, he would probably answer that the view which recognized those who were physically present as being also legally present commended itself to his common-sense. The ingenious argument of X M. C. would puzzle him. But he would say that, technicalities apart, there seems something absurd in attributing more effect to the action of those who seek by abstaining from voting to defeat the passage of a motion than to that of the same persons voting against the motion. To abstain seems less than to oppose. Yet under the method of resistance which Speaker Reed defeated it would have counted for more.

As regards the power now conferred on the Speaker of the House of Representatives to refuse to put a dilatory motion which he deems frivolous or obstructive, I have already remarked that it has been recently given to the English Speaker and used with results generally admitted (up to the date of this writing) to be excellent. Whether it would be equally safe in the hands of the

Speaker at Washington is a point on which a stranger must not express an opinion, though he may remark that the bestowal of it on the Speaker in England would have been resisted but for the confidence felt in the superiority of that officer to party bias. There are cases which imply dilatory tactics, as, for instance, where a measure is being pressed through before the country has had time to understand it and express its opinion regarding it. In such cases the indulgence which a wise chairman will extend to dilatory motions may be serviceable. I do not, however, deny that times may be imagined in which the power in question might have to be intrusted even to a partisan Chair. A governing assembly cannot suffer itself to be paralyzed; it must, at whatever risk to minorities, find some method of despatching its business. In England, where everything depends on the action of Parliament, this first duty of self-preservation is, perhaps, more imperative than in the United States. In England, on the other hand, the harm that may follow a rash and violent exercise of the force of a Parliamentary majority is greater than in the United States, because the House of Commons is not restrained, like the House of Representatives, by other constitutional authorities. The House of Lords can, no doubt, resist the Commons, and does so when the Liberal party commands a majority in the latter body. But the House of Lords will not stand long as it stands now; and when the inevitable struggle between it and the Lower House has been fought out, its submission, or perhaps its virtual extinction, will leave the fortunes of the nation at the mercy of the majority in a single popular assembly. These questions of procedure, therefore, and the maintenance of the dignity of an impartial Chair, on which the conduct of procedure now more than ever depends, are questions of even more vital significance to Britain than they are to the United States.

There is another question to which Speaker Reed has adverted in his interesting article in the July number of this REVIEW, on which a few words may be said, because British experience is in point. It is the question of saving the time of Congress by referring the decision of contested elections to a judicial tribunal instead of to a Committee of the House. I have already had occasion to observe that, where long traditions and deep-rooted habits have attached the character of impartiality to an office, functions

which in other hands might be dangerous may (for a time at least) be safely intrusted to the holder of that office. Nothing rouses more party feeling in England, as well as in America, than a contested election. No class of cases had given so much trouble to Parliamentary committees and caused so much scandal as cases of elections petitioned against on grounds of bribery or treating or intimidation. The decisions of these committees inspired little confidence, for they were usually colored by party feeling; the procedure was costly and tedious; the rules of evidence were often laxly applied. It was at last proposed to take the trial of such election petitions out of the hand of Parliamentary committees and intrust it to the judges of the Superior Courts of Common Law. Many constitutional authorities doubted the wisdom of this proposal, predicting that the result would be to drag the judges into the political arena, to expose them to imputations of unfairness, to injure the standing and credit of the Bench as a whole. The judges themselves protested strongly. Parliament, however, persisted in the teeth of their protest, and since 1868 all election cases have been tried by judges at the spot where the election took place, points of law being reserved for the decision of the courts in London. The general elections of 1868 and 1874 produced a whole crop of petitions. Here and there a judge was supposed to have dealt somewhat too leniently with a political friend or with an eminent politician, whether or no of the same party as himself. But, speaking generally, the fairness of the judges, who, be it remembered, sat as judges of fact without a jury, was conspicuous, and very few of their decisions failed to command public approval. The experiment was so evidently a success that no one has subsequently proposed to revert to the former method of trial.

Since 1874 very few election petitions have been presented, so that the matter has almost passed out of the knowledge or attention of the public. But our experience in 1868 and 1874 was certainly such as to recommend the plan for at least a provisional adoption in America, assuming that the constitutional obstacles do not prove insuperable. It may, however, be doubted whether it would be prudent to set Federal district judges to try election cases arising in their own respective districts. English experience showed the advantage of having a tribunal en-

tirely exempt from local influences; and similar considerations might be expected to apply in the United States, where the ties of party loyalty generally, and of local party feeling in particular, are probably stronger than they were in England in 1868. A judge wholly unconnected with the locality would seem better fitted for the duty than one habitually resident in the district. The substitution of judges for Parliamentary committees has, by making trials speedier and detection more certain, become one of the expedients, along with more stringent penalties, with a secret ballot, and with the enlargement of constituencies, whereby we have so dealt with bribery and intimidation that these old scandals of representative government have almost ceased to exist among us.

JAMES BRYCE.

THOSE AMERICAN GIRLS IN EUROPE.

BY MADAME ADAM.

I HAVE just read in the June number of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW the very interesting article of my witty confrère, Mrs. John Sherwood, and I ask myself, as I am already asked by the editor of the incomparable REVIEW for which I write these lines, if there is not, after the American view, something to be said from the European stand-point on the young American girl in Europe.

The perspective being reversed, the picture which I shall attempt to paint will have, if not a different tone, at least different shades.

I know America only by its history, by its literature, by the important facts of its daily life. I have never seen its wonderful cities, which a quarter of a century suffices to build; which rise to the rank of capitals in as little time as it takes to rebuild a few houses in our old towns. I have never had the vertigo which must seize one on seeing man oscillate daily in action, in motion similar to the ebb and flood of the great ocean that bathes the shores of the new world. I can only suspect the interest that attractive world would have for me, where so many races mingle, where the adaptation of the individual to the surroundings produces a sum of human power such as has never been attained elsewhere, and can never be surpassed.

When I think of the United States, and realize that I am ignorant of the peculiarities to be observed on penetrating more deeply into anything, I naturally proceed to take a general view. I see a nation, manly, daring, audacious, valiant, whose people command success wherever they pursue it, whose citizens despise weakness of whatever sort it may be, and scorn danger—death itself—with a heroism so simple as to appear unconscious. My

vision of such a people is severe, sombre, even for a Parisian; this mass incessantly waging war with everything that may be overcome is disturbing.

But in the midst of these austere struggles for life, a luminous and smiling figure detaches itself. She is beautiful with perfect beauty, or endowed with a triumphal grace. It seems that all this rude civilization becomes gentle for her alone. The young girl is the aristocracy, the luxury, the art, the crown of American society, as the Epicurean was of ancient society. She alone enjoys and profits by her leisure. It is for her that man bends with such fury beneath the weight of labor for his betrothed or his daughter.

At home the young American girl is at the same time the tyrant and the reward. She pushes aside her brothers, she domineers over her mother, but she is the smile and joy of her father: it is she who animates the household, who lights it up, makes it rejoice; the only gay echoes are those of her voice or the voices of her companions.

It is only when his daughter is bored, or when she wishes an aristocratic marriage, that the American head of the family makes up his mind to leave his absorbing and intoxicating business for a few months and take her to Europe.

You know the conservatories of orchids—that flower of richness among all flowers? It needs more heat and light than any other. It is a curious flower which blooms in a way that surprises you incessantly. Beautiful, dazzling, it first charms you by its strangeness, and then intoxicates you with its subtile perfume. It lives on air and needs none of the material conditions of existence for other plants: it often comes from a gnarled stem which seems to defy beauty; yet from this stem it blossoms frequently with singular, but always incomparable, attractiveness.

The young American girl is the orchid among all feminine flowers; and it is far from her to the humble violet to which the young French maiden has until recently been compared.

I have said until recently, for our humble, timid, and blushing young girl is now hardly to be found outside of small provincial towns. The young American girl has an enormous influence on the young French girl. Wherever they meet, the timid one becomes modified. The young English girls with their boyish ways, their lack of elegance, their manner of walking—the

few conquests they had made in France had in no way modified the ways of our daughters. They were laughed at, and no one thought of copying them. But with the American it was another thing : she is enviable and too often irresistible ; she must therefore be imitated from afar in all that is seductive,—her sincerity, her spontaneousness, her life,—while the delicate charm of French education is retained.

Certainly our daughters cannot pretend to reign in France and in Europe as the young girls reign in America. There they are queens, and sometimes more, though it is very hard to apply to such bewitching persons the words "merciless tyrants." They rule in the family, and the family does not rule them ; they rule in the society which gravitates around their pleasures, whose laws, customs, and liberties have for them exclusive protections, indulgences, and favors. And all this they noisily enjoy with the same ardor displayed by their fathers in the pursuit of wealth.

The great charm of the American girl in Europe is that she combines at once the purity of the young girl and the coquetry of the young married woman. Thus in the old world she is certain of attracting all the young men who have abused life, who are a little *blasé*, and who to be captivated have need of what they call *du montant*.

When an American girl enters a ball-room or a large reception in Europe, the spectacle is a curious one for the observer. A sort of current is formed among the mass of guests, and one may judge of the character of each one from his attitude and manner towards her. Let us attempt to paint the scene. Miss —— makes her appearance. She is always beautiful, and even were she not, she possesses originality and *éclat*—for the latter word describes her entirely. A young French girl, simple, well-educated, throws around her a soft light which permits her to be observed, judged, and examined. The young American girl has something flashing. She flits rather than walks; from the moment of her entrance into a drawing-room she is surrounded by a bevy of admirers, and her pretty head is always in motion. No one can see the details of her features, which are so mobile, nor the lines of her mouth, which has so many diverse expressions. Her glances are like diamonds whose many facets cause our eyes to blink beneath their lustre. Her hair is lightly and negligently knotted, curly, and not arranged according to good form, giving her the *air chiffonné*

of the pretty girl who may be admitted in the ball-room, but not during the ball.

Miss —— is arrayed in a rather loud, though tasteful, gown, fitting to perfection. Disdaining none of the artifices of dress, she walks well, and her figure, her carriage, her swaggering, suit her to perfection. The young men who flit around the coquettish young married women rush to meet the American, surround her, press her hand if they know her, or have themselves introduced. She is at her ease with all; this pack of admirers and of observers does not trouble her; she answers them all, talks and laughs loudly, dominates them all, and, if she has made a choice, parades it with a boldness which sometimes embarrasses even a Lovelace.

The young married women complain of the impertinence of the young men of their day to old gentlemen who, a while ago, would not have found room by their side; the mothers treat the conqueror as an enemy who may upset their pet projects; the young girls join together and sit closely, like a flock of birds at the approach of a hawk. They are irritated by the tone, the manners, of the young men towards the American. Our young girls, until they see their brothers and lovers with Miss ——, know them only as perfectly proper, sentimental if they wish to be agreeable, and attempting to charm by gentleness. They see them as they are elsewhere, scoffing, sceptical, appearing to rush to an attack; talking cosmopolitan slang and displaying the manners of travellers in a casino. Then our daughters are shocked and scandalized, but their blame does not blind them; they see the risk they are running.

The young American girl in France, even though she should reside there a long time, still remains a peculiar being, disturbing the men and a source of uneasiness to the women. Once married, she immediately lays aside her eccentricities. There are no young American married women—that is to say, nothing in the manner of an American who has become Madame distinguishes her from another Madame.

The young French girl finds liberty in marriage; the young American girl loses it. Our daughters detach themselves from a family in marrying; the Americans enter one: they are suddenly surrounded by a circle, by proprieties, by worldly customs, by social duties, by the exigencies of conjugal fidelity, by the duty of defending a reputation which has become common

property—all serious things which transform their character, their manner of being, and gradually model them after the likeness of their surroundings. Two or three years after her marriage the American in France is a women of the world, and if she could lose her accent, nothing would distinguish her from her new circle.

Doubtless formerly she commanded and was obeyed ; but how far she was from occupying the position which she occupies in France ! True, she did not yield to respect ; but in return she did not inspire it. She had more personal initiative, but she did not govern others ; she tormented her mother, and perhaps led her, but the men of her family did not deferentially ask her counsels. Her husband in America would seek her advice for nothing. She might be a favored companion in conjugal life ; she would not be, as in France, the wife, the friend who shares all the projects of the husband, is associated in all his acts, and makes of conjugal life the noble life in common.

And her children—how they are much more her own ; how she rules their education ; how much longer they belong to her ! It is when married, in France, that she is best assimilated to her surroundings, and it is then that with us she is most happy. However, Franco-American marriages are rare, because the French families are uneasy and afraid of them. In England the young American girls come in much larger numbers, not because they are drawn thither by any affinity of race, for there is often less analogy of character between two sisters than between two strangers, but because, English girls having more liberty than French, a first resistance is already overcome ; the marriageable men do not perform such an eccentric act in introducing into their families as a fiancée a young miss accustomed to independence. Therefore the American girl married in England remains more American than in France. She has to make no efforts to lead her mother-in-law, sisters-in-law, and cousins by marriage to accept her ways, her habits contracted in girlhood. Fault may be found with her education, but the method of this education will not be discussed. Not having to become otherwise, she remains herself, yielding only to what she accepts in English society or to that which she finds advantageous to her position or her person.

In Italy, in Rome, in Florence, in Venice, she remains unchanged. The one who marries her accepts her with all her ways ;

she imposes these, almost colonizes them in her circle. Everything is *à l'Americaine*—the mode of living, of keeping house, the immoderate luxury, the tone, the bearing. Italian society, having become cosmopolitan, accepts her as she is, and even at court the place given her is more American than Italian.

In Austria young American girls marry but little; the sixteen quarterings necessary to obtain favor at court cannot be bought with dollars, however numerous these may be.

At Nice, at Cannes, the young American girl merely passes. She lives with her fellow-countrymen and only mingles in the cosmopolitan society to rule it as she rules in America; it is she who gives the tone to the entertainments, who monopolizes the amusements, who lays down the law as in New York or in the capital of some State in the new world.

The young French girl who has lived at Cannes or at Nice may be known by a little American air that she has. She rides more boldly on horseback and converses in a different way with the young men in a ball-room; in short, she has a certain dash which she would never have if she did not copy the Americans.

That which is striking in American girls, and which induces French, English, and Italian noblemen to marry them, is that they never look like shopkeepers' daughters; they sometimes have unbearable, shocking ways, but they are never vulgar. They may be charged with what we call in France *airs de cocodettes*, but not one of them looks like a tradeswoman, though they are mostly the daughters of manufacturers.

The American girl has the science of pleasing which captivates even the old-world Don Juans unawares. She seems to us exceptionally intelligent, putting forth all her talents to attain the final end, which is trapping, often for his own good, a titled husband.

What the European women denounce in the young Americans is the abuse of flirtation in which some of them indulge. At this dangerous pastime they learn to overexcite the vanity of the men, and therefore disdain them.

At Cannes, thirty years ago, I met Miss M., the first American I ever knew. Very beautiful, dark, with blue eyes, she excited admiration not only by her beauty, but by her wit; but all that was sentimental made her smile: loyal and frank, she conceived only the idea of duty, but in the proportion she herself had determined.

I found her ferocious. Her mother, with whom Miss M. was at Cannes, was ill of ennui, and the girl had a grudge against her for not enjoying life on its practical sides as she did herself. The poor woman, daughter of a French emigrant, had the daughter I describe and two sons, whom she never saw, who never wrote to her, whom she worshipped, and whom she could reproach for nothing save their indifference. Her husband, who was very wealthy, retained his passion for business and was so absorbed by it that he sometimes spent eight nights—she never saw him during the day—without speaking to her. He had allowed her to leave without showing any emotion. Miss M. found her father perfect and her mother absolutely unreasonable with her sentimental exigencies.

"Never," repeated the young girl, "never has he refused anything to my mother or to me. What more can we wish?"

"But a little tenderness, affection," answered the mother. "I am dying of the heartlessness shown by all of you, and my husband surely owes me something in return for what I feel for him."

Miss M. shrugged her shoulders.

"But," said I to her one day, "what idea have you of marriage? Whom do you think of marrying?"

"I do not like the ways of the American men," she replied; "they are too rough. However, I could never marry a European; his ways are too gentle; he talks nonsense; he warbles; he is deceitful; he listens to his own speeches. Then his greatest defect is too great a love of money for his own enjoyment; he is a hunter who willingly eats all his game. The American gives money to spend to his family; he hardly longs or wishes for any. Hence," she coldly added, "man is an animal thrown by woman on society, and must bring something in return."

The American girl must be rich, for she has an insatiable desire to spend. Therefore she must have wealth even to be married by a rich man. Many poor young men would marry Americans for their beauty, for their charms, if their needs and exigencies did not frighten them. Poverty in Europe is scorned and cannot be imposed upon a woman who would rush headlong to it with a small fortune.

Young American girls who are not wealthy are, therefore, rarely married, and cannot be, for they have more need of money than any European girl; but they are *folles de qualité*, as was

said in the last century, and from the fondness they have for people of rank they desire also position in society. All these ambitions necessitate wealth. Therefore, what can a rich American desire, if not the only thing not be bought in the American market and which can only be negotiated in the European—an open or closed coronet?

"Money in the old world has a value different from that in the new," said a young American girl to me. "With us it rolls without amassing pleasure, without deriving any benefit from the past. In Europe it can make a great lady in a day; it is exchanged for real, durable, and renewed satisfactions. In America it serves only for a profitless struggle for luxury, spread before the eyes of people who disperse, with whom we do not spend our life, who are dropped by the wayside, who do not even turn to speak a word of thanks, and who rarely remember."

I have spoken only of the young American girls who come to Europe to try to settle there; but how many have I seen of those fair neighbors who come to suck certain flowers of our civilization, to make from them American honey! These become every year more artistic, more learned, more enlightened; they soar always higher in their flight; the horizon expands before them; and they prepare for the new world a pleiad of superior women.

JULIETTE ADAM.

THE PAN-AMERICAN CONFERENCE.

BY M. ROMERO, MEXICAN MINISTER TO THE UNITED STATES.

II.

THE United States delegates viewed the election of Mr. Blaine as an act of deference and courtesy to themselves, and decided to reciprocate it by offering their support in carrying out any plan the Latin-American delegates might accept for the appointment of one or more vice-presidents. With the best intention of pleasing their colleagues, and following the parliamentary practices which prevail in this country, the United States delegates made a suggestion, which did not find favor, to the effect that, there being three different sections of America represented in the Conference, a vice-president should be elected for each of them—to wit, one from the delegates of Central America, two from the delegates of South America (one representing the eastern side, or the nations bordering on the Atlantic, and the other the western side, or the nations bordering on the Pacific), and a fourth to represent the Latin portion of North America.

Although I do not believe that any of the delegates desired to be elected vice-president on personal grounds, the matter was looked upon with a great deal of interest by all of them, on account of the political bearing which it might have on the relations between their respective countries. The above suggestion was not accepted, owing to the difficulty of coming to an agreement about the appointment of one or more vice-presidents; and it was decided that none should be elected, but that in the absence of the president his place should be filled by each delegate in turn as designated by lot.

The question of the precedence of the nations represented in the Conference was next brought up. Some thought that the alphabetical order should be adopted, and others that this

matter also should be decided by lot. The latter plan prevailed, and in the third meeting of the Conference all the nations represented were placed in ballot, and thus the precedence given to their delegates was decided. This arrangement would very likely have lasted during the remaining sessions of the Conference had the president been a man of fewer engagements than the Secretary of State, and one who would have been able to attend all the meetings and remain as long as they lasted; but, this not being so, it was found, soon afterwards, that the change of the presiding officer every day created many difficulties, because there was no uniformity in the decisions of the chair; and this caused delay and inconvenience in the workings of the Conference. For this reason it was agreed to elect two vice-presidents, who should be called to the chair by turns in the absence of the president, and that in their absence the chair should be filled by the other delegates in regular order. In compliance with this agreement, on December 6 a ballot was taken for first vice-president. There being no majority in favor of any of the candidates, very likely on account of the differing political tendencies of the South American states, the vote was adjourned to the following day, when it resulted in a tie, the delegate from Peru having obtained eight votes and a delegate from Mexico eight also. As Mexico had two delegates, the second intended to vote for his colleague, not as an honor to him personally, but to their country, which course would have been perfectly proper; but he was induced by his colleague to give up this purpose, and the election was decided by lot, the Peruvian delegate drawing the first vice-presidency and a delegate from Mexico the second vice-presidency.

Then occurred an incident, insignificant in itself, but which caused a misunderstanding that I do not think is yet fully dispelled. As the United States delegates were disposed to accept and support anything that their colleagues might determine upon in regard to the vice-presidency, as an act of courtesy towards them and in exchange for their electing as president the Secretary of State, they thought that the Latin-American delegates would be more free to discuss and decide this point, which was a delicate one (being somewhat personal), if they consulted by themselves; and for this reason the United States delegates were not present in the room where their colleagues met.

Their absence, however, was considered by some of the Latin-American delegates as an act of discourtesy, because they believed that a want of consideration had induced them not to assemble in the same room, whereas the true reason was a desire to show consideration for their associates.

Another incident which threatened to disturb the good understanding of the Conference was the view entertained by the Argentine delegation that the delegates should only express the official opinion of their governments, and that personal views ought not to be taken into consideration either in the Conference or in the committees. The law providing for the meeting of the Conference had authorized each nation to send as many delegates as it thought proper, but ordered at the same time that each country should have only one vote; so that, whatever might have been the opinions of the delegates from any state, in casting their vote only one opinion was expressed, which was the opinion of the majority, and therefore the official opinion of their government.

It was natural to suppose and to expect that each delegate would express the opinion of his government contained in his instructions, when the case under consideration was embraced in such instructions, or an opinion as nearly as possible in accord with the wishes and interests of his country as each one might form when he had not specific instructions on any particular question. In many cases the American governments either did not give instructions to their delegates or gave them very broad ones, preferring that they should exercise their own personal judgment and discretion on such questions as might arise. To assert, therefore, that the delegates ought to express only the official opinion of their governments was to interfere in a measure with the relations of the delegates to their respective governments, and to limit their right to say what they thought proper. This opinion did not meet with favor in the body, since, while it arrived at no decision on this point, it never refused to hear any personal opinion, or dissenting opinions from two or more members of the same delegation.

The appointment of the committees was a very important matter, since a great deal of the success of the Conference depended thereon, and, with a view to avoiding any unpleasantness among the delegates on this account, they agreed to

request the president to appoint them. Mr. Blaine performed that duty without consulting, as I understand, any of the delegates, only exercising his own discretion on the subject. I do not know that the appointment of the committees gave rise to any well-grounded complaint, or caused embarrassment in the transaction of the business which they had in charge. The only embarassment I have heard of in the committees was caused by the discordant opinions of the delegates from one country who were members of the same committees, and by the fact that the United States delegates did not have instructions from their government, and could therefore express only their own personal views. In the Committee on Monetary Union there were two United States delegates, who held opposite views in regard to the coining of silver, and this made it difficult for the other members of the committee to find out what was the view of the United States government on this subject. I understand there was a similar difficulty, although in a much smaller degree, in the Committee on Communications by Railways; but the most serious troubles arose in the Welfare or Arbitration Committee, because the United States member expressed personal views, and they were not shared by the other members. The peculiarities of the United States delegate, which consisted in his tendency to delay a decision and in trying to have his views prevail over those of the majority of the committee, although he was in every other respect a most estimable gentleman, made the workings of the committees of which he was a member far from easy; more especially so in the Welfare Committee, of which he was the chairman, and which had charge of quite difficult and complicated matters. The troubles in that committee were greater, as I understand, than in any other.

My personal knowledge of what took place in the Conference leads me to think that there was not on the part of Mr. Blaine any preconceived plan about the subjects that were to be considered, except, perhaps, that of arbitration, and that he not only had no prearranged plan, but even refused to express opinions on any subject, or even to give instructions to his delegates when called on for them. Mr. Blaine's purpose, as it appears to me, was not to curtail in any manner whatever the full freedom of all the Latin-American nations represented in the Con-

ference, and to allow equal freedom to the United States delegates, so that all might propose and agree on such points as they should think most advantageous to the interests of their respective countries, without any pressure and without even suggestions from the United States government. Even in regard to the arbitration plan Mr. Blaine's wish was only that an agreement should be arrived at to the end that all disputes arising among American nations might be ended by arbitration, with the very laudable and humanitarian object of abolishing war; and he did not seem to have any special plan of his own. When he drafted one, he did it with the purpose of uniting the discordant opinions of the delegates, and without intending to press it upon any one. His interference on this subject was only for the purpose of proposing the plan which was accepted by a majority of the Conference; and to carry out this purpose he had to instruct one of the United States delegates to give up his opposition to the form in which the project was finally accepted. It was asserted at the time that even the general idea of arbitration was not unanimously supported by the representatives of the United States.

Arbitration is a very difficult and complicated subject. It cannot be denied that during the last centuries mankind has advanced very rapidly in civilization and moral sense, and it is to be hoped that, before the lapse of a long period, such advancement will make war impossible, for war has been thus far one of the greatest scourges which have afflicted the human race. But as long as the moral sense of civilized countries will not disapprove of war as a savage way of adjusting differences among themselves, not much advancement will be made by accepting arbitration in solemn treaties, especially if no method of coercion is agreed upon against such nations as may refuse to compromise their differences, and such a method cannot be established without attempts against the sovereignty and independence of the respective states.

It was thought by some that the purpose of the United States was to establish a permanent court of arbitration at Washington, and this was looked upon as a way of giving the United States a decided preponderance in all questions affecting this continent. Although I understand that the United States delegate who was chairman of the Committee on Welfare looked favorably upon the idea of having a permanent tribunal, and his views on this

subject were shared by one of his colleagues, the plan was not accepted by the other Latin-American delegates, nor by the Secretary of State of the United States, and had, therefore, to be abandoned.

Mr. Blaine wished arbitration without limitations, which might nullify the principle. Chili did not favor arbitration, except in a very restricted manner. Mexico and the Argentine Republic desired reasonable limitations, while all the other states accepted the idea without any. The Argentine and Brazilian delegates introduced, on January 15, an arbitration project which contained, besides, declarations and stipulations against conquest. This was referred on that date to the Committee on Welfare, and was not reported by that committee until April 10, near the close of the sessions of the Conference, which adjourned on the 19th.

While this project was in committee Mr. Blaine had two meetings with delegates at his residence; the first one with the representatives of Chili, the Argentine Republic, Brazil, and Mexico, whose views were supposed not to be in entire accordance with Mr. Blaine's, although the republican government of Brazil had then authorized its delegates to accept the widest possible plan of arbitration; and the second meeting with all the other delegates, who fully accepted the views of the Secretary of State.

On account of the objections made to the Argentine project, both by Mr. Blaine and by some Spanish-American delegates, the committee, of which the Argentine delegate was the leading spirit, gave the matter the form in which it was finally reported, and it was divided into two parts, one containing all the stipulations in regard to arbitration proper and the other embracing all those relating to conquest

The report of the committee was presented to the Conference so late that it could only be taken up partially in three meetings, and there was not sufficient time to consider it carefully, or even to adopt verbal amendments which were necessary to make it more clear and precise. It can, therefore, be properly said that there was no discussion on the subject, since such views as were expressed by the delegates were only given for the purpose of explaining their votes and the position of their respective governments. The United States delegate who was a member of the committee did not accept the second part of the original project against conquest. This

refusal came near causing a failure of arbitration, and to avoid such failure Mr. Blaine had to accept that project.

He desired that the delegates who had accepted the report of the committee should sign it in the shape of a treaty before the Conference closed its sessions. His grounds therefor were that Article I. of the act convening the Conference mentioned as its principal object the consideration and recommendation for adoption of a plan of arbitration. Several delegates, among them the Argentines, were of the opinion that this matter ought not to be treated in a different way from the others, and were willing to sign the recommendation relative to arbitration, provided all the other recommendations adopted by the Conference were signed in the same manner. As there was no time to engross all of them, the formality of signature was, on motion of a delegate from the United States, limited to that concerning arbitration, and this prevented the Argentine delegates from signing it. On that occasion Mr. Blaine's earnestness carried him so far that he thought it necessary to come down from the chair and take the place of a delegate in supporting the motion, which was finally carried. The delegates from Colombia, Venezuela, Peru, and Paraguay did not sign the agreement, although they had voted for it. The delegate from Costa Rica left Washington before the paper was signed. After the close of the Conference a formal treaty was signed by the same delegates who had signed the recommendation, the Venezuelan government having subsequently given its adhesion thereto, as I understand.

It is not unlikely that the division of the Argentine project into two parts, one of which has already been signed as a treaty and the other accepted only as a mere recommendation, may prevent its ratification by the Argentine government.

Although Mr. Blaine was the leading spirit of the arbitration project, he cannot be considered as the author of the form in which it was finally approved by the Conference, because he had to give up much for the purpose of securing the acceptance of the principle of arbitration ; but he wrote the preamble to that paper.

The population, territorial extension, trade, wealth, and advanced civilization of the United States make them the greatest and most important nation on this continent, and on this account they had decided advantages over some of the smaller

nations, which they could easily bring to bear in case of difficulties with them. The plan approved by the Conference deprives them of all these advantages, and places them in the same position as the weakest American nation. It is true that this agreement, equitable as it is in all its bearings, as all the countries participate in it under the most absolute equality, might be made to serve hereafter in establishing the preponderance of the United States; but should they intend to undertake this, they would not bind themselves with an agreement which they would have to break more or less openly before they could take other steps. This appears so clear to my mind that I think it will be difficult to secure the ratification of this agreement by the Senate of the United States.

The Mexican government did not look with good-will, for obvious reasons, at the idea of forced and unrestricted arbitration; and as Article XXI. of the treaty of February 2, 1848, provides ample arbitration with this country, Mexico thought it prudent not to have it extended any further, and instructed its delegates accordingly. We therefore did not intend to take any part in the discussion of this subject, but only to cast our votes in accordance with our instructions when the question was put. But when the Mexican government heard that several South American nations were disposed to go much further than Mexico in the premises, not wishing to appear in disaccord with its sister-republics, it authorized its delegates to extend the scope of arbitration, but not to accept it without limitation.

I had, however, to give up the purpose of taking a passive position on this question, because the Secretary of State requested me in a special manner to prepare a draft of arbitration which, in my opinion, might be acceptable to the Mexican government and the Latin-American states which were not disposed to accept it without limitation. I stated to him, with all candor and sincerity, the obstacles which were in my way in drafting a project which I was not sure would have the support even of my own government; but, in order not to disregard his repeated requests, and because I thought that I might possibly draft something which would be acceptable to all, I consented to take up the matter and to speak on the subject with several of my colleagues. Soon afterwards, however, I found that the difficulties in the way of coming to an agreement

were insurmountable, and I wholly gave up the attempt. When the report of the committee was discussed in the Conference, the Mexican delegation only expressed the opinion of their government, and voted in accordance with their instructions when they had specific instructions, or with what they understood to be the wishes of their government on new points about which there had been no time to receive instructions.

There were other subjects connected with arbitration which were looked upon in a very different way by Mexico and the South American nations. I refer to the boundary question, and, in fact, to all territorial questions. In the immense territorial area, very thinly populated, of the South American nations, its people being of a homogeneous race and having the same religion, habits, and language, and those nations not having, as a general rule, clearly-marked territorial limits, the boundary questions which have sprung up among themselves are relatively of little importance. A portion of land practically uninhabited does not diminish in any perceptible manner the domain of the nation that may lose it, nor increase in a large way the power of the nation which may acquire it, nor make any change of race in the inhabitants. This is not the case as between Mexico and the United States, because they are countries inhabited by different races, speaking different languages, having different customs, religions, and habits, and because the proportion of population, wealth, and material strength between them constitutes a very different condition of things. The boundary disputes in South America have generally been decided, and with a great deal of reason too, by arbitration, and in the minds of its statesmen it is the belief that, if arbitration is good for anything, it is precisely to end such disputes. Perhaps it is the best way to solve them in any case ; but to make arbitration obligatory as to all questions, including the boundary difficulties, which may arise between Mexico and the United States, would be equivalent to placing Mexico in an unfavorable position. Therefore such a broad stipulation, which is not only desirable, but even necessary, in South America, could not be accepted by Mexico. This explains why Mexico could not follow her sister-republics in all the details of this subject.

Reciprocity treaties have a great rôle to perform in the development of commercial relations between the Spanish American

nations and the United States, but, unfortunately, public opinion is not yet prepared in this country to accept them. The subject of reciprocity is far more complicated than it appears to be, since it is connected with the protection and free-trade questions which are now so earnestly agitated in this country. The United States, as an eminently Anglo-Saxon nation, have always followed, although sometimes with slowness, the footsteps of the mother-country, in many cases even surpassing her; and, although thus far they do not seem disposed to accept free trade, which has done so much to secure the commercial preponderance of England, I have no doubt that before long they will not remain behind Great Britain in this regard; but as the ultra-protective policy prevails here at present, it is not possible to accept reciprocity. The United States is yet an agricultural country; it is beginning to be a manufacturing one, and in this stage is making very rapid strides. When the production of manufactured articles shall exceed the needs of the home market, the protective system will have no reason to stand; production will then be cheapened; new foreign markets will be sought for the surplus products; but until then this country will be a mercantile nation. Reciprocity treaties will represent the transition between these two stages, and, therefore, for the present they are premature.

The fate of the reciprocity treaty signed with Mexico in 1883 demonstrates the correctness of this view. That treaty, which was initiated by this government, was made with a country contiguous with it for nearly two thousand miles, and which is inhabited by twelve millions of people, who produce, in proportion to their population, very few manufactured articles, but who have all the elements of soil, climate, and labor necessary to produce the raw materials needed by the manufacturing industries of the United States. That nation, too, is connected with the United States by four trunk railways built by North American companies, which are really extensions and feeders of the trunk lines of this country. It is clear that, if reciprocity could not be established with Mexico, much less can it be adopted with the other American nations, which do not have such favorable conditions, excepting perhaps Brazil, which has developed a very large trade with the United States. It has been found impossible to carry out the reciprocity treaty with Mexico, which intended,

by the exemption of duty on Mexican sugar, to open new sources of production and trade. Moreover, on account of regulations issued by the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, this country has nearly closed its doors to the chief article of Mexican export, mineral ore—an industry which has been developed by the construction of railroads in Mexico, this ore being the principal article that they transport, and which has been encouraged and increased by the capital and skill of this country.

The main reason why the reciprocity treaty with Mexico has not been put in operation has been the opposition to receiving, free of duty, Mexican sugar, notwithstanding that, as compensation for such advantage, Mexico made valuable concessions to this country; and yet in the Tariff Bill recently approved by the House of Representatives, and favorably reported by the Finance Committee of the Senate (known as the McKinley Bill), foreign sugar is exempted from all import duties, without any compensation or advantage in favor of the national production of other articles. That bill, if it ever becomes a law, will strike a terrible blow not only at reciprocity treaties, but at the increase of the trade of the United States with the other nations of this continent.

This matter was, undoubtedly, the one that was considered most fully in the Conference, and the one which commanded the most earnest attention. The committee agreed as to the difficulty of establishing a customs union, in the sense of a Zollverein, and as to the desirability of making reciprocity treaties to promote trade between the respective countries. On this point, however, the committee was divided, as the Brazilian, Colombian, Venezuelan, Nicaraguan, and Mexican members of it recommended the negotiation of such treaties, not upon a uniform basis, but in accordance with the circumstances and needs of each country, while the Argentine and Chilian delegates thought it officiousness on the part of the Conference to make any such recommendation. The Argentine government favors reciprocity treaties, since in 1875 it proposed to the United States the negotiation of one, and, as the Argentine delegate who was a member of the committee stated in the discussion, the same suggestion was renewed by the Argentine delegation to the chairman of the United States delegation in the Conference.. This gentleman, who was a member of the committee, also favored reciprocity, but he did not ac-

cept without limitation the report agreed upon by the majority of his colleagues.

The essential difference between the views of the majority and the minority of the committee was that the majority thought they ought not to discourage the negotiation of reciprocity treaties, even if this was only for the purpose of leaving on the United States the responsibility of their failure, while the minority preferred to appear as discouraging them, although really they seemed convinced of the advantages of such treaties and wished to negotiate them.

The discussion on this subject was carried on mainly between the delegates of the Argentine Republic and the United States who were members of the committee; but it properly related to the economic policy of both countries rather than to the convenience of negotiating reciprocity treaties. The Conference finally approved the recommendation of the majority in favor of such treaties, and refused to give a vote against customs union, because it thought this was a slight to the law convening the Conference, and because the United States delegates were among the first to acknowledge the impracticability of such a union. The minority had to reconsider the abrupt manner in which they rejected the customs union.

Mr. Blaine attached a great deal of importance to this matter, and the decided interest which he took in it was only revealed several months after the adjournment of the Conference. Conscious of the many advantages which will accrue to his country by the negotiation of such treaties, he did all that was in his power before the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives, which was at the time preparing a tariff bill, for the purpose of inducing it to accept such a basis as would favor the negotiation of these treaties. The official and private utterances of Mr. Blaine which have since appeared show very plainly the great importance he attached to the subject, and the interest he felt in it was so great that he even went so far as to antagonize his own political party. For the failure of reciprocity treaties he, therefore, cannot be responsible. The Argentine delegates, who were not aware of all his efforts, very likely thought that he was indifferent to their proposal, but subsequent events have shown that this was not the case.

The result proves very clearly how little the real condition of things was appreciated by some of the manufacturing nations of

Europe when they feared that the United States would negotiate reciprocity treaties with the American republics that might interfere with their own present commercial relations.

Another of the principal questions submitted to the Conference was the monetary union. In this question the Conference took a step backward. The law of Congress which convened it submitted to the Conference the consideration of the convenience of "coining a silver coin of the same weight and fineness, which would be a legal-tender in all the American nations." The Conference decided to recommend the meeting in Washington of another special conference with a view to decide about the coining of *one or more coins*, without stating the metal of which they should be coined, of the same weight and fineness, to be used in the nations represented in the Conference, without stating whether they should be a legal-tender in all of them. All, or almost all, the Latin-American nations preferred the basis laid down in the convening law, but they had to yield on this point so as to act in accordance with the United States, whose delegates, excepting one, Mr. Estee, were decidedly opposed to the coining of legal-tender silver money. The law recently approved by the Congress of the United States regarding the coinage of silver very likely will influence the policy of this administration when this matter is again brought up.

The part which the Montevidean treaties took in the Conference ought not to be omitted. It is known that the principal nations of South America met in congress in Montevideo in 1888, and accepted common rules upon private, international, penal procedure, patents, trade-marks, copyright, extradition, etc., etc. The broadness and details of these rules have prevented some of the nations which attended that congress, and whose plenipotentiaries signed the treaties, from accepting them all. The Mexican government, which, at the request of the Argentine Republic, has been studying those treaties for more than a year, has not as yet come to any conclusion about them. As the rules accepted in these treaties are those prevailing in the nations which follow the Roman law, and as the United States are ruled by the English or common law, it was very difficult for this country to accept the treaties in all their details, since that would be equivalent to changing the basis of their legislation. This explains the opposition of the United States delegation to these treaties. Notwith-

standing all this, three of them—those relating to copyrights, trade-marks, and patents—were accepted by the United States delegate who was a member of the committee, and, finally, by the delegation when the matter was brought to a vote before the Conference.

The Conference took up, besides, several other subjects which, although important in themselves, appear in a secondary light when compared with those I have mentioned. I refer to the recommendation favoring a uniform system of weights and measures; those in favor of the Montevidean treaties on trade-marks, copyrights, and patents; and those to adopt uniform and liberal rules for the valuation of merchandise at the custom-houses; to simplify the import and consular dues; to establish in Washington an international bureau of information on commercial subjects; to accept any of the South American conventions for sanitary purposes; to establish railways and lines of steamers among the several nations; to negotiate extradition treaties; to establish an international bank for the purpose of carrying on the exchanges now made through London; and to study, with a view to their adoption, all the other Montevidean treaties. These matters are generally known, as they were published when adopted, and I therefore deem it unnecessary to say a word more about them.

The first result of the Conference—and I mention it in the first place because all the others depend on the ratification of the respective governments, which may or may not be accorded, while this is an effective one and will exercise great influence for some time to come—was the mutual acquaintance through their representatives of the different nations, which, being great distances apart and without any communication among themselves, were almost unknown to each other. The daily intercourse of the delegates for nearly six months, discussing important questions which affect the paramount interests of their respective countries, was to many of them a revelation of the importance and the condition of the states represented in the Conference. There is, therefore, no exaggeration in considering as its first result the sentiment of mutual respect and consideration which each delegate acquired for his colleagues and for the nations represented by them; and so far as the United States are concerned, this result was obtained not only among its delegates, but among

the governments and the people who had the opportunity of being daily informed of the doings of the Conference.

The second place belongs to the agreement on arbitration, which will be, if ratified by the various nations, a transcendent and very important measure. This by itself would be enough to make the Conference highly memorable and fruitful.

In regard to the monetary convention the Conference took a step backward, if bimetallism is a desideratum.

The other results of the Conference, although important in themselves, are far inferior to those that I have already mentioned.

At first sight it might appear that the results of the Conference have been disappointing; but I think it can be safely said that its success has been greater than there was any reason to expect. Almost all of the Latin-American nations came to Washington with a fear that the United States intended to impose upon them its material superiority, and they went back satisfied that, far from being so, this country had only sentiments of respect and consideration for its sister-republics, and that the United States simply intended to accomplish what was of mutual advantage to all, itself acting on the same footing as the smallest of the nations represented.

On the other hand, I believe that the Latin-American republics have left on the government and the people of the United States a more lasting and favorable impression than they had before been able to make. That was almost equivalent to a revelation for these people, as it gave an opportunity to form a better idea of their civilization, the material progress of their respective countries, and the worth and patriotism of their sons ; and it has been, too, better understood that uniformity of practices and good understanding are almost a necessity among all the American nations. Remembering that great results in behalf of mankind cannot be reached in one day, and much less when success depends on several countries affected by different influences and conditions, I have no doubt that the meeting in Washington of an assembly in which all the American nations were represented has been as greatly advantageous to the government and the people which promoted it and carried it into effect as to the other governments which sent their delegates.

M. Romero.

A KEY TO MUNICIPAL REFORM.

BY E. L. GODKIN, EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK "EVENING POST."

THAT there was a time within the remembrance of men now living when there was a great deal of pride in the city and interest in municipal affairs, among the inhabitants of New York, admits of no doubt whatever. The municipal records, the newspaper reports, the biographies and diaries, and the memory of old residents, all agree that at one period, which only came to an end, or neared its end, about forty years ago, municipal offices were objects of ambition to really eminent citizens—that is, to men conspicuous for their high personal character, for their well-established social position, or their professional or commercial success. Such men were very glad to be made mayors, or to become members of the Board of Aldermen or Common Council, and the voters, or the appointing power, sought in these categories candidates for such offices as a matter of course, or, I might term it, as one of the ordinary and inevitable decencies of municipal government.

To illustrate this by example would take more space than an article of this sort will allow, but any one can readily illustrate it for himself by going over a list of the mayors, and inquiring what was the standing in the community of any one of those who held the office, say, down to the year 1846. Very much the same thing may be said of the members of the Board of Aldermen or Common Council, by whatever name it was known. There existed at the period of which I am now speaking, in as much force in New York as in any other city in the Union, the old Anglo-Saxon tradition of "respectability"—that is, the tradition which requires that the incumbent of an office of much authority or responsibility

shall be a conspicuous person, with whose history and character the community is familiar, and who is marked out for the place by the process of natural selection which produced the earlier American Presidents, and still produces the British Prime Minister, but which in all democratic countries shows a tendency to decay under the influence of the system of artificial selection, or nomination by conventions.

Of course this fastidiousness about the quality of municipal officers must have created, and, there is plenty of evidence to show, did actually create, a strong popular interest in city administration and a good deal of pride in the way the corporation was represented before the world. This is not saying that the city was nearly as well supplied with comforts and conveniences as it now is, or that its municipal machinery was nearly as perfect. It had no public water supply ; it was poorly lighted ; it had no system of public schools and little or no police, and was so primitive in its notions of municipal propriety that the pigs ran loose in the streets. Science and experience and increased wealth have put a hundred means and appliances of health and security within reach of the present generation which were by no endeavor attainable in those days. All that I contend for is that men at that time lived up to such lights as they had touching the best conditions of municipal life, and had a satisfaction in their citizenship which is now unknown.

To explain the change which has since taken place in the attitude of the more intelligent portion of the voters towards the municipality and its belongings is to explain the crisis through which municipal politics are now passing. For the honest truth about our municipal troubles is that they are due not so much to a particular kind of legislation as to a particular state of mind among the people ; and no suggestion of a remedy would be adequate or complete without some examination of this state of mind.

The change began, as I have pointed out in a former article in this REVIEW, almost immediately after the adoption of the constitution of 1846, which gave the suffrage to all adult white males. As the population of the city was then composed, the effect of this in city politics would have been, for a while at least, weak or insignificant, if it had not been that there was at the same time a sudden and marked increase in the immigration from

Europe, partly owing to the famine in Ireland and partly to the troubles on the continent of Europe during the years following 1848.

As the city grew, the majority adhered firmly to the Democratic party, while the State, after going through several permutations, finally settled down as Republican almost as soon as the Republican party came into existence. It is remarkable, and important, that the State Senate has had a Republican majority every year since 1854, except 1870, 1874, 1881, and 1882, and in these years the Democratic majority was very trifling. In the Assembly the Republicans have had a majority since 1854 in every year except 1862 (when there was a tie), 1869 and 1870, 1874, 1881, and 1882, but the Democratic majority in these exceptional years was, as in the Senate, very small. During all this period the city has given Democratic majorities every year except 1861. An explanation of this divergence of political opinion and feeling between the urban and rural population would need an article to itself. It is due, like other political and social phenomena, to a composition of causes. But it is not necessary for my present purpose to explain it.

The feature in this divergence to which I wish to call attention is its permanence, and the failure of the Republicans, though holding the State government for nearly the whole period in all its branches, to make any perceptible impression on the majority in the city. They began their attacks on it in 1857, by taking the control of the police force out of the hands of the city authorities, and have since then scarcely allowed a year to pass without some change in the city charter, or some redistribution of city offices, with the avowed intention of destroying the Democratic supremacy. These attempts, too, have been vigorously supported ever since 1861 by the lavish use of the enormous Federal patronage concentrated in New York through the custom-house, the post-office, and the Federal courts, and by a Federal act providing for the supervision of the local elections by Federal officers. About 1870 an effort was made by the late President Arthur to supplement these instrumentalities by the creation of a Republican "machine," intended to counteract the Tammany Society by the use of agencies similar to those employed by Tammany, and kept in operation by the use of Federal offices, just as the Tammany machine was by the use of municipal offices. To make it more

effective, a certain number of a then novel kind of politician in the shape of Republican Irishmen, typified by "Johnny" O'Brien and "Mike" Cregan, were enlisted in it, and became its leaders and managers. These men were meant to fight the devil with fire—that is, defeat Tammany by the use of its own arts. This device also proved a failure. It never was sufficient to rescue the city from the Democrats. The most it has ever been able to accomplish has been to secure to the Republicans a certain share of the city offices by bargains with the Democrats, made either through the Republican majority in the Legislature or by direct negotiation with the Tammany leaders in this city. During this long period the Republicans have been able to elect only one mayor, Mr. Opdyke, as a Republican, unless Mr. Havemeyer was entitled to that appellation—which I doubt. It would seem, therefore, as if the Democratic majority in this city were a fixed quantity, and as if its destruction by any weapons within the reach of its opponents were something which for practical purposes cannot be considered within reach, or even within sight.

The Republicans, although they undoubtedly comprise the more intelligent and well-to-do portion of the population, have no influence, intellectual or moral, on the bulk of the Democratic voters, and have in local canvasses no effective power of persuasion or conversion. This is a singular phenomenon. I doubt if the like of it is to be found in any other city, except possibly Paris. Neither the rich, nor the moral, nor the educated have in thirty years succeeded in making any impression whatever on the political opinions of the Democratic masses. In competing for influence over them, they have been always hopelessly distanced by the ordinary Tammany committee-men and district leaders. Neither through its books, nor its sermons, nor its newspapers does what is called the "Better Element" of the Republican party reach the Democratic rank and file. There has never been in the past forty years any successful political evangelization done by it in this city, although it spends millions in various forms of philanthropic and missionary effort. It and its agents are beaten at every turn, as political and moral influences, by the Tammany liquor-dealers and ward politicians.

In order to protect themselves against the grosser consequences of Democratic ignorance and corruption, Republicans have been compelled to fly to Albany and ask for some sort of

temporary relief in the shape of special legislation. This has had two unfortunate results. It has, in the first place, ended—it is to be hoped not permanently—in debauching the Legislature by presenting every year to it a rich community in the attitude of a suppliant for deliverance from some sort of local evil. This annually-recurring demand for legislative help against the local majority, generally made by people who are well known to be able to pay for it, has naturally led the members from the country districts to treat the city as the oyster of needy men, to welcome petitions for relief in particular exigencies, and to turn their attention away from the construction of any general constitutional framework of city government. To a large majority of the legislators in both houses, legislation about New York city is much the most attractive feature of their sessions. Without it their task would be exceedingly dull, and to many of them very unprofitable. Any one who goes over the newspaper records of the legislative work of the sessions of the last forty years will find that all, or nearly all, the great Albany struggles, excitements, and scandals have arisen out of some attempt to legislate touching the distribution of municipal offices.

Nor is the evil confined to the excessive or corrupt legislative meddling with city affairs, or to attempts to "strike" wealthy corporations through taxation. It is made almost as manifest in the reluctance of the party in power to provide for the most needful city improvements, owing to its unwillingness to intrust the spending of large sums of money to the local authorities. If the truth were fully known, it would be found that a good many of the local inconveniences from which we suffer—such, for instance, as the poor pavements of our city and the absence of rapid transit—were the results of Republican disbelief in the possibility of getting any great public work honestly executed through the instrumentality of Democratic officials. Republican legislators would probably dislike much, under any circumstances, to put large enterprises, involving the employment of a great deal of labor, into the hands of Tammany agents, but they are supplied with abundant and respectable excuse for this reluctance by the quality of the municipal officers whom we elect. The new court-house and the new aqueduct, the only two great municipal works attempted since the war, both proved large jobs in which local Democrats were the

chief actors. The aqueduct was saved in time, owing to the very audacity of the jobbers ; but both would furnish anybody who defends the kind of supervision now exercised by the State over city affairs with a justification in which it would be hard to pick holes.

From unwillingness to commit public improvements to Democratic hands, to bargaining with the Democrats for a share of the plunder, the distance is not great, and we see illustrations at every session of the Legislature of the strength of the temptation created by Democratic eagerness to get hold of the money. The strain on integrity which the situation creates on both sides is, in fact, greater than human nature can bear, even when it has not been trained in city politics. Nothing can well be more demoralizing for the country member of the Legislature than the power to regulate the affairs of a wealthy community to which he does not belong and whose interests he does not understand. Nothing, too, is more demoralizing for a minority in any community than the discovery that it need not try persuasion on the majority in order to accomplish its ends ; that there is a power outside to which it can appeal to enable it to have its way when elections go against it. Public spirit and a real interest in public affairs cannot shine in a situation of this sort ; and yet this is the situation in which the Republicans of the city have been living for thirty years. Under these circumstances civic pride has well-nigh died out amongst them ; gifts to the city, considering the enormous fortunes which have been made in it during the past fifty years, are extraordinarily scanty ; the tendency to regard the city as a place to make money in, but to live and die out of, has been growing steadily ; and the city is becoming more and more renowned for its dirt, disorder, and discomfort, as well as for its wealth and size.

It is not surprising, all these things considered, that, when we have reached a very bad pass, when there has been some display of more than ordinary dishonesty and incapacity among our city rulers, the first thing which some good people should think of is an expedition to Albany to get the charter changed, or to get somebody legislated out of office, or some officer's power curtailed. Two generations have grown up in familiarity with this sort of reform, and many people can hardly think of any other. Mr. Andrew D. White, the former president of Cornell University, through service in the Legislature, as well as through observation,

very familiar with the New York problem, is still so much under the influence of this Republican tradition that he read a paper at the last meeting of the Social Science Association at Saratoga proposing this very thing—that is, that we should ask for a change in the charter making the mayor and a good-sized Common Council elective on a general ticket to represent "politics," and creating a "Board of Control," with a veto on expenditures, to represent "property."

All experience justifies us in believing that any such Common Council would be simply a hot-bed of politics, and would spend most of its time devising schemes for the abolition of the Board of Control, which it would doubtless accomplish before very long. The Board of Control, too, was an idea of the Tilden Municipal Commission in 1877, embodied in a constitutional amendment which the Legislature refused to submit to the people, and which would certainly have far less chance now than it had then. The truth is that, in the existing state of the New York mind about city government, we cannot bear any more Common Council than we have got; a small body elected by districts, and possessing no powers of any importance, is as much of this sort of machinery as is tolerable. It pleases the lower class of ward politicians, and gives them a few small places with salaries to fight for, and does the rest of the community no great harm.

As regards the finances, the present Board of Apportionment is probably as good a Board of Control as can be desired. It is composed of the mayor, the comptroller, the president of the Board of Taxes and Assessments, and the president of the Board of Aldermen—most of the men actually charged with the administration of the city and responsible for the amount of the expenditures. If we fill these places with first-class men, the board answers all our needs. If we do not, no board would improve our condition. A board representing property-holders simply, with no strong or greatly changed or improved public sentiment behind it, would be simply a target for abuse by the Tammany orators or newspapers, even if it tried to rise above the condition of its origin. There may come a time when New York will be able to support with impunity a large home legislature, with full control of the municipal finances, but it will not be until the traditions of the present *régime* have perished or have been greatly weakened. If such a body were elected now, it would be two-

thirds filled with the kind of persons who now compose the Tammany Executive Committee. Men of good standing and character on both sides would be unwilling to enter it, and it would probably be as venal as the Albany Legislature, if not as the Board of Aldermen, and we should have the air filled with stories of "deals" and "jobs" through most of the year. It would naturally, and, indeed, properly, represent the view of municipal government now held by the bulk of the voters of both parties—the view, namely, that the main object of elections is to decide which of the two parties shall have the control and distribution of the salaried municipal offices.

This is the meaning which the term "politics" now bears in the minds of nine out of ten inhabitants of the city. Of an election as a means of deciding which of two conflicting policies in the management of city affairs shall prevail, the very memory has almost all been lost. When you talk of such an election as a possibility to a very large proportion even of the more intelligent class of the community, you are apt to be set down as visionary and as occupied with schemes which, if practicable anywhere, will only be practicable in the New Jerusalem. We cannot at present get two rival systems of rapid transit, for instance, or two rival schemes of street paving, or two rival systems of taxation, submitted to the popular vote. The only question we can get passed on at the polls is which set of politicians shall have the handling of the money which the scheme—any scheme—will cost. This is our "politics" at present. It is this "politics" which a large municipal council, or any municipal council which had control of the finances, would, in the present state of the public mind, represent.

Now, it is because this state of mind prevails, to all outward appearance, among the intelligent and wealthy just as much as among the poor and ignorant, that the power of the semi-criminal organization known as Tammany Hall over the latter not only remains unshaken, but grows stronger from year to year. Every year its management descends, with perfect impunity, into the hands of a more and more degraded class. This year only one regular honest calling is represented in its Executive Committee. But no Republican is able to make any appeal to the better instincts of the Tammany voters based on the loftier views or the purer practice of his own party. He cannot try to sow in the minds of such

voters the seeds of civic pride, because he cannot point to any signs of such pride among his own people. He cannot descant on the folly or wickedness of sacrificing the interests of the city to Federal interests, because he does that very thing himself whenever he gets a chance. He votes for the mayor with a view to affecting the election to the Presidency, or in order to help or hinder legislation on the tariff. He assists this year in ousting a good man from a city office, or in putting a weaker one in, solely as a preparation for getting control of the custom-house or post-office some other year. In fact, he shows no more concern in his municipal action for the physical and moral welfare of Pat or Hans in a tenement-house on Avenue A than Pat or Hans shows for his in his brown-stone dwelling on Madison Avenue.

It is impossible for any one who goes canvassing among Tammany voters on behalf of the municipal welfare to point to a good example of any kind, or to any striking evidences of what I may call a municipal conscience, among the property-holders who grumble so fiercely about the smallness of the return they get in New York for their taxes. In no city in Christendom to-day have the poor been left by their more fortunate neighbors and fellow-citizens so completely as in this to the tender mercies of demagogues and thieves and imposters. The attempt to get rid of responsibility for their social and moral and physical surroundings by proffering them religious instruction or free pews in Protestant churches, while treating the condition of their dwellings, the police which protects them, the courts from which they get their justice, the hospitals in which they find refuge from sickness and misfortune, the sanitary regulations from which they acquire their notions of American decency and order, as "politics," with which clergymen and business men, and "nice people" generally, cannot be expected to have anything to do, is surely taking the lowest view of it—an immense shame and scandal; but it fully explains the municipal situation at present.

The conclusion to which all this brings us, if it be well founded, is that the work of municipal reform is really a work of education. No change in the machinery of government would do us any good without a radical change in the way of looking at municipal administration on the part of the more intelligent class of voters. There never has been an occasion in politics which

called more distinctly for a rending of our hearts rather than of our garments. That a change in the direction I have indicated will be difficult, and need a good deal of time to become thoroughly effective, there is no doubt. The tendency of men who are engaged in political movements of any kind to act within party lines, and to prefer party associates for all places of trust, is very strong and has a good deal to be said for it. It is doubtless easier to work in city affairs with those with whom we have been accustomed to work in Federal and State affairs. We have a confidence in their motives and a comprehension of their point of view which are apt to be wanting with regard to opponents in other fields. It is hard to believe that a Democrat is aiming at the things that we are aiming at in local affairs, knowing how widely separated from him we are in national or State affairs.

Nor is there anything novel or peculiarly American in this difficulty. It has been fully experienced by reformers in other countries. The old municipalities in England were hot-beds of politics in our sense of the term. But it has been overcome. In all the great cities of parliamentary European countries, in one way or another the lesson of treating the municipality as a business corporation has been learned, and is acted on. Radicals and Conservatives have learned, as a solemn duty, to treat cleanliness, and police and drainage, and water supply as questions of business and philanthropy to be settled on their own merits, from which there is, for honest and humane men, no escape. In this lies the solution of the great municipal problem. There is no other way in which modern cities can be saved.

E. L. Godkin.

CROWNS AND CORONETS.

REMINISCENCES OF A PORTRAIT-PAINTER.

BY G. P. A. HEALY.

AT TIMES when I look back upon my long career it seems to me like a tale of olden times, of some mortal guided through forests and over mountains, across seas and plains, by a familiar and capricious spirit. My guide brought me through many a strait and led me into very unexpected worlds.

As a mere boy, in Boston, I was fortunate enough to have as a sitter a very charming and beautiful woman, a leader of fashion of those far-away days, Mrs. Otis, and in an odd, round-about way it was due to her that I painted my first portrait in the world of crowns and coronets.

One day—it was in 1834—I was working in the Louvre very earnestly from that most adorable of pictures, Correggio's "Mystical Marriage of St. Catherine."

My impression when I first saw that wonderful gallery was that really the old masters were singularly overrated; that, if their fame had not been consecrated by the admiration of several centuries, people would be willing to admit that we modern artists—I dare say I added we Yankees—were quite capable of painting as well and with more dash and brilliancy. Perhaps many a young and audacious ignoramus has thought and even said as much before and since. When I began to open my eyes, to learn my art, to copy these old masters, I began also to understand that the admiration of centuries was perhaps justified, and that it might require some years of hard work before I quite came up to Raphael, Vinci, or Correggio.

At any rate, I was, that day, doing my best, as humbly as I then knew how, to copy the "Marriage," when I suddenly felt

that I was no longer alone before my easel. Visitors, English visitors especially, would often, while visiting the Louvre, stop and look at the various copies. These two, husband and wife evidently, pleasant-looking people, were English, and questioned me with interest. Then they moved off with a few kindly words of praise, and I never expected to see them again.

A little later I started for Italy—a pilgrimage which tempts every young painter—and naturally I travelled as economically as possible. Generally my journeys were accomplished on foot; but Italy is a long way off, and I crossed Mont Cenis in the stage-coach. At Alexandria we stopped to rest, and the first people I saw at the inn were the English travellers. To my great surprise and pleasure they recognized me and spoke. In Switzerland they had met a friend to whom, incidentally, they had mentioned the young American painter; the friend, who was Mrs. Otis, exclaimed: "Why, that must be George!" And so "George" seemed no longer a stranger to them, and Sir Arthur Brooke Faulkner and his charming wife became the kindest friends and patrons of the unknown American painter.

Sir Arthur and Lady Faulkner travelled in their own carriage. They most graciously offered me a place in it for the rest of the journey; I need not say how eagerly I accepted. In these days of steam we rush through the countries we visit; we do not really see them. Travelling in a comfortable, venerable-looking coach, ingeniously packed with all sorts of portable luxuries, roomy and easy, stopping where and when one chooses, is a delight of which our young people can scarcely form an idea. My enthusiasm for the lovely country in which we found ourselves was enhanced by the delights of a new and warm friendship. By the time we reached Naples it was an understood thing that I should before long go to London and meet my kind English friends.

Events seemed about to shape my career into that of an English artist. Sir Arthur Faulkner, whose position in the London world was a high one, obtained sittings for me from the Duke of Sussex, uncle to the present Queen. This was a splendid opening for a young painter, and I did my very best. The portrait proved successful and brought me various commissions and some notice.

The Duke of Sussex, who was in those days a middle-aged man, and usually wore a velvet cap on his bald head, was most

amiable and simple. He had made a left-handed marriage—he was not the only one of the family who had done so ; only he remained faithful to his chosen mate—with a lady who bore the title of Duchess of Inverness. She was a very little woman, just five feet tall, and he was a man of superb stature—six feet four inches. But in that big body beat a very soft and tender heart.

Lady Agnes Buller, twin sister of the Duke of Northumberland, was one of the most kind and charming of my sitters at that time, toward 1839. Her conversation was very interesting, but certain faults of pronunciation contracted in the nursery were still perceptible, in spite of education and intelligence. She was nearly always obliged to repeat the word "picture" to get it right, being always tempted to say "pictur." She envied the children of modest parents who were not shut up with nursery governesses and maids.

Lord and Lady Waldegrave also ordered their portraits. Lady Waldegrave was the daughter of the famous singer Braham. This delightful tenor's name was really Abraham; but the children of Israel not being yet in odor of sanctity, he thought he might Christianize himself by signing it A. Braham.

One of my pleasantest remembrances of those days was a holiday spent most joyously by my young wife (I had just married), some artist friends, and myself. During a sitting Lord Waldegrave exclaimed : "You ought to visit Strawberry Hill ; it is classical ground." Strawberry Hill was his country seat at Twickenham, on the Thames. He sent orders to his housekeeper to prepare a good luncheon for us. We started early, taking boat on the river, and I doubt whether a merrier party of young people ever enjoyed a more perfect day. I do not know what the correct servants in livery who waited on us thought of these Americans who filled the superb dining-room with their jokes and laughter; but I am sure they considered that our people are endowed with remarkable appetites.

Strawberry Hill, which had belonged to Horace Walpole, is beautifully situated, with magnificent gardens sloping down to the river. It was here that Walpole wrote his famous "Letters." Here also, probably, he received many a charming missive from the Marquise du Deffand, the blind old woman so full of wit and charm, whose last romance—a very maternal sort of romance, of course—was woven in honor of the fascinating Englishman.

I remember another romantic incident of these early years. I painted a small whole-length portrait of the Master of Grant, the head of the clan, in his Highland dress. He was a superb-looking man and a great favorite with the fair sex. He died suddenly soon after I had finished my work. Two ladies of very high rank ordered a copy of my portrait to be painted secretly and sent to them under lock and key. I never learned the exact truth with regard to these clients of mine, but, naturally, my imagination built up a romance about this mysterious order.

I had thus obtained, at this period of my life, an excellent English connection. It seemed as though I had but to continue doing my very best to please my aristocratic patrons in order to arrive at a good position and fortune. An incident interrupted my course, and my life was shaped after a very different fashion.

Our Minister at the court of France was then General Cass. He and his family were most kind to me and remained my very stanch and warm friends to the end. I had painted in 1838 a large portrait of the General. He one day said to the King, Louis Philippe: "I wish your Majesty would allow a young countryman of mine to paint your portrait." The King smilingly gave a vague promise, which, like many royal promises, came to nothing. But when he visited the annual exhibition, which then took place in the Louvre, he examined the General's portrait with interest, and asked abruptly where the young fellow who painted it was at that time. "In London, Sire." "Tell him that, if he will come to Paris, I am willing to sit to him." Naturally I was soon at His Majesty's orders.

General Cass presented me to the King, and remained during the whole of the first sitting. I remember that the conversation turned especially on Fieschi, who had just been executed. Louis Philippe was not tender on the subject of king-killers, and said: "My dear General, my countrypeople like to play at being heroes; but I shall let them see that I have the guillotine and the galleys at their service." He spoke English most admirably, using it not only correctly, but by no means disdaining familiar expressions. He was perfectly simple, natural, and cordial; full of sympathy, too, for Americans, and remembering his stay in America with pleasure. With his subjects, however, the King revealed himself, at times, in a most unexpected manner.

On one occasion—it was one of the early sittings devoted to deciding on the attitude—I was making a chalk drawing of the King. While we were trying various views of the head, the *aide-de-camp de service* who assisted at the sitting and who, doubtless, was more accustomed to the life of the camp than to that of the court, threw himself into an exaggerated and theatrical attitude, exclaiming: "*Voilà une pose Sire!*" The King frowned and said severely: "*Monsieur le général!*" The poor general instantly bowed so low that he seemed to double up, to collapse, and he humbly muttered: "*Je rétracte, Sire, je rétracte!*" It was an insignificant little incident, but it showed me clearly what were, inevitably, the relations of sovereign and courtier.

Louis Philippe grew interested in his portrait, and his family with him. Madame Adelaide especially, sister to the King, never missed a sitting, and I saw familiarly at that time many famous men whose names are now historical; among others, Maréchal Soult, then Minister of War, whom I painted later.

The King's portrait, which belonged to General Cass, proved a success. Louis Philippe sent for me one morning and said: "Mr. Healy, I understand that I was seen last evening at your Minister's in very good company—between Washington and Guizot, both painted by you. Where and how did you copy your Washington?" I had simply copied it from an engraving after Stuart's portrait of Washington, not having the original within my reach. The King then told me that while he and his brother were in the United States they had seen Stuart at work on the portrait of Washington ordered by Mrs. Bingham; during the sittings Washington conversed with the young princes. The King added: "And I want you to make me a copy of that very portrait."

The great difficulty was to know where to find it. Louis Philippe said he would write at once to his Ambassador to London, the Comte de Saint Aulaire, and that I was to return in a week's time to hear the result of his inquiries. When I was next summoned to the Tuileries, the King exclaimed, as soon as he saw me: "Mr. Healy, we are dished! The portrait is in Russia, and, under present circumstances, I can ask nothing of the Russian government. What are we to do? I must have my Washington. I have set my heart on it!" I proposed to copy

the whole-length portrait which hangs in Faneuil Hall, in Boston. "No, no; that is in his military uniform, and I want him as the President of the United States, in his black velvet suit. Will you start for America, and do for the best? I leave the whole affair in your hands. You might copy the portrait which Mrs. Madison cut from its frame in 1812, when the English burnt the city of Washington. At any rate I shall approve whatever you decide to do."

And so it was that the unquiet spirit which all my life has turned my steps now here, now there, sent me back to America. The President, John Tyler, allowed me to paint in the room where the portrait, a rather feeble imitation of Stuart, hung, and still hangs. Later, when I passed through London, I incidentally learned that the portrait which Louis Philippe fancied was in Russia was in reality close to Portland Place, having been purchased by an American, the late John D. Lewis. The trustees of the estate allowed me to finish my copy from it. The King graciously declared himself well pleased with my work, and gave me orders for various other copies, which are still to be seen in the Palace of Versailles.

Among these copies were to be certain historical portraits belonging to the Queen of England. It was not easy to obtain permission to copy in Windsor Castle, but a king's request is always granted. I had the opportunity while working in what was then called the Waterloo Gallery—the name was changed later, when Napoleon III. visited Windsor—of noticing the difference of etiquette in the two courts. Louis Philippe never seemed to consider it beneath his kingly dignity to be pleasant and kind. Queen Victoria evidently feared to address an obscure commoner.

I was, one day, at work copying the portrait of Lord Bathurst by Lawrence, when the Queen and Prince Albert crossed the gallery and stopped to look at what I was doing. As she wished for some details as to the order the King of France had given me, etc., she turned to her husband, saying, "Ask Mr. Healy if . . . etc.," and Prince Albert put the questions to me, as though he had been translating from a foreign tongue. Then she exclaimed, looking at my copy, "It is very like," and, with the slightest possible bend of the head, passed on. I own that my American blood rather boiled in my veins. But my in-

dignation did not prevent me from looking very hard at Her Majesty. I was struck by the delicacy of the features and complexion of the young Queen, and by the extreme elegance of her very handsome husband. This was in 1841.

The revolution of 1848, which sent Louis Philippe to England, an exile, deprived me of my royal patron and ended my fortune in France. My English connection was lost, most of my kind friends being dead or dispersed. During this long period I had gone frequently to the United States, and there had painted many people of note, and made many stanch friends; but I had always returned to France. In 1855 I went to Chicago for the first time, and a year later my family joined me. It seemed then as though I was never likely again to have anything more to do with kings, queens, or princes.

Overwork having brought on a state of nervous prostration, I made up my mind, in 1866, to return to Europe. As long as I remained in Chicago I was certain to do more than my strength would permit, as I have never known how to refuse a good order, and prolonged sleeplessness was beginning to tell on my health. My family sailed for France in June, 1866, and I followed just a year later, in time for the Universal Exhibition.

We spent some years in Rome, where I worked with more moderation than in America, and my health became excellent once more. And it was in Rome that, very unexpectedly, I again found myself the painter of princely sitters.

In 1869 the Duke of Nassau visited the different Roman studios. He wished to have a portrait of his young niece, the Princess Oldenburg, then affianced to the Duke of Weimar. I was fortunate enough to be chosen, and the Princess, a fair young girl of about seventeen, gave me sittings. Her proposed husband watched the progress of the portrait, and I was then painfully impressed with the evident want of sympathy which existed between the affianced pair. However, the preparations for the wedding went on. It was on the very eve of the marriage-day that the poor young bride found courage to break it off. The affair, an almost unheard-of one in the world to which she belonged, made a terrible stir. I must say that my most hearty sympathies were with my gentle, fair young sitter.

But if the Duke of Weimar's visits to my studio were not always perfectly pleasant, another visitor was welcome as sunshine

itself. This was a cousin of the young Princess of Oldenburg, the exquisite and charming Princess of Roumania, since Queen of that country. She had been sent to Rome for her health and was greatly enjoying all she saw; enjoying also her freedom from court etiquette, and, I think, maliciously reducing the lady of honor and the chamberlain who accompanied her to the verge of despair.

Before the portrait of her cousin was quite finished, the Princess of Roumania ordered hers, as a surprise for her husband. I painted her dressed in the national costume; it consisted of a sort of embroidered chemise, with long loose sleeves, an open jacket, a red skirt embroidered in gold, red morocco boots, and a thin tissue veil covering the whole costume, also embroidered in red and gold. The dress was very becoming to her; her expressive face was almost perfect, the only defect being a rather high forehead. Since those days she has worn her hair according to the present fashion, cut and curled on the forehead, so that this slight defect is no longer noticeable.

Of late years the Queen of Roumania has become well known and has been much written about in America as well as in Europe. Under the name of Carmen Sylva she has published poems and novels, meditations and dramatic works, not only in German, her native tongue, but also in French. Last year she was crowned by the French Academy, and Pierre Loti, the author of "Pécheurs d' Islande," has just dedicated his last book to her. But some twenty years ago, when she visited my studio, and told me, during the long sittings, all about her home life, "Carl," her husband, her lovely little baby girl,—so soon, alas! to be taken from her,—her enthusiasm about her adopted country, and her desire to do everything humanly possible for the happiness of her people, the Princess was scarcely known beyond her own circle and the privileged few who were admitted to her charming presence.

She was born Princess of Neuwied, a very small and modest principality on the Rhine, and she was brought up by her admirable mother as simply as any country girl of her neighborhood. Her education, however, was most complete; she speaks English and French as perfectly as her own tongue, and with no vestige of accent. She is an excellent musician, and has a curious talent for miniature-painting and old-fashioned illuminating. All that she does she seems to do with perfect facility, and whatever her

task may be, she accomplishes it with as much ardor as though her whole future depended upon its success.

I think that all who have approached the Queen of Roumania will agree with me when I say that no woman was ever more thoroughly a woman, more daintily refined, more genuinely warm-hearted, kind, compassionate, more enamored of all that is pure and noble. And if ever these lines meet her eyes, I rejoice to think that the homage of her American painter may not displease her.

In the course of the sittings the Princess questioned me about the different members of my family. I own to a weakness which I have often tried in vain to overcome. I cannot refrain from talking about my wife and children; and just about that time my first grandson was born, so that he also came in for a share of fond gossip. The Princess seeming interested,—I have said how indulgent she was,—I ventured to say that, if she wished to confer a great favor on her painter and dine at his house, he would then present the members of his family to her. "But I should delight to dine with you, Mr. Healy; it would be such fun!" And she really did seem to enjoy the dinner, and the absolute lack of etiquette and ceremony, the hearty pleasure each and all felt in her sweet presence. Only I fear that her lady of honor suffered cruelly! The Princess was so gay, so happy, so delighted with the music of a French "Grand Prix de Rome" from the Villa Medicis hard by, so full of admiration for the beauty of our American countrywomen, that surely court etiquette, as represented by the worthy lady, must have been at every moment ruffled and exasperated.

I was sincerely most sorry when the portrait was finished and my charming sitter had gone back to her adopted country. But in 1872 I was called to Roumania by the Prince, and I remained at the court some months, painting various portraits of the Prince, of his wife, and their beautiful little daughter, who died shortly after. It was their only child, and they have had none since, to their very great sorrow.

I painted the little girl's portrait, not at Bucharest, but in the mountains, at Sinaia, where the court spends all the warm months. The King has since built a beautiful palace on the wooded mountain slope, but when I first went to Sinaia the palace was only planned, and we lodged as best we could—not very well, in

truth—in an old monastery, where we had some difficulty in finding a painting-room of any sort. But I worked out of doors a great deal. The little Princess is represented seated on a rock in the woods, and her mother, dressed in the national costume, which she habitually wears, is seen behind the child, and half hidden by her.

It was agreed that, in my character of American, of republican, I might dispense with all ceremony. The Prince treated me as kindly as did the Princess, and I was allowed to work as long and as quietly as in my own studio, taking my meals at the royal table when I chose or having them served in my painting-room. Both husband and wife would come in familiarly now and again to see how I was getting along and sit down to have a little talk. On one occasion I remember that the Princess, who was generosity itself, who was always giving and had innumerable protégés, showed me her purse, which seemed very empty, saying: "Is'nt it flat, Mr. Healy? My poor purse—it is its normal condition!"

Once again I was to see Roumania. It was in 1881. I had gone to America, as I was in the habit of doing every few years, and was at work in Chicago. A despatch from the Princess of Roumania reached me at a moment when several portraits were already begun. The Prince had been named colonel of a Prussian regiment, and of an Austrian one also. The rule in such a case is for the royal colonel to send his portrait to his new regiment—which is a platonic way of commanding it. I was requested to paint both. I excused myself to my Chicago friends, promised to return soon, and the next Saturday found me a passenger on a trans-Atlantic steamer. It was during this visit to Bucharest that the Prince and Princess became King and Queen. One day, while I was at work, the chamberlain came to request my presence near my royal hosts. I found them in the throne room. The Prince was evidently full of emotion and so was his wife. All the members of the Chambers were introduced. They had just voted the new dignity, and came in a body to proclaim the result of the vote. It was a very simple ceremony: the delegates were in their ordinary clothes, and passed in order before their sovereigns. The King's hand, which held his written address, trembled visibly.

But though my sitters were now "Majesties," our relations remained as charming as ever, and it seemed to me that both, however flattered and pleased they might be, half regretted the

old title. When I took leave of my hosts, it was with a sad and heavy heart, as though this parting were likely to be the last. I have not seen them since.

During my stay in Rome I painted from memory a portrait of Pope Pius IX. His Holiness, having seen this unfinished work, liked it, and consented to give me a few sittings. This was a great favor, which I highly appreciated. So far I had only seen the Pope, with other strangers, at the Vatican receptions, or from afar when he officiated at St. Peter's, before the events of 1870.

I was introduced, one morning, into Pius IX.'s library; a pleasant room, simply enough furnished, full of books, the table covered with papers. The Pope was dressed all in white cloth, with scarlet shoes; the hair was white, the face rather pale, with very bright eyes, not incapable of sparkle, for His Holiness knew how to take a joke. He was a pretty good sitter, but somewhat restless, and curious also as to what his painter was about. On one occasion he arose from his seat to look over my shoulder. When I am earnestly at work, I wish my sitters to help me, and do their duty by remaining in the attitude I have chosen. I exclaimed, perhaps a little abruptly: "I beg your Holiness to sit down." The Pope laughed and said: "I am accustomed to give orders, not to receive them. But you see, Mr. Healy, that I also know how to obey," and submissively went back to his chair.

Pius IX. has been dead now many a year. I like to think of the few short sittings he gave me in his cheerful library; I like to remember his quiet, pleasant talk, his rather Italian-sounding French, his judgments of men and things. One day, speaking of a monk who had left the church and married, he observed, not without malice: "He has taken his punishment in his own hands." I like especially to feel as though the hours spent in his presence had cast a glow on my later years, as the glorious setting sun behind St. Peter's throws a glamour over Rome, its domes and gardens. I often think, also, of Pius IX.'s gentle reproach to one of my countrymen who, in his American pride, refused to bend before him: "My son, an old man's blessing never did harm to any one."

GEORGE P. A. HEALY.

THE FUTURE OF AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES.

BY ANDREW D. WHITE, LL.D., EX-PRESIDENT OF CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

A LATE report of the Bureau of Education at Washington shows in the United States nearly four hundred institutions claiming to do university work.

Two questions immediately suggest themselves. First, that which Principal Tulloch, of the University of St. Andrew's, once asked a metropolitan audience: "If, as all of us in Scotland well know, our four universities are certainly two, and possibly three, more than Scotland needs, what can you do with twenty-two universities in the State of New York?" This question is supplemented by another: If Germany acknowledges that its twenty-one universities are more than it needs, what use can the United States have for these four hundred?

The simple fact is that the report of the Bureau of Education, while it shows that we come far short of a proper provision for public instruction as a whole, shows that this mass of teaching and learning bodies is as yet mainly in chaos and awaiting the evolution of something better.

The slightest comparison between returns made by various institutions to the bureau will prove this. While at one end of the system we have institutions like Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Princeton, the universities of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Michigan, and others bearing the names of States, with Johns Hopkins, Cornell, and Tulane, each of them, as a rule, expending several hundred thousand dollars a year, and each showing that it cannot meet the demands upon it even with these great sums, we have at the other end, and, indeed, throughout the greater part of the mass, institutions claiming to do university work with an entire invested endowment less than the smallest of the sums annually used by either of the institutions above named. One little fact

occurs to the present writer as significant of many. In the budget of Cornell University for the present year are two pieces of apparatus for the department of physics, either of which demands a larger outlay than the entire income of almost any "university" in the State.

It is evident that there is error or deception somewhere : it is not necessary to suppose intentional fraud ; doubtless the mistaken estimates are in most, if not in all, cases due to local or sectarian hope, zeal, and misunderstanding.

The question is : How out of this chaos, which really cripples the higher American education and tends to bring ridicule upon it at home and abroad, can be evolved a better system, one adjusted to the various needs of the country — a system in which names of institutions correspond to facts and their work to public needs ? To this question I will, as briefly as possible, endeavor to suggest an answer.

A well-adjusted system of instruction in any constitutionally-governed country embraces three parts : First, a general public-school system, in which are taught those fundamental branches necessary to a citizen and preparatory to all higher education ; secondly, an intermediate-college system, for those whose aims and tastes carry them beyond the sphere of the public schools ; thirdly, universities and special training-schools for the highest general, professional, and technical instruction.

It is evident that the present so-called university system of the United States is a muddle of institutions devoted to these last two sorts of work,—a jumble of institutions which ought to be colleges with institutions which ought to be universities.

The results of this chaos are unfortunate in many ways.

First, there is great financial waste in the duplication of work, universities giving collegiate instruction and colleges trying to give university instruction.

Secondly, there is great waste of effort. The smaller institutions, not having funds necessary to subdivide departments, are forced to confide several distinct departments to a single individual : the result is that the professor is overworked and the instruction is bad.

Thirdly, there is moral waste. These smaller institutions, competing with the larger, have frequently to resort to means more or less at the expense of the manly self-respect of their presidents,

professors, and teachers, to say nothing of their conceptions of morals. In the Western States, especially, the war waged by petty sectarian colleges against the noble State universities has been monstrous and ridiculous. In order to keep up its small number of students, each of these denominational colleges, from the pulpits of its sect, endeavors to play upon the prejudices or fears of church members, and so to wheedle or scare them into keeping their sons and daughters out of the State universities, and into placing them in these small, insufficiently-equipped denominational institutions. The grossest misrepresentations have been frequent. More than once synods and conferences have been moved to pass resolutions denouncing these larger institutions; more than once presidents of such universities, and this not only in Western, but in Eastern, States,—men deeply religious,—have been denounced by the agents of the smaller colleges in various sectarian pulpits as "atheists," and their universities have been represented to be "hot-beds of infidelity." This sort of warfare is, indeed, outworn, and is evidently less and less profitable to those who wage it; but while it is doing less and less injury to the larger institutions, it certainly must do much moral damage to those representatives of the small colleges who feel forced to resort to it.

Finally, there is great intellectual waste. In almost all these small colleges are many admirable men, both among the professors and the students; but the professors, owing to insufficient endowments, are frequently obliged to do their work without proper means of illustration, and to waste their efforts upon such a number of subjects that they can do nothing well, so that they become prematurely jaded and discouraged. As to the students, they are frequently graduated from such colleges with a training greatly inferior to that which they suppose they are receiving, and find too late that they have been misled.

While it may be acknowledged that in very many of these colleges the instruction in mathematics, except the highest, and in Greek and Latin books ordinarily read, is thoroughly good and conscientious, it is certain that there is a woful want of proper instruction in most other departments. Men are constantly graduated from them with no knowledge of the best thought in philosophy, science, history, political economy, or literature. So that when they attempt to address the public in the pulpit, on the platform, in the professor's chair, or through the press, they

find themselves completely beaten at every turn by those who have been trained to know what the men of light and leading in various departments are thinking of *now*. Especially is this the case in the pulpit. Few sights are more pitiable than a noble, devoted clergyman, trained in systems of philosophy long since antiquated, preaching to men who have read the leading works of leading thinkers in history, philosophy, or science.

Hardly less unfortunate is the effect on the comparatively small number of institutions so largely endowed as to be entitled provisionally to the name of universities. They are obliged to waste a large share of their endowment and effort in simply duplicating the work which the great mass of colleges ought to do, and might do. These universities are burdened by large freshman and sophomore classes, embracing frequently hundreds of young men, in lower mathematics, in Greek and Latin which ought to be preparatory, and in modern languages much below the point which ought to be reached by a university student. Here, too, is great waste—a duplication of work just as unfortunate as that in the colleges.

Nothing can be more simple than the evolution process which would take both these classes of institutions out of this present chaos.

In the first place, there would be a differentiation : the more feebly-endowed institutions, forming the great majority of those now professing to do university work, would become simply and frankly intermediate colleges, and they would thus meet what is, perhaps, the greatest want of the country to-day—a system of intermediate institutions forming the connecting link between the public-school system and the university system ; discharging the duties accomplished in Germany by the gymnasia, and in England by such colleges as Eton, Harrow, Rugby, Winchester, and the like.

How can this transition from the present chaos to a well-ordered separation between the colleges and universities, in which each shall discharge its appropriate function, be best accomplished ? Apart from questions of pride or vanity, which I shall treat later, the evolution of this better system would seem to be easy.

Let institutions of small endowment, whether called colleges or universities, frankly take their rightful position ; let them stop claiming to do work which their authorities know well that they

cannot accomplish in competition with the largely-endowed universities. Let them accept the situation, and begin with their freshman year two years earlier than the present freshman year at most of the better colleges—that is, let them put their roots down into the great public-school system of the country, and draw directly and copiously from it. A course of instruction thus formed would begin with the beginning of the higher arithmetic, algebra, geometry, the principal modern languages, the elements of the natural sciences, and, for those who wish to study them, one or more of the ancient languages. Next, let this course in the intermediate college be continued up to the point which is at present reached, as a rule, in our colleges and universities of a good grade at the beginning of the junior year. After its four years' work, let the college bestow its diplomas or certificates upon its graduating classes, and then let those who desire it be admitted into the universities upon the presentation of these certificates and diplomas.

Next, as to the universities. In these let there be courses of advanced study, general, professional, or technical, covering, we will say, three years, and graduating men into the various professions.

Should this system be evolved, the United States will have a system of instruction as good as any in the world; indeed, in some respects better than any other in the world.

As to the intermediate colleges, the earliest effect upon them would be to give them a far larger number of students than they have now, and, therefore, more ample means and a far stronger hold upon the community. Those great freshman and sophomore classes which swarm in upon Harvard, Yale, Princeton, the University of Michigan, Cornell, and other large universities, would be divided among these intermediate colleges, for under the proposed system students could not, as a rule, enter the larger universities save through the intermediate colleges.

These intermediate colleges would thus be called to do the work which they can do thoroughly well. They would have no need of great laboratories, or extensive libraries, or complicated collections, or rooms equipped for "seminary" instruction: they would be training-colleges, their main need being good professors, moderate libraries, simple illustrative apparatus, and such collections as are needed for the instruction generally given up to the beginning of the junior year in our colleges.

The position of these intermediate colleges would be immediately raised. Not only would their funds be greatly increased from instruction fees, but connection with them would be far more of an honor than it is at present.

As to the public at large, a great saving in time would be made. Under the present want of system far too much time is taken ; the student really throws away two or three of his most precious years. One of the constantly-recurring questions among university professors is : " What can these young men have been doing with their time ? They are, at entering college, say, seventeen or eighteen years of age ; what have they been doing during the six or seven years since they began preparing for college ? "

The simple fact is that they have " *dawdled*," and in doing so they have not only wasted precious time, but—what is still worse —they have injured their powers of application ; for a short course pursued energetically is worth far more than a long course pursued listlessly. They have been taught at various intermediate schools, largely by men far inferior to the better grade of professors even in the smallest colleges ; they have had not only studies intermediate between the common-school and college, but little messes of various things which they would have obtained far better at college or university ;—a little old-fashioned physics and chemistry, geology, and moral philosophy,—generally by text-book recitation,— just enough to " take the edge off " any better instruction they may receive afterward. Hence the student is on the average seventeen or eighteen years of age when he enters college, is graduated at twenty-one or twenty-two, and then takes two or three years more in a professional school, bringing him not infrequently up to his twenty-fifth or twenty sixth year when he goes out into the world.

Under the system proposed in this article, the youth would enter college easily at thirteen or fourteen ; he would go on energetically under the better teachers of the collegiate system, be graduated, after four years, at seventeen or eighteen, and, after three years of advanced general, professional, or technical study at the university, he would receive his second degree and go out into the world at twenty or twenty-one years of age.

I am aware that one thing stands greatly in the way of such a consummation, and that is the pride of those at present interested in the smaller colleges.

Even the smallest of those which are at present called universities are naturally reluctant to relinquish that name. They can keep it, if they choose, under the proposed system; but it is a question whether their own good sense will not show them, even more clearly than it must show them now, how ludicrously absurd it is, close at the beginning of the twentieth century, in presence of this nation of sixty million people, for an institution to call itself a university which cannot possibly do university work.

Next, of course, comes as an obstacle the pride of the alumni of such institutions. Many of them would doubtless oppose a change which would seem to lower their standing from that of university graduates to that of graduates from an intermediate college. There are two ways of meeting this difficulty, if it be found really serious. One is to let the intermediate colleges continue to graduate their students with the degree of bachelor, and let the universities only confer higher degrees. Another way, which has been tried with good effect in at least one case in this country, would be for the universities to adopt the graduates of neighboring colleges at the time of the transition, considering their degrees equivalent to similar degrees granted by the university, and holding those bearing them as university alumni.

Still another, and perhaps a more serious, difficulty lies in the natural pride of the presidents and professors of these small colleges. It is in human nature that men should desire to hold their positions as at present; but, after all, a man calling himself a "chancellor," or even a president, of a "university" which really has only means sufficient for an ordinary preparatory school, which has but a handful of professors and students, with a library, apparatus, and collections hardly sufficient for a primary school, has no very great reason to congratulate himself on any large amount of glory afforded by his title. He would be far more highly respected by himself, by his students, and by the community at large, if he were the president of an intermediate college doing thoroughly what it pretends to do, and not nominally doing university work for which it has few applicants and no equipment.

Indeed, it is an open question whether the presidency of such an intermediate institution would not be considered fully equal to any position in any university. The state of things in England and Germany, as well as some facts in our own history, seems to throw an encouraging light upon the question. It is a well-

known fact that the heads of such English intermediate colleges as Eton, Harrow, Rugby, Marlborough, and the like, really hold a more important position in the commuuity, as a rule, than do any of the resident university anthorities, as such, at Oxford, Cambridge, or Durham. This is easily shown by the fact that the highest places in the English Church are, generally speaking, more frequently given to men who have proved administrative abilities in these intermediate colleges than to those who have merely shown high scholarship in the university faculties. The present Archbishop of Canterbury and the greater number of his recent predecessors have been chosen from among the heads of the intermediate colleges. The same thing is true in regard to the present Bishop of London and to a number of other bishops, as also in regard to very many in other high ecclesiastical positions: of these a type is the present Dean of Westminster, who, though he passed through the headship of a college at Oxford, secured his original reputation as head of one of the intermediate colleges. It would be hard to find men more honored or of wider influence than such heads of public schools as Busby, Hawtrey, and Arnold.

The same thing meets us in Germany: few professors in the universities, as such, stand as high before the public at large as do sundry heads of gymnasia. In the history of the higher education in Germany there is hardly a university professor who, so far as general influence on education is concerned, takes as high rank as Sturm, who was simply the head of a gymnasium. Any one at all familiar with German life knows that the rector of a gymnasium is, in any city, a man of mark by virtue of his position, and is quite as widely honored as is the average professor, or even rector, of any university.

Intermediate instruction in the United States reveals the same fact. How vastly inferior is the usual position of a great majority of university or college presidents to that of such heads of American gymnasia as Taylor at Andover, Hawley Olmsted at New Haven, Bancroft at Exeter, Coit at Concord, Dimock and Everett at Quincy, Andrews at Cazenovia, and a great number of others who could be named!

Finally, there would come to the intermediate colleges a new incentive to the very best work. At present, if a professor in a small college does thoroughly well, the greater universities rarely

hear of him, for there is no connection between the two classes of institutions. But under the system proposed students at the various intermediate colleges would bear straightway to the universities the reputation of the best teachers they had known. In this way men who do thorough work in the intermediate colleges would be virtually sure of advancement to positions in the universities, to the great good of both parts of the system.

Nor would the universities be less fortunate : they would be enabled to use their endowments, not in duplicating work done by the intermediate colleges, not in providing professors and teachers for students in preparatory branches, but in securing the very highest class of professors and lecturers, the most complete collections of books, apparatus, and general equipment, the most extensive facilities for investigation, research, and advancement into new realms of knowledge : in fact, they would be enabled to do what universities ought to do—they would lead young men thoroughly trained at the intermediate colleges into higher fields, and be prepared so to concentrate their resources on these higher fields that they would do far more both for instruction and for the extension of knowledge than they can ever hope to do under the present condition of things.

What, then, would be the shape taken by such a system ?

First, the great mass of public schools would be greatly improved by having better and better teachers under the plan suggested.

Secondly, there would be several hundred intermediate colleges, varying considerably, indeed, in endowment and strength, but each growing stronger and stronger, because doing legitimate work and because the public would soon find out how important this work really is as compared with the work which such colleges are pretending to do at present.

Thirdly, there would be the real universities—possibly as many as twenty or thirty. It may be thought invidious to name the institutions likely to take this rank, but every man at all acquainted with the higher education of the United States can easily indicate those most likely to have the means of carrying on advanced university work. This category would embrace the stronger of the old colleges and universities, several of the State universities, and a certain number of the newer institutions which in the last quarter of a century have received large endowments. This number would be increased, as time goes on,

by the stronger colleges here and there rising into the ranks of real universities, or occasionally by the munificence of some man rich enough, patriotic enough, and far-seeing enough to give the seven or eight millions of dollars necessary to found a university.

Of course this system cannot be forced or argued into existence at once. It is evidently coming by a process of evolution; but what I would urge is that more and more those in positions to influence this evolution should do what they can to prepare the public mind for it by aiding right reason and by giving proper direction to educational effort.

To this end it is to be hoped that wealthy men wishing to aid the lesser institutions may endow work to which such institutions are suited, and not add here and there excrescences to enable them to do work for which they are unfitted. For example, the gift of a great observatory or laboratory, worthy of a university, to a little, feebly-endowed college, while it is not, perhaps, money utterly thrown away, is generally money wofully misapplied; far better to give to such institutions money for professorships, instructorships, scholarships, and buildings.

So, too, it is to be hoped that more and more the authorities of the lesser colleges, seeing that the competition with the greater universities is becoming more and more hopeless, will turn their attention to the sort of work which can best be done by intermediate colleges, and, by doing it thoroughly well, attract large numbers of students, and so make a far more useful impression upon the country than they can hope to do by spreading their efforts not only over their own legitimate field, but over that of the universities.

And, finally, it is to be hoped that the universities, with their larger endowments, may, by constantly raising the standards of admission, require candidates for entrance to remain longer in the intermediate schools, thus aiding to develop these into intermediate colleges. As an example of a step toward this, the action recently proposed at Harvard University merits thoughtful attention, and it would be well if each of the greater and stronger universities would make preparations for giving over to intermediate colleges, first, its freshman class, and, next, its sophomore class, within the coming eight or ten years.

ANDREW D. WHITE.

LABOR TENDENCIES IN GREAT BRITAIN.

BY MICHAEL DAVITT.

EVENTS of much import to the political future of the British working classes have made themselves felt during this month of May. They will have been more or less referred to in the cable chronicles which keep the public of the United States informed of the diurnal history of Europe. Among these events were the publication of the fifth and last report of the committee of the House of Lords on "sweating" in the workshops of Great Britain, chiefly of London; Mr. Gladstone's article in *Lloyd's Newspaper* upon the rights and responsibilities of labor; and the rapid growth of British labor organizations as manifested in the popular demonstrations in Hyde Park and other parts of England on the 4th of the month in support of the eight-hours movement. It is doubtful if even the resourceful press of America can have given to these occurrences the full attention which would be essential to a correct study of their meaning. It has occurred to me, therefore, that it might not be out of place if a subject of such vast importance, not alone to British, but to international, labor interests, were discussed in some detail in the columns of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. The economic relations between the two great English-speaking parts of the industrial world render it necessary that thinking men and politicians on both sides of the Atlantic should comprehend the full meaning of the movements peculiar to both continents.

The scandalous—the almost inhuman—conditions under which working men and women are being employed in many industries in England have long been the subject of a bitter cry for redress. Public feeling has been appealed to from time to time in recent years to have this matter fully investigated, and in consequence of this agitation a Select Committee of the House of Lords was appointed last year to take evidence. It may possi-

bly excite a smile among your readers to find members of the aristocratic chamber voting themselves a task of this kind. A committee of *gourmands* resolving to investigate the quality of the food served out to the inmates of a poorhouse would about correspond, in the matter of propriety, with a committee of the House of Lords inquiring into the conditions and pay of labor in the workshops of England! However, this is how things are sometimes done in this country. The evidence collected by Lord Dunraven's committee more than confirms the statements that have been made from time to time in the press about the extent and the evils of the "sweating" system. It will hardly be credited by those in America who are not familiar with the conditions of daily toil in many of the English industries to what extent "white slavery" is still prevalent in civilized England. The report of the House of Lords' committee should be carefully read by those in the United States who know to what extent the terms and circumstances of labor in countries commercially related react upon each other's industrial well-being. I can only give a few extracts in this article.

Speaking of the tailoring industry of London, the report says (page 4):

"The conditions under which life is carried on, as described by some witnesses, are deplorable in the extreme. These witnesses have seen people working with the garments on their backs to keep the worker warm; Mr. Monroe knowing of a child with measles being covered by one of these garments. Three or four gas-jets may be flaring in the room, a coke fire burning in the wretched fire-place, sinks untrapped, closets without water, and altogether the sanitary condition abominable. A witness told us that in a double room, perhaps 9 feet by 15 feet, a man, his wife, and six children slept, and in the same room ten men were usually employed, so that at night eighteen persons would be in that one room!"

The wages paid to the unfortunate wretches who are compelled to work under such conditions are particularized as follows (pages 5 and 6):

"The highest rate paid for men's work is 10s. a day. It runs down to 2s. 6d.; women occasionally get 6s. a day, but the average is very low. For a slop coat from 2s. to 3s. 9d. was formerly paid; but the rate now is 1s. 6d. to 2s. 3d. A good coat for which a man got 10s. 2d. a few years ago now brings the maker only 6s. 6d. . . . Mr. Arnold White produced a coat which was made for seven pence halfpenny, and by working fifteen hours a woman could make four such in a day, earning 2s. 6d.; but out of this she had to pay 3d. for getting the buttonholes worked and 4d. for the trimmings."

Continuing, the report goes on to say:

"As regards the men's hours, sometimes they work eighteen, twenty, or even twenty-two hours at a stretch; a witness once worked forty hours, from 6 A. M. on Thursday till 10 P. M. on Friday. A witness went to work the day before appearing

before the committee at 6:30 A. M., and worked until 2:30 A. M. of the following day; one hour for dinner, no tea time; worked harder here than in Warsaw, and made less. A witness stated that he got 5s. per diem when at work; his hours were from 8 A. M. till 11 P. M., and employment very irregular. The Rev. R. C. Billing has seen hands at work at 2 A. M., and has found them again at work at 7 A. M. the same morning."

This state of things does not, of course, prevail in anything like a general rule throughout the tailoring trade of England. It, however, largely obtains in London and other great centres where ready-made clothing is made for exportation. The wearer of a London-made coat in New York may possibly realize the profits of "sweating" on learning that the original cost of his sartorial adornment may have been but fifteen cents!

The report supplies evidence of an almost similar state of things in the "sweating" practices of Glasgow, Edinburgh, Newcastle, Dudley, Shrewsbury, Walsall, Liverpool, Sheffield, Manchester, and Leeds tailoring.

Before entering upon the details of sweating in the boot-making trade, as supplied in evidence, the report gives the following description of how the imported Jews and other pauper work-seekers are victimized upon landing in London. Nothing in the recorded doings of the touts who infested the vicinity of Castle Garden can surpass in villanous heartlessness this account of London rascality, given on page 17 of the report:

"People wait for them at the docks, professing to be able to find them employment, but 'they will not do anything for them until they have robbed them of every sixpence they have.' They 'are in a fearful condition,' said another witness; 'some are without money entirely; others have a few groschen, or marks, or thalers, or roubles, just as the case may be, of which they are very soon eased by the loafers and touts and runners that hang about the docks for the purpose of trying to show them lodgings or a place to rest themselves for the night.' 'They almost stand in the market at the East End after arrival,' the Rector of Spitalfields, now Bishop of Bedford, told us, 'in a miserable plight, with hardly any clothes to cover them, and without a penny in their pockets.' 'I have myself,' he continued, 'seen these poor creatures at work up to two o'clock in the morning, and I have found them again at work, the same people and in the same room, at seven in the morning, working to a large extent just for their own maintenance and their own shelter.'"

According to the best-informed witnesses who were examined before the committee, "sweating" is carried on to a greater extent in the boot trade than in any other industry in London. The most destitute of the foreign Jews coming to England are pressed through their wretched condition into the service of the sweaters, and it is computed that no less than 5,000 "greeners," as these inexperienced workmen are called, are now employed in

the boot manufactories of London alone. At page 20 the report supplies this information :

"Some of the masters, it is said, hold their men under a contract for a certain period, and a sum of money is deducted weekly from their wages as a deposit, which they forfeit if they leave the firm or master who has engaged them, and thus are prevented from obtaining higher wages during the busy period of the year when their labor is in most demand."

Summing up the evidence given about the boot trade, the committee trace the "sweating" practices to a variety of causes. They say at pages 21 and 22 :

"It will be seen from the foregoing epitome of the evidence that sweating in the boot trade is mainly traced by the witnesses to the introduction of machinery and a more complete system of sub-division of labor, coupled with immigration from abroad and foreign competition. Some witnesses have traced it in a great measure, if not principally, to the action of factors; some to excessive competition among small masters as well as men; others have accused the trades-unions of a course of action which has defeated the end they have in view, namely, effectual combination, by driving work, owing to their arbitrary conduct, out of the factory into the house of the worker, and of handicapping England in the race with foreign countries by setting their faces against the use of the best machinery. The lack of technical education has also been deplored. Mr. Arnold White and Mr. Miers repudiated the contention that the demand for cheapness is the cause of sweating—a contention which, as regards upholstery, was energetically put forward by Mr. Holland. Mr. Miers, on the contrary, held 'that the sweating system puts before the public the cheap articles, and that it is not the public that particularly calls for them.'"

Going from London to the midland counties, the report deals with the chain- and nail-making industries. The conditions of employment and pay are thus described :

"The business is carried on in this way : the worker receives a certain weight of iron, and he has to return a corresponding weight of chain, less an allowance which is, or ought to be, four pounds in the bundle weighing half a hundredweight, for waste in the working. It is stated that workmen can occasionally save some iron out of the allowance for waste, which they work up on their own account, and sell to 'foggers' (the local name for sweaters) at low rates, to the general detriment of the trade. One of the most common charges, however, brought by the workers is that the necessary weight for waste is not allowed them, and consequently they are unable to return the requisite weight of chain."

Instances are next given of the enormous profits made by middlemen out of the underpaid labor of men and women, and the report proceeds :

"A still more extraordinary case is that mentioned by Mr. Juggins, who stated that cart chains costing, as far as value of labor and material were concerned, three halfpence and 7d. respectively, had been sold in Southport for from 4s. 6d. to 5s., in Liverpool for 5s., and in London for 7s. A male chain-maker stated that he earned 14s. or 15s. a week, working from seven to seven, except on Mondays, when he finished at six and Saturdays at three. A nail-maker said that out of his week's work only

about 8s. 6d. remained for himself, after deducting firing and other charges; 'and I have worked for that amount of money,' he added, 'till I do not know where to put myself.' In another case a husband and wife work together; there are three children, two at school and none at work. The man does the 'heading,' the woman the 'pointing,' of the nails. Their united work brings in from 18s. to £1 a week; out of that about 2s. 3d. for a 'breeze,' about 5s. for carriage, 2s. 6d. for rent of house and shop; schooling of the children, 6d.; 6d. to 9d. for deductions on account of underweight, and the man has to devote half a day to a day to repairing his tools. Eighteen shillings or £1 does not represent their average weekly earnings over a year, as some weeks they do not get any work at all. Their general hours of work were from seven in the morning till nine at night, with half an hour for breakfast, an hour for dinner, and half an hour for tea for the man."

It would be expected, in the natural course of things, that a committee who had laid bare so shocking a state of industrial life in England would have remedies to recommend equal to the evils which their efforts have brought to light and localized. But we search in vain through the pages of their report for any courageous or efficient proposal. The few suggestions that are put forward are not worthy of being called a remedy, while Lord Dunraven and his colleagues dismiss the whole subject in a sermonizing paragraph which truly gauges their capacity for the task imposed upon them.

"We cannot conclude," say their lordships at page 24, "without expressing our earnest hope that the exposure of the evils which have been brought to our notice will induce capitalists to pay closer attention to the conditions under which the labor which supplies them with goods is conducted. When legislation has reached the limit up to which it is effective, the real amelioration of conditions must be due to increased sense of responsibility in the employer and improved habits in the employed. We have reason to think that the present inquiry itself has not been without moral effect. And we believe that public attention and public judgment can effectually check operations in which little regard is shown to the welfare of workpeople and to the quality of production, and can also strongly second the zealous and judicious efforts now being made to encourage thrift, promote temperance, improve dwellings, and raise the tone of living."

This being all which the second chamber of the British Parliament is prepared to recommend for the alleviation of the worst kind of labor evils in the large centres of manufacturing life, it is matter of no surprise to find a rapid spread of socialistic ideas among the toilers of all callings who are taught to rely upon combination and public opinion as the surest means by which effective remedies can be obtained. The House of Commons even, the "popular chamber," as it is called in England, is getting out of touch with the working classes. It was significant that, though there were nearly half a million of London citizens in Hyde Park taking part in the eight-hours demonstration on the fourth of May, there was but one Member of Parliament among the

speakers, and he was a pronounced Socialist. It is not to be inferred from this that socialistic doctrines are converting all English workingmen away from the more conservative ideas of trades-unionism; but it is one among many signs indicating the progress of principles of social reform which appeal to the minds and the hopes of, at least, the unskilled laborers of Great Britain far more strongly than do the old methods of purely Parliamentary redress. We are, therefore, about to witness in England and Scotland a movement of extra-Parliamentary political action which will seek to combine all workers in something like a federated organization for the vindication of labor rights. It bids fair to discard the questionable aid of both Liberal and Tory politicians, unless the former party advances its position considerably nearer to the programme of the labor movement than it occupies at present.

Mr. Gladstone, always mindful and watchful of the current of popular tendencies, but never willing to turn it in the direction of concrete action until public opinion sets a political value upon the lead which must be taken by some one, has just discussed the labor problem in his usual masterly style. His article in *Lloyd's Newspaper* has, as a matter of course, attracted widespread attention. It is not a pronouncement of policy or an exposition of principle on the labor question so much as a strong, earnest sermon, which is to be read between the lines, of what friendly critics call his pious opinions upon the problem of the hour. While the great Liberal statesman points out the preponderating political power of the working classes in the matter of the franchise, he hopes and prays that such power may never be exercised to the political or other injury of vested interests. He says:

"Were the domestic relation in which employers once stood to laborers to be inverted, and were laborers once to obtain the uncontrolled hand, then, indeed, while the material condition might be higher, they would be subject to a strain of moral trial such as they never yet have been called upon to undergo, and such as only the strong restraints of the Gospel could (in my judgment) enable them successfully to encounter. But such a contingency, though it may be possible, is indefinitely remote. It is most unlikely to arise; and the experience of the United States, which has gone the nearest to trying the question, witnesses to that unlikelihood; for there public right has been developed to the uttermost by public law and by the tone of manners."

Mr. Gladstone with his usual prophetic ken must see clearly, notwithstanding the illustration here given, that political power and supremacy will come into the hands of the working classes of Great

Britain under totally different conditions to those which he has referred to in the analogy of America. Here government has been and still is carried on by capitalism and aristocracy, to the exclusion of all democratic participation ; whereas in the United States the principle of democracy has always guided the destinies of the Republic. The conflict which must take place between the power of the people and the dying influence of the aristocracy for supremacy in the government of the British Empire will have results which Mr. Gladstone foresees as clearly as any man alive, but which he is anxious to disguise from the observation of the present by the expression of pious hopes that this conflict may be indefinitely, if not entirely, postponed.

A consideration of some facts relating to the growing power of labor organization in Great Britain will show that such a conflict is sooner or later inevitable, and may be precipitated by any untoward event.

The most powerful and the best-organized body among the British workers is the coal-miners' organization. It is computed that there are at least 500,000 men employed in the mines of England, Scotland, and Wales ; 300,000 of these are organized. Each coal district has its local organization, while most of these local bodies are united in one federated combination.

There are five members directly representing the miners' organizations in Parliament, to whom salaries are paid averaging $1,700 a year. These are Thomas Burt, M. P., for the Morpeth division of Northumberland ; Charles Fenwick, M. P., for the Wandsbeck division of the same county ; William Crawford, M. P., for Mid-Durham ; Benjamin Pickard, M. P., for the Normanton division of Yorkshire, and William Abraham, M. P., for the Rhondda Valley, in Wales.

These Parliamentary representatives of the miners of Great Britain are men of more than average ability, both as public speakers and organizers of men. They are of irreproachable public character and command considerable influence in the House of Commons. They are not advocates of advanced theories of social reform, and are considered, in many respects, far too conservative by the more radical element in the rank and file of the great miners' organizations.

The miners of the county of Durham are accounted to be the best equipped in funds of all the separate miners' organizations.

They have accumulated a large amount of capital and have been able to exercise so much power and political influence in Durham as to compel the mine-owners to concede to them practically all they have demanded. Their hours of daily labor are seven from "bank to bank." Their wages average about eleven dollars a week, but they only work eleven days in the fortnight. The hours of labor and wages vary in other counties, Durham being more favored than other districts in this respect. In Staffordshire the hours of daily toil are between ten and eleven, but in this midland county the miners are badly organized; which accounts for their backward position in the matter of pay and hours of labor. In Derbyshire a similar condition of things prevails, while Yorkshire, on the other hand, approximates more to the state of pay and work which obtains in Durham. In Scotland the miners work, on the average, nine and a half hours per diem. Lanarkshire is the chief mining county of Scotland. Until recently organization was very backward among the Lanark miners, who are even still far from being as well paid, or as well able to take care of themselves in other respects, as the Durham miners.

The immense power wielded by these mining bodies was significantly illustrated a few weeks ago, when a united demand on the part of the miners of England was made for an advance of 10 per cent. in their wages. It was believed for a time that the mine-owners, who have been compelled in recent years to grant many concessions of a similar kind, would refuse to have this latest demand added to the number. Pending the notice given by the miners' representatives, the public were apprehensive of a fuel famine as the result of the contest between employers and employed. However, on the expiration of the time embraced in the miners' notice, the 10 per cent. increase of wages was granted, and another triumph was added to the long list of victories which organization has won for the most deserving section of the workers of Great Britain.

It is impossible to say what the organized miners of Great Britain may not be able to obtain for themselves and their cause if they continue to press their full demands upon the consideration of the capitalist owners of British mines. England without her coal would be like Samson without his locks,—weak and powerless, commercially as well as politically. And should a leader arise from among the mining population of Great Britain who

would resolve upon striking a deadly blow at landlordism in mines, in order to win for coal-miners the value of the full output of their daily work as their daily wage, he could practically paralyze for a time the whole industrial life of Great Britain if his demands were not conceded. Whether or not such a contingency will occur is a somewhat hazardous subject to speculate upon; but if we are to judge of the probabilities of the near future by the growing power, intelligence, and political influence of labor organizations all over these three countries at the present time, such an event as that hinted at may possibly be embraced among the means which workingmen may be driven to resort to in order to enforce their claims to a just remuneration for the risk and toil of their daily labor.

There is no need in an article of this kind to dwell at any length upon the trades-unions of Great Britain. They have achieved a world-wide reputation by the steady and progressive improvement which they have effected in the conditions of the work and pay of their members. Moreover, the history of these bodies is sufficiently well known already in the United States. Several of their leaders have visited America from time to time, and have explained in speeches or through the press the character and scope and the ultimate objects of their organizations. Here in England the trades-unions are now considered to be too conservative in their policy. Trades-union leaders are referred to frequently by the leaders of the unskilled working classes as "the aristocrats of labor." Mr. Henry Broadhurst, M. P., the recognized head of English trades-unionism, is frequently singled out for attack by John Burns and Tom Mann, who are the most typical men among the daily-increasing number of labor agitators in England. Mr. Broadhurst was Under-Secretary of State in the Liberal government in 1886, and it is said against him by his more advanced rivals that he is more of a thick-and-thin supporter of the Liberal party than a leader of English workingmen.

It is certain that we shall witness a severe struggle in the near future between the new labor leaders and the old. John Burns is coming rapidly to the front as a prominent leader of the new labor forces. He is a man of striking individuality and great force of character. He has succeeded in giving himself a good education, and is in every way qualified to act well the part which public opinion assigns to him in the present movement. The signal success

which he, in conjunction with Tom Mann, achieved in the great dock-laborers' strike of London, the admirable tact and judgment which distinguished his action in counselling, directing, and restraining 30,000 or 40,000 workingmen who had never before been disciplined into any united effort, have won for him a world-wide reputation. He commands the full confidence of a very large section of the labor population of London, from having labored for years among their poorest working classes before his efforts on their behalf were recognized by the approbation of the general public. He is one of the most efficient members of the London County Council, and is at present a candidate for the representation of the borough of Battersea in the Imperial Parliament. Many of the best judges of public men are predicting a big future for Burns. It remains, however, to be seen whether a successful labor agitator can also become a successful politician. Burns is a good and forcible speaker, is well informed upon most topics of current interest, and, like most other labor leaders of these countries, is a total abstainer.

Burns's programme is not easily defined. He started out, in company with Mr. Hyndman, of the Social Democratic Federation, as a revolutionary Social Democrat, favoring the nationalization of the machinery of production as well as of the land. In those days he inclined to the means of revolutionary effort rather than the methods of constitutional action ; but since his achievements in the dock strike have brought him more prominently before the public as a more or less responsible leader, he has modified his programme and has wisely discarded all appeals to physical revolution. This rational change of policy has strengthened his position with the public opinion of London. It is folly to preach an appeal to the sword for the redress of labor rights in a country where the working classes can, if they choose to organize themselves for the purpose, effect a constitutional revolution by means of the ballot-box. As Mr. Gladstone has said in the article to which I have already referred, "The ultimate power resides in the hands of those who constitute our Democracy," and all that remains for whoever shall step into the position of a national leader of the working classes of Great Britain to do is to organize the laboring masses so as to force Parliament, by the legitimate pressure of combination and public opinion, to carry out the mandate of the people who elect the House of Commons.

In the probable achievement of this constitutional revolution the Irish movement will continue to work on parallel lines with the labor movements of Great Britain. The Land League was more democratic in its principles and aims than English popular movements of the past have been. For it is an anomaly, as Mr. Gladstone points out, that, while political power now practically rests with the working classes in Great Britain, yet its institutions are decidedly anti-democratic. As the great Liberal leader further remarks, "Their basis is popular, but upon that basis is built a hierarchy of classes and of establishments savoring in part of feudal times and principles." Mr. Gladstone, however, is reasoning from the analogy of the recent past, and not from the manifest indications of the present. English popular opinion has been greatly influenced by the principles and teachings of the Land League propaganda of the past few years. And as Ireland has largely received the democratic impulse from her close and constant relations with America, the reaction of the Irish movement upon the English one is infusing the ideas of American democracy among the masses of the British people. We shall therefore witness, in the growing great labor movement of the near future, the cause of social reform running in democratic grooves toward the attainment of its ends. English institutions will undoubtedly become revolutionized as a result of the present uprising of the working classes for higher pay and better conditions of social existence.

A mighty organization is rapidly forming itself in the seaport towns of the three countries. It is partly the result of the successful dock-laborers' strike of London. In London it is called the Dock-Laborers' Union, and has Tom Mann as president. In other large ports it is known as the National Union of Dock-Laborers, with a headquarters in Glasgow. These two bodies number already close upon one hundred thousand members. Wherever the National Union has its branches established, so as to embrace all the dock-laborers of the place in its membership, it practically dictates the rate of pay and the conditions of labor. During the last three months remarkable evidence of its widespread power has been frequently given. A shipping line refusing to grant the demands of the union, say in Glasgow, would have a "boycott" declared against the unloading of a vessel belonging to it in another port; and instances have frequently

occurred where a ship of a boycotted line had to go from port to port of the three countries in hopeless efforts to have its cargo discharged.

The influence of this dock-laborers' organization may possibly extend even beyond the shores of Great Britain and Ireland. The close commercial and mercantile relations between America and these islands suggest the possibility of a "boycott" in Liverpool being extended to New York. During the recent dock-laborers' strike in Liverpool it was more than once hinted by the leaders that, if the struggle were prolonged on the part of the ship-owners, the quay-laborers of Liverpool might be driven to ask the men employed in similar labor in New York to boycott the ships of the great trans-Atlantic lines owned by such companies as were most determined in opposition to the Liverpool dockers' demands. How far international coöperation of this kind may be resorted to, or be made possible, by the growing feeling of international brotherhood among the workers of the world, is perhaps for the present too much a mere speculation. If, however, we are to judge of the growth of responsive friendly feeling among American workingmen towards the working classes in England by the establishment in Great Britain and Ireland of branches of a great American labor organization, the possibility I speak of may be, and probably is, near. Assemblies of the Knights of Labor are increasing day by day in these islands; which means, presumably, that the workingmen enrolled in such branches can be more or less influenced in their strike policies by the orders of General Master-Workman Powderly. We can only picture, on the other hand, the National Union of Dock-Laborers of Great Britain forming its branches in New York and other ports on the Atlantic seaboard, to recognize the conditions which would enable the leaders of the dockers on this side of the Atlantic to give effect to their policy even in the United States.

The next of the three great British combinations of workers which is deserving of mention here is the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants. Its membership extends to the railways of the three countries. The strike which occurred in Ireland lately, and which during seven days practically paralyzed the entire freight traffic of the south of Ireland, was controlled by an English organization. The employees declared the strike, but an official of this body was elected to the leadership, and he provided

the necessary funds. It was demonstrated in this brief struggle between railway directors and their employees that it is in the power of this single organization to suspend the traffic of the entire railway system of Great Britain and Ireland when the members deem it necessary to do so in furtherance of their interests or claims. This is a fact of portentous importance, not only to railway shareholders, but to the entire capitalistic interests of Great Britain and Ireland as well. It is calculated to materially affect the value of the railway stock of these islands. We shall probably see commercial interests, apart from those of railways, showing a selfish partiality for the cause of the railway employees in future. The latter will have their demands backed up by those whose inclinations would otherwise prompt them to support railway directors, but whose fears of the ultimate consequences of a prolonged strike upon the general trade and commerce of the country will induce them to extend a diplomatic sympathy to the cause of the railway workers.

This brief outline of the wide-reaching influence of three great English organizations will enable those who closely study Mr. Gladstone's recent article to understand why he lays such emphatic stress upon the "responsibilities of labor." We have but to imagine such concerted action between coal-miners, dock-laborers, and railway employees as would enable them, in the enforcement of some demand, to bring the whole manufacturing and transport machinery of Great Britain to a deadlock, to realize the danger which may threaten the interests of British capital at home in the near future. There is as yet no national or federated labor movement in Great Britain. The cause of labor is being fought in independent detachments; one class of workers striking in one part of the country for better pay, while another class, elsewhere, is demanding shorter hours of labor. There is, however, a drawing-together, a tendency to fusion of effort, on the part of the various laboring combinations throughout the country. This is a most hopeful sign of the times. Hitherto there has been little or no coöperation between one class of workers and another, excepting among miners, in the struggle for labor rights. The jealousies that seem inseparable from popular action in a country divided by class distinctions have operated to the injury of the labor cause in general. But here, again, we have to recognize the beneficial influence and teaching

of the Irish agitation of the past ten years. In this movement we succeeded practically in combining in one body the various labor interests of Ireland, as an example and a lesson to the cause of our fellow-workers of Great Britain. The solidarity of the Irish movement is powerfully influencing the cohesive action of British labor organizations, and we shall see in a comparatively short time a federation of the labor bodies of Great Britain working out the solution of the problem of British labor as the Land League has worked out that of the Irish land.

The future of the Liberal party will be vitally influenced by the attitude which its responsible leaders must soon take up towards the labor movement. The working classes, as a rule, have hitherto been firm supporters of Mr. Gladstone. They have had many measures of reform passed for them by his successful effort to extend the popular liberties of Englishmen. This is gratefully recognized, and the "G. O. M." is still first favorite among English statesmen with the British toilers. But the allegiance of the workingmen to the Liberal party is bound by no sacred concordat. English, like other workers, are imbibing new ideas of social reform every day, which beget new demands for legislative action for the benefit of the wealth-producers. They have advanced far beyond the party programme of the Liberals, which counts among its leading supporters a good many landlords and a large number of capitalists. The election funds of Mr. Gladstone's party are largely subscribed to by his rich adherents. He is, consequently, bound more or less to interests which act as a restraint upon the progress of his following towards a pronounced radical policy. He has already lost his wealthiest supporters in the home-rule plunge of 1886, and he is naturally anxious to avert the secession of those who still remain by avoiding another new departure.

But while it is impossible not to sympathize with the veteran statesman in this dilemma, he, or, after him, his successor, must either place himself at the head of the labor cohorts now organizing themselves in the struggle for political supremacy in these islands, or "the masses" will create a new party which will shatter the fortunes of the Liberal cause. This latter is the consummation for which the Tories devoutly wish. They are calculating confidently upon a widening breach between the industrial

classes and the Liberal party, securing a return to office of the present government at the next general election. The party tactics of Mr. Gladstone's opponents are adapted to that end. Protection is being dangled in the guise of "fair trade" before workingmen as a panacea for low wages and the other evils of labor competition. Many Tories are even affecting to lean toward state socialism, while it is not improbable that, in the pursuit of this policy, money may be advanced from Tory sources at the next general election with which to run bogus socialist against Liberal candidates.

All this may be discreditable to Tory tactics; but it ought to act as a warning to Liberal statesmen. The working classes have hitherto looked upon the Liberal party as that to which their political affinities naturally attached them. Their votes are now the chief support of that party at elections. Without such support neither Mr. Gladstone nor home rule would stand a ghost of a chance when the next appeal is made to the electorate of Great Britain. Clearly, therefore, it is alike the duty and the interest of the Liberal leaders to advance the lines of their programme so as to embrace the reasonable demands of the labor platform; and if this common-sense step is taken in time, the labor movement and the Liberal cause will run upon parallel lines, in active, sympathetic coöperation, insuring the near achievement of those reforms for which educated workingmen are so earnestly striving, and making the triumph of home rule a political certainty at the next general election.

The cause of labor must be represented in Parliament by a greater number of workingmen than it has there at present. Nine members out of a Parliament of six hundred and seventy are all it possesses now. It lies with the Liberal party to make that nine at least thirty when the next Parliament is elected, and to have state payment of members adopted as a prominent plank in the Liberal programme. To which should be added the municipalization of the land; the abolition of the "breakfast-table duties"; free education for the children of the laboring classes; eight hours as the limit of daily labor in government and municipal employments; better and more sanitary dwellings for the poor; and the rigorous enforcement of the factory acts with respect to the workshops and sweating-dens of the country. A platform with such planks as these would remove all danger of collision at the

electoral polls between labor and Liberal candidates. Such a programme would not comprise all the demands that are now being put forward by the labor leaders, it is true; but it would convince those who "toil and spin" that the Liberal party were resolved to be in touch with them and to make their cause the paramount interest of Parliamentary effort. It would completely counteract the tactics of party disintegration which are now pursued by the Tories, and would secure a *modus vivendi* between the cause of labor and the cause of Liberalism, until the extension of the franchise to universal adult suffrage and the matured results of popular education shall transform the once great Liberal party of England into a party of Industrial Democracy, in whose hands the future destinies of the British Empire will lie for the final mission of good or evil which will remain for it to fulfil in the universal movement for a better and nobler order of civilization among mankind.

MICHAEL DAVITT.

FAITH AND CREDULITY.

BY JOHN BURROUGHS.

ONE of our most eminent doctors of divinity, Dr. Fisher, of Yale, has recently been discussing the nature of faith and revelation in one of the popular magazines.

The doctor says that sceptical writers are apt to "describe faith as an arbitrary, groundless acceptance of doctrines in behalf of which no proof is possible. This is to confound faith and credulity." But the doctor does not himself make very clear the difference between the two. If faith goes upon proof, why not call it science? Why is it so difficult? It seems to me that the essence of religious faith is that it is independent of proof, and, at most, rests upon, or starts from, a degree of probability. Faith proper begins where reason ends; where reason avails we have no need of faith: where there is a bridge we do not need to take a leap. What can be proved to the understanding there is no escape from; but our religious cravings and aspirations are entirely personal and subjective, and are not matters of evidence. Religious faith has to do with the supernatural; and what can reason or sense do with that which transcends reason and sense?

Credulity is quite a different thing. Credulity may be defined as belief without proof in matters where proof is demanded and is within reach. Faith is belief without proof in matters where proof is not possible. Mankind have always been very credulous; credulity is easy; we all have to fight against it. But faith, as Dr. Fisher insists, is not easy; it requires a strong effort of the will. Children are very credulous; they believe whatever we tell them without proof. Indeed, they do not yet know what proof is. So with savage tribes, though with them credulity mainly runs into superstition. Credulity is the basis of superstition. When the mysterious, the preternatural, is brought into matters capable of verification, when proof is dispensed with and the event or occurrence is referred to anti-mundane agencies, as in the case of haunted houses, etc., that is superstition.

When Professor Bryce was about to ascend Mount Ararat, he

was told by the people at its base that the ascent was impossible; that no human being would be permitted to behold the top of the sacred mountain. For all that, the plucky traveller thought he would put the matter to the test. He procured guides and set out. His guides failed him long before the summit was reached, but he pushed on alone, and scaled the peak. When he returned and had an interview with one of the religious dignitaries in a village near by, and his guide told the priest that the Englishman had been to the top of Ararat, the priest smiled loftily and said it was impossible—no man had ever been to the top of the mountain. There was superstition—belief in the interference of the supernatural where proof or disproof was easy.

I lately read in the autobiography of the Italian sculptor, Duprè, an incident which affords a similar illustration. Duprè was an excellent man and a great artist, but he was not above superstition, as few of us are. He was driving one day down a steep, rugged mountain road, accompanied by his wife, when he distinctly heard the words, "*Stop, stop!*" As he continued, the words were repeated, and so impressed them both that he did stop and look about him, and called out to his supposed challenger Seeing and hearing nothing more, he drove on, when "*Stop, stop, stop!*" again rang out from some place near them. Then he again stopped, and, much impressed and even alarmed, he and his wife both got out of the carriage, when he discovered that the linchpin that held one of the hind wheels was gone, and that the wheel was far bent over and just ready to drop off, and thus endanger the lives of the occupants. The pious artist was deeply impressed, and evidently regarded the warning voice as providential. But a little investigation would doubtless have dispelled the delusion. Probably if he had started up his horses after he and his wife left the carriage, he would have discovered the source of the voice in the squeaking wheel. Whenever he had stopped the voice had stopped; the moment he started the cry began.

How full history, especially the religious history of the world, is of such or similar incidents! Credulity underlying religious fear and hope is the basis of them all. In Catholic countries such superstitions thrive luxuriantly. Recently, while some friends of mine were stopping in Madrid, a good deal of excitement was created by a reported miracle that had just happened: the beard of the picture of one of the saints in a certain church

had grown several inches during the night! Our grandfathers, who nearly all believed in spooks, and witches, and hobgoblins, and various signs and wonders, were all victims of superstition.

From simple credulity the element of the marvellous and preternatural is missing. Boswell told Dr. Johnson that while in Italy he had several times seen the experiment tried of placing a scorpion within a circle of burning coals, and that in every instance the scorpion, after trying to break through the fiery circle, retired to the centre and committed suicide by darting its sting into its head. But the doctor was sceptical; appearances are deceptive; he would not believe the story unless some competent anatomist, after dissecting the scorpion, declared that the creature really had killed itself. It was probably the doctor's combativeness, or disposition to differ, that saved him in that case. Had the story had any element of the mysterious or preternatural in it, so as to have touched Johnson's religious fears and prejudices, he would doubtless have accepted it at once.

It was once commonly believed that the salamander could withstand fire, but an old Catholic traveller in the sixteenth century says he caught one and put it into the fire, and it died. But he believed the story of the basilisk—namely, that its look was fatal. He said, though, that it was necessary for the animal to look its victim in the eye at a certain distance. He saw a basilisk, but it was dead. If it had been living, probably he would not have been as ready to test its powers as he was those of the salamander. Like Dr. Johnson, he was not credulous unless his credulity could take a superstitious turn.

A good instance of the credulity of science in its youth is furnished by Albert Magnus, who in his book upon animals, in the sixteenth century, says that eels leave the water in the night, invade fields and gardens, and feed upon peas and lentils. A French missionary, writing on natural history in the seventeenth century, says of the humming-bird, that it passes the winter in a torpid state, hanging by its feet from the under side of a limb in the woods. The credulity of country people in reference to the divining-rod, or the efficacy of twigs of the beech or the willow in the hands of certain persons in locating hidden springs or water-veins, etc., is equally childish.

Credulity and superstition have to do mainly with the visible material universe; faith with the spiritual invisible world.

Faith is, as Amiel says in his "Journal," "certitude without proof," and is therefore opposed to science, which goes entirely upon proof. It is a moral rather than an intellectual certitude; a conviction of the heart—to use the old phraseology—rather than a persuasion of the mind. That is, it is arrived at through an emotional process, rather than through a mental or logical one. In an over-intellectual and over-reflective age like ours, faith undoubtedly suffers a decline. It thrives best in stirring uncritical times. The scientific spirit is as inimical to it as frost to vegetation. In all the centuries of our era, except the present, reason has been the willing servant of faith. Faith has said to it, Go here, go there; prove this, prove that; and reason has obeyed with alacrity. In our day reason turns upon faith and questions its right to rule and to lead, and the result is an almost ruinous shrinkage of the old theological values.

Dr. Fisher insists upon the proofs of faith, but he fails to point them out. They are not to be apprehended by the rational faculties. They are subjective; they are in the heart and conscience of the individual, and cannot be communicated as proof. That there is a power not ourselves, a power in which we live, and move, and have our being, and of which all things are the garment and expression, is not a matter of faith, but of reason and sense. That this power is a personal being, the moral governor and ruler of the universe, as the old theology has it, or the loving father and protector, as the new teaches, is a matter of faith. We speak of the creed of the church as a system of faith. The acceptance of most of its tenets is an act of faith rather than of reason. That Jesus of Nazareth was born of a woman is a matter of reason; that he was born of a virgin and had no earthly father is a matter of faith. That he was persecuted, that he suffered and died upon the cross, we have no difficulty in believing; but that he rose from the dead, and ascended bodily up into heaven, is, again, a truth that belongs solely to faith. And so with the rest of the Apostles' Creed.

There is a passage in Goethe's autobiography that bears upon this subject, and a very suggestive one.

"General, natural religion, 'he says, "properly speaking, requires no faith; for the persuasion that a great producing, regulating, and conducting Being conceals himself, as it were, behind Nature, to make himself comprehensible to us—such a conviction forces itself upon every one. Nay, if we for a moment let drop this thread which conducts us through life, it may be immediately and everywhere resumed. But it is different with a special religion which announces to us that this Great

Being distinctly and preëminently interests himself for one individual, one family, one people, one country. This religion is founded on faith, which must be immovable if it would not be instantly destroyed. Every doubt of such a religion is fatal to it. One may return to conviction, but not to faith."

St. Paul saw the difficulties in the way of an appeal to reason, and said boldly that "no man can say that Jesus is the Lord but by the Holy Ghost." To expect a man to affirm it by his unaided reason, or upon any grounds of evidence that can be had, is to expect the impossible. But Dr. Fisher says we have proof in its nature experimental, like the verification of the calculations of the astronomer by an eclipse occurring exactly on time—namely, in the miracles. But if an appeal is made to reason, does he not see that reason demands proof that the miracles occurred? Eclipses occur in our day, but miracles do not. The laws and processes of nature are continuous, but theology introduces us to a world devoid of continuity.

Theologians lay much stress upon contemporary belief and opinion—upon the statement of those who themselves either witnessed the miracles or simply voiced the popular belief in their reality. But in such matters contemporary opinion counts for but little. The contemporary belief in the reality of witchcraft is perfectly overpowering. There is not merely a cloud of witnesses—there is a world of witnesses. The contemporary belief in the statue of Lot's wife upon the shores of the Dead Sea and of the marvellous character of the Dead Sea itself—namely, that it was black and sticky, that it spit forth fire, that it threw up great foul masses that burned like pitch, that the fruit upon its shores was filled with ashes, etc.; that is, the testimony of reputable travellers, Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans, who had visited the sea and witnessed these wonders—is as convincing as such testimony can be. Yet do we not now know that either the witnesses saw falsely or else reported falsely what they saw? Sir John Mandeville says he saw iron swim in the Dead Sea and a feather sink, and that it vomited up masses of fiery matter as big as a horse; and Sir John was a pious man.

I think we may safely rest upon the statement that *no natural evidence can establish the supernatural.* Our senses cannot apprehend it because it is supersensible; our reason cannot verify it because it transcends reason. The historical proofs of Christianity are adequate to establish ordinary events, but not extraordinary.

Dr. McCosh says the resurrection of Jesus is as well established as any event of ancient history—as the death of Cæsar, for instance. So it would be if it was a natural event like the death of Cæsar; but it was a supernatural event, and no amount of evidence can make it credible to the understanding. Our only refuge is faith.

John Locke stated the truth about this matter of faith and reason two hundred years ago.

"There being many things," he says, "wherein we have very imperfect notions, or none at all; and other things of whose past, present, or future existence, by the natural use of our faculties, we can have no knowledge at all; these as being beyond the discovery of our natural faculties, and above reason, are, when revealed, the proper matter of faith. Thus, that part of the angels rebelled against God, and thereby lost their first happy state; and that the dead shall rise and live again: these, and the like, being beyond the discovery of reason, are purely matters of faith, with which reason has directly nothing to do."

But Locke says that reason is to judge whether or not the revelation be genuine. Yet what test the reason has of the validity of a revelation the philosopher does not set forth.

If the facts or truths revealed are above reason, how can the fact of the revelation itself be proved to reason? Is faith itself reasonable? Of course it all depends upon the assumption with which we start. If we start with the assumption upon which the church is founded, namely, the assumption of an anthropomorphic God, an Infinite Person, the creator and upholder of all things, whose plans with reference to man have not gone smoothly, but have been sadly deranged and frustrated by man himself through what we call sin, so that the creature is hopelessly estranged from the creator, and so on through the rest of the theological formula,—if we start with this assumption, all the rest comes easy: faith and revelation are reasonable, the theory of the Christ and the atonement is reasonable, and with one or two more assumptions, which Cardinal Newman readily makes, the Catholic Church becomes the very child and servant of reason. It is reasonable that this Infinite Person, who is not here upon earth, but in heaven, should want a representative, a vicar, in this world, to look after the well-being of his children, etc., and what more reasonable than that the great mother church, the church which the apostles founded, should be that vicar, that representative? The Protestant churches are all more or less compromises with the devil—that is, with reason, with sense, with the natural man; but the Catholic Church makes no compromises with the individ-

ual; it stands for authority. In fact, out of the purely human or anthropomorphic conception of the universe upon which our theology is based, it arises as the inevitable result. If your assumption at one end of the Christian scheme is reasonable, your acceptance of the Catholic Church at the other is equally so. If the universe is an institution, a government, a hierarchy, and if mankind are in a lost and rebellious condition with reference to the head of this government or hierarchy, then does the idea of an infallible pope and all the saving ordinances of the church harmonize perfectly with this conception.

When you once assume the existence of the supernatural, you adjust your reason to that assumption. "If the supernatural exists, it is reasonable that it should exist; it is reasonable that it should present difficulties, that we should be able to apprehend it only in part, that we should need a special endowment of power or insight, called faith, to fully enter into it; it is reasonable that faith should not obliterate the inferior intellectual faculties, but should supplement and raise them; it is reasonable that there should be a revealed religion, and that this religion should possess mysteries."

St. Paul's definition of faith the religious mind has clung to very fondly—namely, "the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen"; and Dr. Fisher's new version of the passage—namely, "the firm assurance of things hoped for, the being convinced of things not seen"—can hardly take its place in the popular conscience. It is true, but not taking. Faith is neither evidence nor substance, though the religious world is constantly persuading itself that it is. "It makes real to the mind objects of hope"—so real that "they exercise a due control in the shaping of conduct."

As we have been long taught, belief in the Christian religion is more a matter of will than of reason. The will must be reached or enlisted first. Coleridge said to Crabb Robinson that "religious belief is an act, not of the understanding, but of the will. To become a believer one must love the doctrine and feel in harmony with it, and not sit down and coolly inquire whether he should believe it or not."

Hence I agree with Dr. Fisher that in these matters "the timidity of reason has to be overcome by a courageous exercise of will. In appropriating, or making our own, the things of faith,

there is a venture to be made on the ground of evidence, without the stimulus and support of an appeal to the senses." People of strong wills, men of action and of affairs, are less apt to be sceptical than more purely meditative and intellectual minds. Wordsworth said of his poet,

> "You must love him, ere to you
> He will seem worthy of your love";

and of the Christian faith it is equally true that you must believe it ere it seems worthy of your credence. How to do this is the great problem. Hence the cry that goes up from the churches continually for more faith, more faith.

I have said that faith begins where reason ends; but by this statement I would only emphasize the fact that the province of the one lies entirely outside the province of the other. In the order of nature faith is first. We find ourselves in possession of a certain belief or certitude, and then we proceed to reason about it. In the order of historical development religion is not a matter of belief, of creeds and dogmas, but of observances. The early nations had certain religious rites and practices, but no belief, in our sense of the word—that is, as a conscious intellectual act. A man cannot reason himself into religion, though he can reason himself into religious opinions. Religion is a sentiment just as much as poetry is, and does not wait upon the logical faculties any more than poetry does. The demonstrations of science no competent mind can resist, but the demonstrations of religion, its proofs, evidences, etc., only impress such minds as are already convinced, as have already taken the leap which faith requires.

Religious faith is losing ground in our day because the light which fills the world, begotten by science, education, industry, democracy, is more and more the light of broad noonday, clear, strong, merciless. Our fathers stood much nearer the twilight, the region of sentiment, of emotion, of enticing, but delusive, lights and shades. The morning of the world is past: what the completed day will show forth does not yet appear.

JOHN BURROUGHS.

THE PECULIARITIES OF THE SOUTH.

BY PROF. N. S. SHALER, OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

AMID the important and immediate tasks which the overthrow of slavery put upon the people of North and South alike, the interesting nature of the social ruin from which they have been reconstructing a new dwelling-place has received but little attention. When men have just crawled out from the *débris* of an ancient edifice which has tumbled down upon their heads, while they are endeavoring to save something from the wreck and to provide themselves with shelter, it is not to be expected or desired that they shall dwell much upon the history and architectural defects of the building. It is doubtful, indeed, if they will at the moment welcome the speculations of the curious bystander in matters so far from their immediate needs. Even if the circumstances which have led to the disaster have the utmost philosophical interest, the judicious commentator will abstain from his discourse until the stage of suffering is over. Thus if the overthrowing has been done by an earthquake, the considerate man, even if his consideration be directed to his own satety, will surely not try to explain how the damage came from building insecure dwellings when shocks of violence are to be apprehended. His valuable remarks concerning the "seismic vertical" and "earth tensions" should be postponed until his hearers have cleared the dirt from their eyes. If he is compelled by his fulness to speak prematurely, his preachment best be from a safe distance.

But there comes a time, and that soon, when the philosophy of their misfortunes is interesting to all sufferers who love wisdom; when the steps which have led to their calamities, and the moral thereof, are welcome to their ears; for to such people the truth is always good and helpful. We Americans are quick to discern what part of our actions has escaped from the field of

immediate and passionate interest into the calm realm of history. In this capacity for letting the dead past lie, we have gained, or perhaps some will say lost, ground as compared with our kinsmen over the sea. I have known British squires who would flame with rage at the mention of Oliver Cromwell, but I have not in years seen a Confederate soldier to whom the Civil War did not appear to be a matter of some remote traditional age. This curious turning from the past makes it at once easier and more important for us to take account of the former social conditions of the old South—easier, for the reason that we may not then fear to arouse prejudices; and more important, because these conditions will soon be utterly lost to view.

In endeavoring to comprehend the social condition of any people, it is necessary to understand the permanent states of mind which determine the relations they hold with their fellow-beings, for therein lies the real field of difference in the most essential qualities of men. These inherited and rooted prejudices are so deeply buried in human nature that they are not readily disclosed even to the observant eye; they are commonly not apprehended by those who are affected by them. In most cases these powerful but obscure motives are masked by more powerful impulses which are common to all men. The habits of courteous contact between men, the strong tendencies to common fashions in clothing and general behavior, by giving a uniform external expression to all who belong to our race and time, deceive the unwary into the notion that there is no radical difference in these like-appearing folk: great as are the similarities between human beings, we must perceive the vast and overwhelming importance of their diversities before we can find standing-ground from which profitably to study their behavior.

The most serious part of the difficulties which have come about in the intercourse between the people of the Northern and Southern States of this Union has arisen from a failure of each to comprehend the predominant motives of the other. Each has measured the other's actions from his own prejudices, assuming in the judgment the identity of spirit which did not exist. To see the real difference between these people, who appear so similar, requires opportunities of insight which fortune has given to few. That I may not appear presumptuous in the explanation which it is my purpose to essay, it is necessary to state that half

my life has been spent in characteristic Northern communities and half in equally representative parts of the South, and this with such repeated exchanges of dwelling-place from one region to another as would afford a good chance for observation. My acquaintance with the men of all sorts and conditions in both regions has been very extensive. It is not likely that many persons have had better chances for noting the essential features of these contrasted people.

The easiest way to trace the differences between the characteristic northern and southern divisions of our people is to follow them along their historic paths and to note the manner in which their qualities, inherited from the original colonists, have been qualified by the conditions of their physical and social environment. The tone-giving settlements of this country were founded in the middle part of the seventeenth century; their colonists came from Britain: although there were immigrants from Holland, Sweden, France, and Germany who have made their mark upon the population of the country, they have had little influence upon the general spirit. The life-blood of the land, the best it has of good and evil, was, at least until the period of the Civil War, mainly English. These men came forth from the seething life of the Cromwellian period, when the feudal notions of the middle ages were struggling with the democratic spirit of Protestantism; when nearly every man held within him something of both these classes of impulses, and could by chance readily be led upon either of these diverse ways. We must conceive this curious mixture of impulses typefied in Cavalier and Roundhead, in the followers of Charles and of Calvin, before we can see how it was open to each of the American colonies to develop on either of two widely-separated lines of character according as circumstances gave it over to one or the other of these parties.

The well-shaken dice-box of the seas appears to have determined that the most characteristic of the English Protestants should find foothold in New England, and that the portion of the English people who had been least modernized, who still retained a large element of the feudal notion, should fall heir to the best part of the southern portion of the coast-line about Chesapeake Bay. About these typical colonies other settlements gathered, but the Calvinists resorted generally to the northern portion of the shore, and the reactionary or feudal-minded people gathered about Vir-

ginia: this segregation was accidental and incomplete, but it was sufficiently well accomplished to determine that the characteristic Protestant element controlled New England, as well as most of the other northern colonies, and the English branch of the ancient church the Virginia group of settlements. The difference between these populations was not altogether in their religious spirit; in fact, the faiths may be called symptoms of the general state of mind of these divergent people.

The Virginian was an old Englishman, and was more nearly allied to the ancient type of his race than the people of the northern settlements, whom we may fitly call the New-Englanders. He belonged to that conservative body who sustain rather than amend society. In the seventeenth century, when he parted from the parent home, he took with him the notions of a society which still retained a large share of the feudal spirit. The literature of that time shows that, while the Puritan had departed widely from the ancestral type, the body of the people had retained a large share of the traditions concerning the relations of men to each other which the system of the middle ages implanted in their race. It is characteristic of the feudal notions that they singularly impressed themselves on the individual, shaping his modes of thought through deeply-implanted prejudices and ambitions. In that system of human relations the ideas of personal honor, of fidelity to a chief, of the motive of valor, and of the obligations to codes of soldierly conduct possessed the minds of men so entirely that there was little place for other considerations. Already the stern Protestant spirit of the Puritan was leading a great body of men out of this castellated state of mind toward more modern ways of thought. The feudal system, although it had noble qualities, was essentially hedonistic; it was based on an elevated savagery; under its dominion men were forced to shape their lives mainly on personal considerations. The best of its notions, those of personal honor and loyalty to the chief, were founded on selfish motives. Though the Puritan is a less picturesque and agreeable figure than the Cavalier, he had the advantage that a large part of his thought went forth to the great external problems of a singularly dominating religious faith. Individual dignity, the respect in which one is held by the men of the same estate, became of less importance to those who were ever concerned about the matter of their eternal salvation

Thus through this intense Protestantism the characteristic traits of feudalism were rapidly effaced in the peoples who were brought under the intense Calvinistic life of the typical New England colonies, while they remained in the southern colonies, where there were at first relatively few of the Genevan faith.

Among the strong and society-shaping prejudices of the feudal time was that which separated the men of the higher class from hand labor. Although military employment had ceased to be a steadfast and common pursuit, the old idea that the well-cultured man was not to engage in manual pursuits was still held in English society. In large measure the prejudice against shopkeeping also found a place in the transplantations from the old country to the southern colonies; in fact, the social "outfit" of these settlements was largely made up of mediæval customs which had survived the conditions which gave them birth. Such is the continuity of tradition that for many generations habits of mind which have been once well affirmed by use survive and manifest themselves as fashions long after their immediate utility has passed away. They remain like the buttons on the back of our coats, which once served to hold the sword-belt, though three generations have passed since they ceased to have any function but ornament.

Thus by the accidents which led to New England a select body of Protestants who had severed their minds from the traditions of the feudal system, and to the Virginian colonies settlers who were still in the succession of the ancient life of their race, it came about that the populations which were to have the largest share in determining the motives of this country started with very decided diversities in character. These differences were further accented by certain economic conditions. Servitude, either in the form of "indented servants" or of African slaves, was planted in all the original colonies, but it took no firm root in the northern settlements, for there the agriculture was mainly limited to products of domestic consumption, and the climate appears to have been unfavorable to the negroes. The indented servant soon disappeared, but the African bondman remained to take a fatal part in the history of the southern settlements. It was early perceived that the institution of slavery afforded excellent ground for the seed of feudalism which remained alive among the southern people. On this soil these germs took good root and flourished amazingly. In

the mother-country the lower classes were already essentially free, the servile conditions having practically disappeared before the colonists left their homes. Slavery gave the foundations on which a new feudalism of a modern, but characteristic, type was founded.

There are those who regret that this country lacks the picturesque ruins of mediæval castles which lend so gracious a perspective to the visible history of the old world; but if these persons could perceive the intellectual architecture of the land, they would behold in all the Southern States the relics of a multitude of feudal strongholds which have survived to our own day. Every plantation was in its way baronial. There was the master, a lord on whose will depended the fate of his household. He owned men, who gave to him the labor of their lives, and to whom he owed protection from birth to death. Though it was without many of the elements of its ancient dignity, and somewhat hampered by the civil law, the essence of the feudal relation was here. All social relations whatsoever inevitably feel the impress which comes on men where the lower class is owned by the higher. If the fates had sent the Pilgrims and Puritans to Virginia, and given the stubborn fields of Connecticut and Massachusetts to the settlers of the Potomac, we should doubtless have had much the same social conditions which were developed in these countries. The men who settled Massachusetts Bay, if their homes had been in the South, would in time have reverted to mediæval conditions, while the people of the South would have adjusted their scheme of life to the more northern clime.

As soon as African slavery was firmly established by the development of the tobacco trade, and yet more when its power was reënforced by the growth of the industry in cotton, the forces of commerce, more powerful for good or evil than governments or religions, determined the destiny of the South. At first the Virginia group of colonies contained a considerable body of what may be termed yeomen, and these men had their share in the life of the people. Rapidly, however, the white society became divided into the masterful class of slave-owners and the subordinate class of poor whites. This latter group was pushed into inferior and despised stations. They differed but little in social position from the blacks, except that they retained the right to bear arms, and their sons, if of great ability, might, through success, mount to

the estate of the masterful class. These freemen, only half-emancipated because they were not masters of slaves, drifted apart from the great plantations and mostly took refuge upon those fields of the southern territory which were not fit for the use of the ruling class. The mountain valleys of the Blue Ridge and the Alleghenies gave them the sites for little farms that were unfit for the tillage of the crops which made slave-holding profitable. There they formed independent and singularly isolated communities, in which no negroes were ever seen; there they retained something of the rude freedom of the English yeomen and kept unchanged the motives and the customs which they had brought from the old world. Within twenty years I have seen the English short-bow in familiar and serviceable use among these people in hunting small game. The ancient type of pack-saddle there held, and may still hold, its place in carrying the exports of ginseng, feathers, and beeswax from these settlements over the narrow trackways which alone linked them with the outer world.

The rapid development of plantation life in the part of the South—in all about half its area—where the soil and climate favored the growth of the four staples which were the economic basis of slavery—cotton, tobacco, rice, and sugar—soon forced this yeoman class into the mountain valleys or into the poorer lands. Thus the country became divided into two great districts, separated from each other by the character of their populations. The slave-holding people occupied with their characteristic life the vast lowlands and lower table-lands which surround the Appalachians on the east, the south, and the west. With them dwelt the remnants of the small, non-slave-holding whites who had not betaken themselves to separate communities. In the midst of this plantation district the great promontory of the Appalachian Mountains extended from the Potomac to northern Alabama, including more than half of Virginia, the greater part of the Carolinas, northern Georgia, and eastern Tennessee and Kentucky. Here, except where the highlands were penetrated by broad valleys, slavery had hardly more place than in the Berkshire Hills of Massachusetts. There are, indeed, at the present day probably more white people who have never seen a negro in this part of the United States than in all New England. In camping expeditions in the southern Appalachians I have frequently been amused at the curiosity of the whites concerning

my negro servants : men and women would ride twenty miles to see the black men and stare them out of countenance. Nothing but a public and well-heralded hanging would toll them so far from their cabins.

In this way, by the natural, though imperfect, segregation of the rich and the poor whites, there grew up in the South communities tolerably separated from each other and singularly parted from the outer world. The slave-holders, by the peculiar antiseptic effect of the institution which controlled their society, were preserved, as in a pickle, from the ferments of modern civilization, and the free white communities of the hill country were entirely isolated from the contacts of the outer world by the peculiar social conditions of the country which wrapped them in.

Although the social pecularities of the mountaineers of the South have been made the subject of some interesting literature, their dialects and customs, which are in part a survival of old English fashions and in part of local institution, deserve far more attention from ethnologists than they have received. As regards the more important motives which we find among these people, they are all clearly derived from their old-world ancestry. In this writing it is impossible for me to trace, even in outline, the many interesting pecularities which are evident even in the superficial inspection which I have been able to give to these mountaineers.

The sense of personal honor in all except matters of a commercial nature is as keen among these peasant proprietors as it is in the plantation class. The liar and the poltroon are detested as much as in the superior society of the South : curiously enough, however, these people of the hills have invented certain peculiar insults and gages of combat which find no place elsewhere. It is, for instance, an offence to approach a lonely cabin, especially at night, without hailing the inmates from a distance. If there be no man or boy about, the wayfarer must move on without seeking to enter. One of the deadliest insults which can be offered to the mountaineer is to injure his horse, even if the damage be only to the appearance of the creature. The most ineradicable feuds I have ever known have been begun in the following curious manner : two men quarrel over some business trifle, such as their right in an illicit still or a land boundary; the difficulty, being a mere matter of money value, can easily be forgotten ; but one of the combatants, desiring to place the con-

test on a higher and more manly ground, catches his adversary's saddle-horse and clips the hair from his tail, or, as it is sometimes phrased, "mules his critter." Then it is for generations a murderous warfare between the families of the contestants. Something of the same obscure motive may be traced in the conduct of the plantationer whose slave had been beaten by a man of the master's class. Although the owner would probably have been willing to chastise the servant on the request of a reasonable neighbor of his own rank, he would rarely submit to having the punishment inflicted by another. In both these examples the dominant motives may be regarded as a relic of feudalism; of a state of society where a man owed protection to all the life which was subject to his will.

We can see the same impulse to the protective relation in the management of the slaves on the plantations. It is true that here and there were masters who did not consider their servants, who were brutal in their treatment of them; but, on the whole, the relation of the slave-owners to their servants was kindly and gentle. The negroes usually were tenderly guarded in their infancy and old age, and in their years of toil were not overdriven. There were inevitable elements of barbarism in the institution; but when we consider the previous condition of the African race, and the state to which its American representatives had been brought at the end of slavery in this country, we are forced to the conviction that a vast amount of really profitable education had been given to this people. This education of the blacks indicates the long-continued and incessant application of care to their best interests. It is true that this care was in large part directed to economic ends, but the part of it which has proved most profitable to the negro consisted in the devotion of their masters to their moral well-being. It may be considered doubtful whether an utterly foreign and savage race such as the African could have been domesticated under any other system than that afforded by the revived feudalism of the South. To civilize such a people, to develop and fix by inheritance the laboriousness and other elements of social order which the negro has acquired, demands a peculiar control such as the conditions of slavery could alone have imposed upon them.

In the earlier ages of our civilization the system of the overlord did much to bring order out of the earlier barbarism. By a

process of selection it put the management of the lower classes into the hands of the abler men of each generation. It was an iron rule, and yet it was in its way beneficent, for it gave the control of the savage elements to the more civilized men, which is, perhaps, the first and most necessary purpose of a social organization. In somewhat the same way the return of the population of the slave-holding States to the feudal system served to make the subjugation of the Africans possible: with such a task upon this people no other system was possible. Indeed, we may observe that wherever the institution of slavery exists it inevitably leads to the lordly dominance of the master class.

If we adopt the hypothesis, as it seems reasonable to do, that Southern society is to be regarded as a survival of the same feudal-life conditions which two centuries ago still existed in the mother-country, while the new English life of the North, untrammelled by domestic slavery, has gone forward into the modern fields of thought and action, we may account for the most important differences between the two sections. The separation between these American divisions of English people was originally well marked, for the parting action between the ancient and the modern spirit began in the mother-country. Repressive of freedom as Calvinism was in certain things, it forced men to think of spiritual concerns in an intense way; moreover, it parted them from the intellectual past of their race and opened the way to free thought. Under its influence men who were occupied with the question of their relations to the Infinite lost the sense of their personal importance; it was no longer a matter of supreme moment what their neighbors thought of them; and so the somewhat inflamed sensitiveness on matters of honor which had characterized their ancestors of the feudal times disappeared in the North, while it survived in the South. Furthermore, the development of the economic system of the North tended to make the tests of conduct other than in the slave-holding community; commercial honor in a way took the place of the knightly form of that sense.

The most curious difference between these peoples, and on some accounts the most inexplicable, is found in the varied estimation in which life is held by them. Nothing so surprises the Northern people as the fact that Southern men of good estate will, for what seem to the distant onlooker trifling matters of dispute, proceed to slay each other. Nothing so gravely offends the char-

acteristic Southern man as the incapacity of his brethren of Northern societies to perceive that such action is natural and consistent with the rules of gentlemanly behavior. The only way to understand these differences of opinion is by a proper consideration of the history of the moral growth of these diverse peoples. The Southerner has retained and fostered—in a certain way reinstated—the mediæval estimate as to the value of life. In the opinion of those ages it was but lightly esteemed; it was not a supreme good for which almost all else was to be sacrificed, but something to be taken in hand and put in risk in the pursuit of manly ideals. Modernism has worked to intensify the passion for existence until those who are the most under its dominion cannot well conceive how a man, except for some supreme duty to which he is pledged by altruistic motives, can give up his own life or take that of his neighbor. If these people of to-day will but perceive that the characteristic Southerner has preserved the motives of two centuries ago, if they will but inform themselves as to the state of mind on this subject which prevailed in the epoch when those motives were shaped in men, they will see that their judgment is harsh and unreasonable. It is much as if they judged the actions of Englishmen of the seventeenth century by the changed standards of to-day.

Nor will it be altogether reasonable to condemn the lack of the regard of life which we find in the Southern gentleman as compared with his Northern contemporary. We must, of course, reprobate in every way the evil consequences of this state of mind; but the question as to the propriety of that extreme devotion to continued mundane existence which is so manifest in our modern civilization is certainly open to debate. Irrational and brutal as are the ways in which the old-fashioned gentleman of the South shows that his regard for his own honor or that of his household outweighs his love of life, it must be remembered that the same condition existed in the richest ages of our race—those which gave proportionately the largest share of ability and nobility to its history. As long as men are more keenly sensitive to the opinions of their fellows than they are to the other goods which existence brings them, as long as this opinion makes personal valor and truthfulness the jewels of their lives, we must expect now and then to have degradation of the essentially noble motives. It is, undoubtedly, a dangerous state of mind, but not one that is degraded.

The explanation of the disgraceful Southern street fights which take place between men of good social estate is partly to be found in the history of the duel in that part of the country. Up to about fifty years ago the wager of battle there was still a common way of settling serious disputes. The sober-minded people, even those who under certain conditions would themselves resort to the duel, endeavored to crush the evil by legislation. Laws of the utmost severity were passed, which made it a crime to take any part, either as principal or second, in such contests; all persons engaged in them were liable to be disfranchised. The result was such as is usually found in the effort to regulate social evils by enactments: duelling became rare or ceased altogether, and much more deplorable ways of fighting took its place. It has been found impossible to convict men of murder for such crimes, provided the jury is convinced that the assailant's honor was aggrieved and that he gave his adversary notice of his intention to assail him. We cannot hope for a change in this deplorable condition until the process of modernizing the South has convinced men that the common law is more sacred than the motives of the individual man, whatever be the circumstances which arouse them.

In judging our Southern brethren we should, if we would be reasonable, bear in mind the fact that, while in the mere external uniform of civilization they presented the aspects of our time, they were until the end of slavery dwelling in the mediæval age. Their motives in many ways constituted the most interesting remnant of that period which had survived in this century. At present the strong tide of modernism is sweeping over the old slave-holding States with a force which is certain to clear away a greater part of the archaic motives which so long held place in the minds of the people. With the death of the generation which saw the Rebellion the ancient *régime* will disappear. It is to be hoped that the better part of those inheritances from the age of chivalry may survive and mingle with the essential good of modern life: the keen sense of personal honor, the respect for women, the belief in the dignity of courage and external manners, which these ideas give to men and women, may well enter into and serve to ennoble their new life.

N. S. SHALER.

MR. BALFOUR'S ANSWER TO MR. PARNELL.

BY THE RIGHT HON. JOHN MORLEY, M. P.

THE Irish Minister opens his reply to the Irish leader with the remark that the history of the land question is the history of Ireland. In a sense this is true, but it is only true on condition that you include within the land question the effect upon it of the political question. It is safe to say that no statesman before ever undertook to transform the land system of a country without regard to its political condition. Mr. Balfour believes that you can deal with the land question by itself; that you can settle that without touching self-government; and that when every occupier is turned into an owner, then extension of self-government will be either harmless or superfluous.

This belief is the foundation of the remedial policy of the Unionist party. Not, however, of the whole of that party. There is a remarkable and significant exception. The Irish contingent —the landlords, who may be supposed to have their wits sharpened by the instinct of self-preservation—regard their champion's land policy with unconcealed aversion and distrust. Some of them deliberately abstained from voting for it; others plucked up courage to speak against it; and none of them would say a word in support of it. Lord Erne, one of the leading men among the landlords, has deliberately said that Mr. Balfour's measure ought to be called a Bill for Facilitating the Expulsion of the English Garrison from Ireland. This is because they know that you cannot divorce the land question from the political question, and because they face the obvious fact that to buy out the landlords is to leave the Nationalists masters of the situation.

In that case, asks Mr. Balfour, why do the Nationalists oppose my bill, and why is it opposed by English politicians who have themselves produced purchase bills? The answer to the second question is that it is one thing to bring forward a purchase

bill with the active assent of the most important parties to the bargain, and in connection with a great political settlement; and quite another thing to lend large sums of public money to a country which has not given its consent, whose political demand you refuse to listen to, and which, therefore, will have a perilously good excuse for repudiating the whole transaction whenever its leaders think the time convenient. The plan of 1886 was justified in the mind of its framers by the expectation that it would promote a full settlement of the political relations of Great Britain and Ireland. The present plan not only points to no such settlement, but is set up by Mr. Balfour as the foundation-stone of a policy intended to exclude it.

As for the Nationalists, Mr. Parnell, whom at last the successes of his fourteen years' struggle have taught Englishmen and Scotchmen to regard as one of the most clear-sighted men now in public life, has frankly stated his objections to the bill. Considering himself to be within sight of a government in Ireland for which he would be responsible, he opposes any step being taken now which would make repudiation of an English bargain a plausible policy for any party in Ireland at a future time. It will evidently be the first interest of the Irish government to which he looks forward to avoid both all quarrels with England and any depreciation of Irish credit in the money market. Next, Mr. Parnell holds that the thirty-three millions which are to be advanced by the British exchequer will be wasted; that they will only turn the wrong people into the owners of their land, while the small men, who really constitute the land question in Ireland, will be left where they are, and the root of the difficulty will not be touched. Finally, he protests against the hypothecation of funds belonging to Irishmen as a whole, and without their leave asked or given, for the benefit of that privileged section of Irishmen to whom their landlords choose to sell their holdings.

Mr. Parnell restated these objections in a recent speech in Parliament, which excited much attention, and to which Mr. Balfour promised his "respectful consideration." I have little hope that this respectful consideration will bear fruit. For one thing, he has committed himself strongly to the position that no local authorities, either existing or to be created, could be trusted with the working of his land scheme.* Nor are his landlord friends

* See Hansard, May 1, 1890, p. 1930.

at all likely to allow him to give an effective voice in the sale and purchase of their property to local authorities who would be almost to a man Nationalist.

It is pretty certain, therefore, that the process which is called settling the land question will be carried through Parliament against the judgment both of Irish Nationalists and Irish Unionists, actually including not only the landlords but the tenant farmers of Ulster. The scheme sets up relations of debtor and creditor between Ireland and Great Britain for half a century to come. It goes, as any scheme so deeply affecting the land system of any country must go, to the very roots of the social and economic life of the community. Yet this scheme is to be imposed upon Ireland without the approval of any organized section of the community, because it is the only possible substitute that Mr. Balfour can think of for that extension of constitutional self-government against which he and his party have hardened their hearts.

This singular attempt comes of Mr. Balfour's unfortunate misreading of his own proposition that the history of the land question is the history of Ireland. As if one main reason why the history of Ireland has been so woful and so disastrous were not the never-ending circle of settlement, unsettlement, and resettlement of the land without the aid and in defiance of the counsels of Irishmen representing the experience, the judgment, and the sentiment of the people most concerned. The Encumbered-Estates Act was passed in 1848, as Mr. Gladstone has said, "with a general lazy, uninformed, and irreflective good intention of taking capital to Ireland." Nothing is so dangerous as irreflective good intention. Its effect was a wholesale confiscation of the tenants' improvements, followed by deep and just discontent and turbulence in the population. In 1860 a law was made that the relation of landlord and tenant in Ireland should henceforth be a relation of contract, and not of tenure. This did so much harm that in 1870 a new law was made, that the relation should be one of tenure, and not of contract. That did so little good that in 1881 yet a third law was made, that the terms of the relation should be neither of tenure nor contract, but should be fixed by a court. Finally, the policy of 1890 aims at putting an end to the relation of landlord and tenant altogether, and this immense operation, like the other distracting operations before it, is to be

shaped and executed against the will and without the aid either of landlords or of tenants.

Why does not Mr. Balfour see that, whatever may be your land system upon paper, its healthy working must depend upon the existence and the activity of a sound and organized public opinion? He aims at superseding dual owners by peasant proprietors. But what is to prevent the man to-day sitting at a fair rent, and to-morrow made into the owner by means of an advance from the state on payment of an annuity 25 or 30 per cent. below the fair rent, from proceeding the day after to-morrow to let his land to somebody else at the fair rent of to-day, and putting the 25 or 30 per cent. difference into his own pocket, which will be the old landlord pocket over again? Is not this a certainty? I know there will be a clause in the act against sub-letting. Who believes that the clause will be worth a farthing unless the vigilant and organized public opinion of the country is on the side of such a clause? But if you wish to organize an energetic and wholesome public opinion in Ireland, you must give it a chance of free, normal, regular, continuous, and effective expression. Where is that expression to be sought if not in some form of responsible self-government? If a system of peasant proprietorship were launched on a large scale in Ireland to-morrow, it would break down as rapidly as the systems before it unless it is connected with a renovated executive and legislative system.

It is highly instructive to notice what happened in this very matter after the Union. Mr. Balfour very properly looks to Irish history to explain the circumstances of those districts which are crowded with tenants who could by no possibility extract a prosperous livelihood from the soil. What is the explanation from history? This overcrowding, says Mr. Balfour,

"is not improbably due to the fact that in the old days of the 40s. freeholder the landlord was of opinion that he gained in political importance by multiplying the number of voters on his estate, and made therefore no serious efforts to check, if he did not absolutely encourage, the rapid growth of population and the excessive subdivision of holdings."

This is, no doubt, a true explanation, but it is not all. Nobody can candidly study Irish history without coming to the conclusion that this reckless and baleful policy of the Irish landlords would have been rendered impossible if a parliament had been sitting in Dublin, where the state of the country would have been closely and continuously observed, instead of being relegated to the dim

and intermittent attention of select committees at Westminster. If such an assembly had been in existence, who can doubt that a public opinion would inevitably have formed and expressed itself, strong enough to make the landlords themselves ashamed of furthering the political interests of some of them at the cost of infinite disaster to their country for generations to come? The Duke of Wellington, in explaining the necessity of resort to public money to relieve the periodical scarcity in Ireland, describes how

"the proprietors of the country, those who ought to think for the people, to foresee this misfortune, and to provide a remedy beforehand for it, are amusing themselves in the clubs of London, in Cheltenham or Bath, or the Continent, and the government are made responsible for the evil, and they must find a remedy for it where they can—anywhere excepting in the pockets of the Irish gentleman. Then the public money, if given for this distress, is applied to all purposes excepting the one for which it is given, and most particularly to that one—viz., the payment of the arrears of an exorbitant rent." *

Does anybody believe that this detestable policy could have been persisted in, if the voice of Ireland could have made itself heard in its own government?

It is the peculiar inconsistency of Mr. Balfour's proposal that, while he refuses to allow to public opinion in Ireland a voice in the most important of Irish affairs, he yet assumes such probity in that opinion that he is willing to lend Irishmen upwards of forty millions sterling. It is true that he guards his loan with a string of elaborate securities. They remind one of the famous sporran of Rob Roy. The outlaw kept his money in a great leathern pouch. The pouch could only be opened by mastering an elaborate system of studs, springs, and buttons; while a small steel pistol concealed inside was ready to discharge its contents into anybody who, being unacquainted with the secret, should tamper with the intricacies of the lock. "The simplicity of the contrivance," says Frank Osbaldistone, "to secure a furred pouch, which could have been ripped open without any attempt on the spring, reminded me of the verses in the Odyssey where Ulysses is content to secure his property by casting a curious and involved complication of cordage around the sea-chest in which it was deposited." If the Irish are ever minded to repudiate, they will assuredly make short work of the springs, the steel pistol, and the knotted cordage of Mr. Balfour's cash guarantees and contingent funds. What would become of all his securities if the

* "Despatches," Second Series, Vol. vii., p. 111.

Irish tenants and their leaders were what he habitually assumes them to be? He charges them in this REVIEW with being "a political party violent in their designs to the verge of treason, and unscrupulous in their methods beyond the limits of legality"; with invariably acting on the "avowed intention of making the government of Ireland impossible"; and with regarding "social anarchy as the fitting prelude to home rule." Why, by the way, does he then, with a deference that is almost obsequious, promise "respectful consideration" to anything that falls from the leader of this band of irreconcilable traitors and anarchists? And how can he really suppose, if Ireland is in truth the land he has so often described, more in sorrow than in anger, I allow,—the home of swindlers and the dupes of swindlers,—that these two classes will not break through securities which, he must know, it would be as impracticable to enforce as it was impossible to collect the tithes between 1830 and 1840? This is surely as curious a paradox as buying out and bringing away the landlords whom it has been a cardinal point in Unionism to represent as the only friends of the English connection, thus leaving the country to a population so unruly that a perpetual Coercion Act has just for the first time been passed to keep them forever in order. Such are the incoherences in which Mr. Balfour is involved by the exigencies of the incongruous system to which he has committed himself.

His article does not deal quite ingenuously with the objection taken under the head of these curious securities. The American reader would never guess from his reply, I am sure, what is the vital point in this objection. I don't gather, says Mr. Balfour, whether it is the inexpediency or the injustice that Mr. Parnell complains of in the hypothecation of the imperial contribution to local purposes as security for the imperial loan. "There is no conceivable security for the British exchequer which does not in some form or other involve the seizure, in case of default, of Irish funds which might otherwise be devoted to Irish purposes." What Mr. Balfour very innocently passes over is the point that the pledging of these funds takes place without the assent, direct or indirect, of those to whom they belong, and by whom they have been wholly or in part contributed. Let the reader form a clear idea of what is to happen. A certain number of landlords in the county of Cork agree to sell their holdings to, say, a thousand tenants. The Land Commission advances the price, with a

mortgage on the land, and by the use of British credit is able to do so on such terms that, after paying for forty-nine years an annuity some 25 or 30 per cent. less than his former rent, the happy tenant or his successor finds himself owner in fee.

The American reader may think Purchase rather an odd name to give to such a transaction as this, but let that pass. Suppose the thousand tenants, or any of them, to fall behind in their payments; suppose the state, for political or other reasons, to shrink from foreclosing its mortgage and selling up the defaulters, or suppose it unable, as it assuredly would be unable, to find new buyers ready to step into their place : then the indirect securities become available. In other words, to put it shortly, a levy is made upon all the cesspayers in the County of Cork to render good the default, though the cesspayers have had no will in the transaction, and derive not a shilling of advantage from it; and next, if this levy be not effective, the state will lay its hand upon the sum contributed from the imperial exchequer toward the Cork schools and lunatic asylums! Yet Mr. Balfour is at a loss to understand Mr. Parnell's objection to the hypothecation of Irish resources without Irish assent. He is like King George III., who could never understand why the American colonists were so peculiar and so irrational as not to like the hypothecation of their resources by tea duties and stamp duties.

This invasion of sound principle is all the more extraordinary because in another set of cases Mr. Balfour has shown his sense of its soundness. Many of the Irish railways constructed during the last twenty years have been built on a guarantee from the county or district securing for a fixed number of years the interest on the capital. By standing order of each branch of the legislature, this liability can never be imposed without the assent of the grand jury, or, in some large towns, of the municipal council, as well as of all boards of guardians and all presentment sessions in the guaranteeing district. The veto of a single one out of a dozen bodies is fatal to one of these bills. Last year Mr. Balfour himself brought in a measure to facilitate the construction of light railways in Ireland. One of its provisions was a guarantee from the district benefited. Did the Minister exact the guarantee, as he does in his Land Bill, without regard to the wishes of those upon whom the risk would fall ? On the contrary, he proposed that no presentment was to be submitted to

the Irish government "unless and until it obtains the assent of the occupiers of the land in the portion of each county within the benefited district, by a vote which shall be taken in the manner and subject to the provisions hereby enacted." On what principle were all these elaborate precautions for popular assent taken in the Light-Railways Bill of 1889, and then all flung to the winds in the Land Bill of 1890? Why, again, is it not as much the duty of Parliament to protect the Irish ratepayer as the British taxpayer? Why should the first run all the risk in order that the second should run no risk? Why should local purposes be paralyzed by the failure of a minority to keep a bargain as to which the majority were never consulted, and from which they derive no advantage? To these reasonable questions Mr. Balfour's article makes no sort of answer.

It will be said that no call will ever be made on these contingent securities, because the state will seize the real security, which is the land. But so long as the political question is unsettled, so long as Ireland is governed by force and not by consent, so long as her leaders are unreconciled, and excluded from any responsible share in the affairs of their own country, for so long we may be quite sure that no British minister would venture to meet a strike against the payment of the annuities by wholesale evictions; for wholesale evictions, besides the loss of his money, would throw on his hands the burden of a homeless population and a mass of derelict and boycotted farms. This explains some remarkably ingenious, but wholly unworkable, precautions in the bill.

In this connection one of the most striking features in Mr. Balfour's measure is its extraordinary weakness in case of the purchasing tenant becoming a defaulter. For example, if the government are persuaded of the existence of exceptional agricultural calamity in any county, they may suspend the sale of holdings where the buyer has fallen into arrear, or they may give him as much time for payment as they think fit. To anybody who knows Ireland, this invitation by statute not to press the defaulter is of the worst significance. Such an invitation to leniency at discretion is likewise, by the very nature of the case, an invitation to the purchaser to fall behind in his instalment. The plain truth is that prompt recovery of a payment in itself equitable and even indulgent is at once the only sure and the only just remedy. Penal interest for unpunctual payment is, I believe, uni-

versal in French and Swiss land banks ; and if Mr. Balfour really meant his plan to work safely and regularly, he would have imposed a penal interest of twopence or threepence per pound or fraction of a pound in an overdue instalment. Besides that, he would have made it obligatory on the Land Department to direct the sheriff to take possession, to sell the holding if he could find anybody to buy it, and if he could find nobody to buy it, then to give possession to any person whom the department might appoint. There is no reason why a tenant unable to pay should not sell his interest, and he should do so in order to avoid forfeiture of it by seizure. However that may be, if Mr. Balfour had in heart expected his transactions to be carried on upon a business-like footing, he would have taken care that no guarantee deposit or reserve fund should be touched until the defaulting buyer has been dispossessed, his title at law extinguished, and his land vested in the bodies who have to make good his default. What all this laxity means is only too clear. It is made necessary by political weakness. Nothing but a national executive, supported by national opinion and sentiment, will feel itself strong enough to proceed to vigorous measures in enforcing its claims ; and it is because he refuses to contemplate any but an anti-national executive that Mr. Balfour is obliged to leave all these loopholes for evading an unpopular and a dangerous duty, and to conceal them by his euphemism of "introducing *elasticity* into the relations between the borrowing purchaser and the lending exchequer." This sort of elasticity has been the ruin of the Irish tenant.

This unsatisfactory nature of his only substantial security has set Mr. Balfour industriously to hunt for all manner of devices which look substantial, but are in fact shadows. For instance, one of the devices of the bill is a provision that the buyer shall for the first five years pay an annuity equal to 80 per cent. of the net value. The difference between this 80 per cent. and the normal annuity is called the purchaser's insurance money, and the fund accruing from it is to be drawn upon when the purchaser has fallen behind from no fault of his own. The objections to this expedient are manifold. In principle it is of very doubtful wisdom. I am not at all sure that the existence of this fund will not tend to weaken the responsibility of the borrower. It will tend to make him too ready to plead any slight accident as a reason

why the state should fall back on the insurance money, which, after all, has come out of his own pocket. Again, the first five years will be a critical time for the tenant who buys his holding in order to get a reduction of his old rent. He ought to have as favorable and unembarrassed a start as possible; and this he will not have if he is compelled to pay more, and it may be considerably more, than the annual annuity, merely to enable Mr. Balfour to make a better show of securities to the British taxpayer.

There is a still stronger and more direct objection. It can escape nobody who looks closely into the bill that by the device we are now considering the annuity will for five years be based on a twenty years' purchase scale. For five years the tenant who has bought at twelve or fifteen years' purchase will pay the same instalment as if he had bought at twenty years.* Why should a buyer pay for five years as if he had bought at twenty times the rent, when the landlord is willing to sell at twelve or fifteen times? Let us see what will happen. In the north, where sales will not be much under twenty years' purchase, the insurance provision will be nugatory. Where the price is eighteen years, it will be of trivial application. But where, as in the west, the price is twelve or fifteen years, its application will be so serious as to be almost prohibitory of sales. In the west, where reductions of 20 per cent. are not infrequently given even on judicial rents, it has been hard to induce tenants to buy even at fifteen years' purchase. Then how can you expect them to buy on condition of paying a twenty years' purchase rate for five years? The Irish tenant looks for an immediate result, and this in such circumstances as I have described he will not attain. What will be the effect? That exactly in those less prosperous districts which the bill is supposed especially to assist this disadvantage will weigh most heavily, and they will derive no relief under a system which in fact compels buyers to pay for a term of years a sum beyond, and substantially beyond, the market value of the land.

*NOTE.—Take a holding of £20 net annual value.

(*a*) *Price at twenty years' purchase*	£400
Normal annuity	16
(*b*) *Price at fifteen years' purchase*	300
Normal annuity	12
Eighty per cent. of net value	16

Therefore, the man who buys at fifteen years will for five years pay the same as the man who buys at twenty.—Q. E. D.

Before proceeding to what I may call the organic defects in the structure of his land policy, there is a point in Mr. Balfour's article which ought to be noticed in passing. One of the arguments against the bill is that, so long as a Coercion Act prevents combination among the tenants, the landlord is able, by means of outstanding arrears, to compel purchase and to screw up the price. Mr. Balfour meets this argument cavalierly enough. "In truth, to any one who knows the condition of Ireland during the last ten years there is an absurdity far beyond the necessity for formal refutation in supposing that the tenants are at any disadvantage in making bargains with their landlords." Only a few weeks ago a transaction was brought under the notice of a Parliamentary committee which helps us to test this alleged "absurdity." One of the London companies a year or two ago desired to sell. The tenants were heavily in arrear. They were told that they must either pay off the arrear (which was impossible), or submit to eviction (which was horrible), or else sign contracts of purchase at such and such a price. The Land Commission sent over an officer to examine whether the security was good for an advance. That officer reported that the contracts for purchase appeared to him "to have been entered into by the tenants under duress and intimidation of the most pronounced character," and the commissioners refused to sanction the transaction on this ground.* Yet Mr. Balfour sees nothing but absurdity in the supposition that a tenant is ever at a disadvantage in making a bargain with his landlord. The absurdity lies in supposing that the case above cited, where the tenant was asked to make his bargain with writ, sheriff, and battering-ram all at hand, is isolated and accidental.

Let us assume that Mr. Balfour's statement of the case for a scheme of purchase rests on firm ground, and that it is indispensable to substitute single ownership for a state of things in which neither landord nor tenant is owner. Let us assume, also, that the money must be advanced on British credit. The practical question remains, how this operation can be most safely performed. You may establish the direct relation of debtor and creditor on a large scale between the Irish occupier and the Brit-

* Evidence before Select Committee on the Irish Society and London Companies (Irish Estates). Appendix : Mr. O'Brien's Report and the Judgment of Mr. Commissioner Lynch for the defence of the company. See Q. 6,076-6,098.

ish exchequer. Or else you may interpose a central Irish authority as creditor, with a direct interest in enforcing payment of the instalments. It seems almost incredible that statesmen should hesitate in choosing between these two alternatives, or that they should fail to see that the first of them, by converting the British treasury into the Irish landlord, dealing with the individual tenant, and using eviction as the last resort, must constitute, in the present state of relations between the two countries, a grave public danger. Yet this incredible plan is the plan of Mr. Balfour's bill.

Two fundamental principles were contained in the Land Bill of 1886. The first was that only an Irish authority can enforce the remedies that are essential to secure the advance. On this head I have already said as much as there is room for. The second principle was that the only means of making sure that an Irish authority will insist on punctual payments is to give that authority a direct interest in them. This direct interest was conferred on the Irish authority in the proposals of 1886 to the tune of 18 per cent. on every transaction. The buyer was to pay, and the Irish exchequer was to receive, on the capitalized value of the gross rent; but the Irish exchequer, on the other hand, was to pay to the landlord, or repay to the imperial exchequer, on the net; and was to pocket the difference between net and gross. If the whole of the transactions had gone forward, it was calculated that the sum becoming subject to the discretion of the Irish authority would be something like £400,000 a year. This was a boon to the Irish taxpayers at large, derivable from resort to British credit; and nobody can deny that it was a boon which would have made it well worth while for the Irish authority to insist on the faithful discharge of obligations of a character so profitable to itself.

Time has ripened the doubt in the minds of some of those who were responsible for the proposals of 1886 whether it would not have been wiser to carry this principle still further by leaving an annual payment due from the tenant to the state in perpetuity, and so reserving for the Irish state a perpetual advantage from the present use of imperial credit. That is to say, the Irish state would become the landlord, and the tenant would acquire his holding subject to a perpetual rent of not less than 4 per cent. on the purchase money. The question was considered at the time. For a great scheme of that kind there is much to be said, but I need not discuss it here. For Mr. Balfour, with an almost unaccounta-

ble indifference, has omitted, both in his bill and his defence of it, any mention of this fruitful principle that the advantages of resort on so great a scale to imperial credit should not be exclusively confined to a certain section of the tenant farmers of today, but should be distributed among the whole body of Irish taxpayers for all time. It is needless to point out how such a process as this would lighten the task and smooth the way of an Irish government; or how it would undoubtedly constitute no inconsiderable compensation for the past misgovernment of Ireland by England.*

It is not necessary to add many words as to the plan for dealing with the congested districts. Mr. Balfour believes that he has devised a "method by which the pressure of population upon the means of subsistance should be lessened, partly by diminishing the former, partly by augmenting the latter." The foundation of this method is emigration, *plus* seed potatoes and an inquiry into the fishing resources off the west coast. As if the pigeon-holes of the Irish Office were not crammed with reports upon fish and stories of seed potatoes. Nor is emigration exactly a new remedy for Irish trouble. Yet, according to an official inquiry made some four years ago, the emigration which has taken place within the last twenty years has done nothing towards decreasing the population and consolidating holdings. Nobody can really expect the new Congested-Districts Board to make any mark on this part of the Irish problem, so long as it is distrusted alike by the clergy, the Nationalist leaders, and the people. As the organ of the landlords has warned the creator of this Board, "it is a very elaborate piece of machinery, but as there is no coal in the furnace or water in the boiler, the engine cannot be expected to do much work."

JOHN MORLEY.

* It may be worth while to illustrate in figures the value to an Irish government of this system under British and Irish credit respectively.

If the judicial rent of a holding is £100 and the net annual value £80, then the capitalized value at twenty years is £1,600. At 3½ interest and ⅞ sinking-fund, the annual payment by the Irish to the British exchequer equals £64. As the purchaser is to pay £80, the transaction will leave the Irish exchequer with £16 to the good.

Suppose British credit not to be available, and suppose that the Irish government could borrow, as some good city authorities expect, at 3½: this would make the annual payment in the above instance £68 5s. 0d., instead £64, leaving the Irish government with £11 15s. 0d. to the good.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

I.

THE FIRST OF OCTOBER IN GERMANY.

THE approach of the first of October and the time when the law expires which has prevented all open discussion or writing on Socialistic subjects since 1878 is causing some interesting discussion in Germany. Socialists begin to realize that they have a definite place in the politics of the empire, and that with the expiration of the law they will be able to proceed on a definite principle, publicly, in the Reichstag and among the people, with journalistic organs to express their views, and a strong party behind them.

The events since 1878 have been a history that was predicted on all sides—a steady growth under the oppression; a steady increase of membership when the penalty for belonging to such a sect was exile. Prince Bismarck, in his contest with the Ultramontane party, had joined himself with the Liberals and the laboring classes in the years preceding 1878. He had encouraged the Social Democracy in many ways, and been their champion as far as his service to the Hohenzollerns would allow. He had even gained his idea of suffrage from Lassalle, it is said. Under this patronage, and with the general advance in ideas, the small sect grew to such magnitude that the Chancellor saw the necesssity of checking its growing influence. And it was in the midst of this that Germany was startled by the two attempts on the life of the old Emperor in the spring of 1878. A cry at once arose from all quarters against the Socialists. It was in vain that Herr Bebel, the leader of the Social Democracy, stated at once that neither he nor his party had anything in common with Hödel or Nobiling. The almost successful attempts at regicide had been attributed to the Socialists, and the feeling against the party could not be changed. The chance was too good a one for Bismarck to miss, and almost immediately a bill was proposed in the Reichstag for the suppression of the Socialist movement.

There were at the time 60,000 Socialists in Berlin, and about half a million in the empire. Their principles were being spread abroad by upwards of thirty-five periodicals and a large number of organizations; and in the Reichstag six members, with Herr Bebel at their head, called themselves the representatives of the party.

The first draft of the bill called forth not only the censure of the Liberals in Germany, but that of all the leading journals in England, France, and the United States. It proposed to suppress all writing, reading, or lecturing on Socialist matters in the empire, and left the decision as to what "Socialist matters" were to the local authorities. The Liberals at once saw that much of their own writing might be suppressed under the act, and they separated from the Chancellor.

At the third reading, however, a somewhat modified, but still a stringent, law was passed on the 21st of October, to run three years, and on the next day the president of police in Berlin broke up four prominent organizations, and suppressed thirty-five periodicals and irregularly-issued pamphlets. One of these, the *Freie-presse*, appeared again the next day under the name of the *Tagespost*, but never reached a second number.

The same vigorous treatment took place throughout the empire, and Socialism for the time was under cover, and "must now propagate itself, as slanders do, in whispers; and, as usual, whispers will circulate more rapidly than any paper." The history of the last twelve years has shown that this was a prophecy. The party was

for the moment crushed. All those who had been of it for other reasons than a deep belief in the doctrines of Socialism fell away like leaves from the trees in autumn; but the small nucleus grew stronger under oppression. The seats in the Reichstag remained about the same; and time passed till May 31, 1881. Then came a renewal under the same conditions, and the same thing was repeated in 1884 and 1887.

At the opening of the session last October the government brought forward another bill to renew the old one as before. Again came the attempt to strike out the clause limiting it to a term of years. But the *Kartel* party had something more to contend with than they had had before.

During these years since 1881 the Social Democrats had grown from something under half a million to over a million; the six members in the Reichstag had increased to eleven; not being able to publish pamphlets within the empire, publishing houses had been established in Zurich and Geneva and the papers circulated through Germany in a way that has been and still is astounding for its rapidity and efficacy. In fact, the few discoveries that have been made go far to show that a regular system for distributing pamphlets has been organized, which neither the local authorities nor the government have been able to bring to the light. So that with an increased standing and confidence, which these facts substantiate, the little party opened the session with a renewed opposition that succeeded eventually in carrying its point.

The discussion continued through the short session, and with the division of the parties on the question of the permanency of the law the Socialists found frequent opportunity to gain the ear of the Chamber and to push forward their objections to any such bill at all. Finally, at the third reading the bill was lost, and in the last days of February the Socialists knew that on the first day of October they were going back to the original *status* of 1878, but with a party larger, stronger, and more systematized than they had supposed possible then. Preparations are now being made for the coming day, and the enormous meetings that have been held during the summer—one rising to the number of 7,000—have in the last month grown too strong for the authorities to check. The leaders have been laying down platforms to hold the party together in a consistent whole, and these comprise the principles as stated twelve years ago—public education, regulation of the hours of labor, self-government, absolute freedom of the press, and the adjustment of the relations of labor and capital.

Thus under the leadership of Bebel and Liebknecht, and in spite of some dissensions, they stand over a million strong, with thirty-six members in the Reichstag, and a better organization than any of the other parties.

In the light of these events the policy of the young Emperor William toward Socialism is one of the most remarkable of his many remarkable steps. He has distinctly recognized the party; he has even invited one of them to drink beer with him at his castle; and his speeches in regard to the movement have led him into a course from which there is no turning back. This, added to their own activity, has made the Socialists to-day a recognized party in German politics, with a definite policy before them. On the first of October—or the seventh, to be more exact—meetings are to be held in different districts to build up the party more strongly, and arrangements seem to have been already made for the issue of party organs. The freedom will not be such as it is in America, but for the Germany of the last decade it is a great step toward absolute freedom of speech.

The questions that will soon come before the country are: How far is this to be allowed to go? and, Will the Socialist party run itself out, simply because of its new power to do whatever it sees fit to do, or will it grow stronger and gain an influential place in the Reichstag?—questions too difficult for any one to answer at present. The party has increased while under the vigorous law, not only in membership, but in moral strength. In these ten years labor troubles and the milder forms of Socialism have gained strength in Europe and America, until now half the writing in the more serious periodicals—whether daily, weekly, or monthly—is in connection with these subjects. These are the paramount questions of the last decade of the nineteenth century; and, in spite of what may be said to the contrary, they are gaining strength in the minds of the people at large.

In the midst of this the Emperor of the most "paternal" government in Europe —if we except Russia—is taking this huge, uniformed subject into his own hands. He has ended the "blood-and-iron" rule; he has said again and again that he "will make the man great who will aid him in his endeavor to find the just course and keep to it, and will crush him who opposes him"; and his government has found it wise to take off what restriction has been in the past put upon the discussion of the subject. There can be no doubt of the young Emperor's earnestness; and yet one of the greatest principles of the Social Democracy in Germany to-day is *self-government*. That is, a monarchy of the old style goes hand in hand with a party working for government by the people!

It is a peculiar situation, that must have some sort of settlement before many years have gone—that has no exit behind. Is it an attempt on the part of the imperial government to get control of the whole organization in order to regulate the movement by-and-by by seeming to favor it now? or is it only to delay matters until a European crisis is tided over? Time must answer.

J. H. SEARS.

II.

POLICE OUTRAGES IN NEW YORK.

THE police force of the city of New York has gained an enviable reputation for bravery, and when its members are called upon to act in great emergencies, they have never failed to justify this reputation. At times there occur also individual proofs of devotion to duty in moments of great peril. Perhaps it is all the more on this account that the exhibitions of cowardice and brutality which are too frequently made by individual members of the force shock the community so severely. Within the past six months several cases of extreme brutality and despicable cowardice have been brought to public attention, and in each instance the policeman has suffered no greater punishment than a trial on charges before the Police Board.

Every one of these cases was a most heinous exhibition of cowardice, because the policeman in each instance relied upon his uniform, his shield, his club, and his personal influence with his superiors to protect him from the consequences of his brutality and cowardice. When an officer in uniform relies upon his badges of authority so that he feels safe in beating citizens or in wounding them with insulting language and brutal actions, such an officer is not only a coward, but is unworthy to serve with a body of men who are accounted brave. A few cases illustrative of this unworthy conduct may be cited.

A policeman in one of the uptown precincts was approached some weeks ago by a young woman who besought him to repair a great injury which he had done her. She came to him, not seeking a policeman to protect her, but a man to set right a wrong he had committed. He seized her violently and even used his club upon her arm, and then dragged her to a station-house and complained of her as one who had been guilty of disorderly conduct. The court discharged the woman, and charges were preferred against the policeman. A brief hearing was had, and that seems to have been the end of the case. Yet the honor of every citizen in this community was involved in these charges, and the Board of Police Commissioners should have left no stone unturned that they might discover whether it were possible that a woman pleading with a man to save her honor was liable to receive as a reply blows from a policeman's club and arrest and imprisonment on a charge of disorderly conduct.

A policeman, spying two men in the early evening who were walking one of the streets and carrying a bundle between them, stopped them and seized the bundle, and when one of the men protested against the insolence of the officer's manner, the policeman arrested both of them. They were committed to a cell for the night, dragged before a police court in the morning, and, after a brief examination and investigation, were shown beyond question to be honest men. They were discharged, and the officer was reprimanded by the court. These men were most cruelly outraged, and yet the officer who had done this has not even been called to account by the Police Board.

A passenger on one of the Staten Island ferry-boats was assaulted by a loafer. When the boat landed at the ferry slip the injured man called upon an officer to arrest his assailant. The man's face was proof sufficient of the severity of the assault. It was cut and bleeding from blows. Witnesses said that the officer to whom the injured man appealed first insulted the suffering man with brutal words, and then punched him in the back with his club. These witnesses, being indignant, expostulated with the officer, only to be insulted themselves. They went to a police station to complain of the officer, and a few moments later he himself appeared, dragging with him the poor fellow whose only crime was that he had appealed to the police for protection. The next day this unfortunate victim was discharged by the court, and the policeman was summoned before the commissioners, and that is all the punishment he has ever had.

Some time ago a gentleman was entertaining two or three friends at his house, when a policeman suddenly appeared, seeking, he said, for a thief. The head of the house demanded the officer's warrant, and as none was shown the policeman was instantly ordered out of the house. Instead of going, he went to the window, broke it open, and appealed to those who were passing to come and assist him. In this way he secured aid enough to arrest the gentleman and his friends. They were locked up and humiliated by being compelled to appear in a police court the next morning. The commissioners would not even entertain a complaint against the officer who made the arrest.

An old gentleman, feeling giddy from a sudden attack of vertigo, appealed to an officer to get him a cab and send him to his home. He was a most reputable business man, and his appearance should have suggested that he was suffering from sudden illness. The officer, however, insulted him by declaring that he was drunk, dragged him with great violence to a police station, and left him in a cell. The next morning the invalid was found unconscious, and he died within a few hours. This officer was not even reprimanded.

Two gentlemen walking on upper Broadway chanced to meet a friend whom they had not seen for a long time, and stopped to shake hands with him. A moment later an officer, with great insolence of manner, came up and pushed the gentlemen violently along, saying: "Here, get a move on you." The gentlemen protested against this violence, when the officer raised his club and was about to arrest them. They were spared that ignominy, however, by the captain of the precinct, who had seen the whole occurrence. He said to the officer: "Go on your beat, sir; I know these men, and it is impossible that they should have committed any disturbance." The captain said that the officer was a good policeman in times of danger, but that he had no judgment.

These examples are selected at random from a very long list of indignities. The records of the Police Commissioners show that within a few years hundreds of complaints have been made by reputable citizens, who have felt that their persons and self-respect have been most shamefully abused by policemen. So many of these cases appear that it is apparent that, in spite of some great excellences, the force must carry the odium of containing many men who are capable of cowardice, insolence, and brutality. What is the reason that such abuses are of frequent occurrence? Clearly because some fault exists in the system by which the policemen are governed. If there be such fault, it lies with the board which controls the force.

This board has been nominally non-partisan for many years. When Thomas C. Acton was its president, nearly thirty years ago, he forbade, through a resolution adopted by the board, all persons connected with the department, from the commissioners down, from being members of any political club. Nominally this resolution was in force for some years. But the commissioners themselves were the first to break it through the creation of personal organizations called by their names, which were said to be non-partisan, but which were not. The demoralization growing out of these organizations was very great. A man desiring to get upon the police force had only to become an active member of the organization and establish himself as a favorite with the commissioner who controlled it. Then, having secured appointment, it was easy to retain favor, although nominally no longer a member of

the organization. In some districts a policeman's influence with voters can be made very great, and that, of course, creates what in the colloquialism of the force is called a "pull" with the commissioners. It is the men who have "pulls" who are the most likely to be insolent, cowardly, and brutal.

The fault, then, lies in the partisanship which controls the policemen, and which is all the more dangerous because the board is thought to be non-partisan. The remedy lies with the Police Board itself. There should be first an end put to any possible relations between the board and the members of the force except those of superior and subordinate. The board should then make every member of the force feel that any deviation from the right use of his power and responsibility is sure to be followed by swift and sufficient punishment. Next, any officer who has done that which justifies the infliction of severe punishment, such as suspension or dismissal, should be sent for trial, also, to some criminal tribunal, that he may be punished by the courts, as any other citizen would be, for misdemeanor. If the commissioners, having found a man guilty of misdemeanor, had the power not only to dismiss him, but to instruct the superintendent to make charges against him before a court of justice, that he might be punished penally, then some sufficient sense of restraint would be found to operate against the unlawful display of passion and malice by policemen.

E. J. EDWARDS.

III.

ARE WOMEN MANNERLESS?

THE rapid generalizer is apt to rush to unsound conclusions. I think that a writer in the last number of THE REVIEW deduces his designation of women as "The Mannerless Sex" from a number of examples quite too limited.

While recognizing the truth of much that he says as to the rudeness of women in public places, I attribute almost wholly to men the responsibility for such bad manners as he instances. If women are "pushing" in banks and post-offices and street-cars, it is the men whose silly encouragement has made them so; and to prove this it is only necessary to mention the fact that it is exclusively *American* women that are under discussion: against European women no such charges of rudeness are ever made.

The question here arises whether American men cannot learn some valuable lessons from their trans-Atlantic brethren. In no railroad car in Europe, and in no street-car or omnibus, do men ever get up to give their seats to women; and the result is that every railroad company puts on cars enough to accomodate travellers, and then laws are passed providing that after all the seats are occupied no more passengers shall be admitted. So there are no standing passengers anywhere, and everybody who pays for a ride obtains a seat.

It seems to me that this method is much better than ours. And our railroads can be compelled to put on rolling stock adequate to the demands of the travelling public only by a persistent and concurrent refusal of men to surrender their seats to women. Such a refusal would be plainly just. Why should a man who has paid $2 for a seat in a railroad car relinquish it to a woman any more than a man in the orchestra of a theatre should resign his $2 seat? Indeed, why should a man who has paid five cents for a street-car seat relinquish it to a woman merely because the company has sold her a seat for five cents and cannot deliver the thing sold? And why should women accept such privileges as if a matter of right? No refined woman would accept a postage-stamp from a stranger without paying him for it: why should she accept what has cost him more than twice as much? Plainly because men have set the fashion of surrendering their seats under the plea of gallantry.

I might pause here to show that the words "gallantry," "politeness," "courtesy," etc., are meant to apply only to acts of deference which involve no financial loss, and do not properly include the transfer of things which have been paid for; but space will not permit such a digression.

A surrender of purchased seats and rights to elderly women or to women obviously ill would be bad enough; but the American method has come to include an indefinite extension of this habit which is pernicious in the extreme. If under the mercenary limitation of street-cars men continue to give seats to women who are ap-

parently unable to stand, what shall be said in defence of the preposterous practice of yielding seats to young women? Women are not responsible for it; I have repeatedly seen them politely refuse to take the proffered seat, and have seen old men overcome their scruples by indecent importunity which no woman could resist without making a scene. The fashion which prevails in such cities as Washington, Baltimore, and Southern towns generally, commanding that no man shall sit while any woman is standing,—without regard to the age of either party,—was born of the prurient egotism and vanity of men, and has no justification in either equity or courtesy. But foolish men have set the fashion, and if women are spoiled by it, the authors are responsible for the damage.

So of elevators. Why on earth should a man remove his hat in an elevator—unless, indeed, it is a part of a hotel parlor? The absurd habit prevails in Washington and Baltimore, and in provincial cities of the South and West; but it has no existence in the older cities of the North, any more than it has among well-bred people in Paris, London, or Berlin.

As to the alleged (and conceded) rudeness of women in business places,—at post-offices, at theatres, at banks, etc.,—it may be said that it originated in the mistaken concessions of men, who did not pause to consider that the gratification of their own vanity was at the expense of others, involving the discomfort of the whole travelling and commercial race of man. It is not too late to correct it.

W. A. CROFFUT.

IV.

ASSESSMENT LIFE INSURANCE.

A POLICY of life insurance is a contract agreeing to pay a certain sum upon the death of a specified person, provided death occur within a specified period. In practice the business is carried on by aggregations of policy-holders called "companies," and the guarantee of the sum assured rests upon the obligation of the mass of policy-holders to contribute for death-claims the equivalent of the aggregate amounts which the company is obligated to pay to the individual policy-holders. In addition to this the policy-holders must pay the cost of transacting the business.

These propositions are true of life insurance regardless of method, and unless there is equivalence between the risk assumed by the company and the liability assumed by the policy-holder, there can be no such thing as security.

When one has to deal with the liquidation of the obligation of the individual to the company and the security for deferred payments from the former to the latter, difference of method is developed, and this, in common parlance, is dignified into difference in system, whereas in reality there is but one system, and that the system of life insurance.

There have thus come to be recognized two "systems"—the "level-premium" and the "assessment." The first essential difference is that, while the "level-premium" company limits the liability of the policy-holder to a predetermined sum, the "assessment" company limits it only by his *pro rata* of the actual claims. Each recognizes the standard mortality tables, but one uses them to determine in advance a maximum rate of premium for each age, while the other uses them as a standard for adjusting losses incurred among the policy-holders of different attained ages. The equation of liability in the case of the level-premium company is, therefore, between the present value of the amount of the insurance and the present value of the premiums which the policy-holder is obligated to pay, it being assumed, for the purpose of calculating these present values, that the deaths will occur in accordance with a certain table of mortality and that invested funds will earn a certain rate of interest. As the payment of the sums insured depends wholly upon the realization of enough from the policy-holders to meet them as they fall due, and as the payments by the policy-holders are limited by contract, safety is possible only on a basis of assumption, as to mortality and interest, less favorable than the future will show; and as many of these contracts extend over a long term of years, allowance must be made for contingencies. Therefore one of two things is inevitable: either the liability of the policy-holder to the company must be excessive, or the security less than absolute.

The equation of liability in the case of the assessment company is between the cost which the risk will actually entail and the payment which the policy-holder must make, and is determinable as events develop and the payments are needed. This, however, does not imply that paym ents can be made by the policy-holder only as the money is needed for the liquidation of actual claims. On the contrary, there may be many variations in the method of making payments, provided the following essentials be kept in view :

(*a*) That funds contributed for the payment of death-claims be held inviolate for that purpose.

(*b*) That each policy-holder's contribution to the current claims of a given period be determined by the actual amount of such claims and his attained age, whether that contribution be made by him by direct payment or partly by direct payment and partly by diminution of his interest in any reserved fund that the company may hold.

(*c*) That each policy-holder receive the benefit of the payments actually made by him and the accretions thereon, and pay the cost of the entire benefits which he receives.

Since the limit of each policy-holder's liability in a given period is not a predetermined sum, the assessment company may take cognizance of the fact that all men who insure do not die insured—a fact that the level-premium company cannot take into account. In practice many assessment companies determine a payment which each policy-holder is to make at stated dates by discounting the sum assured by an assumed rate of interest and a table of the number that, from an initial number insured, will be living and insured at each succeeding age of life. This table is computed from the standard mortality tables, and from a table of discontinuances from other causes than death, made up from the tabulated experience of other insurance companies. This last element has a material effect in reducing the amount of the payment.

A payment thus determined is not to be confounded with the level premium of the other plan. It is not a limit of liability and, consequently, of security, but a deposit with the company of a sum on account of future death-cost, which is always available for and sacred to the payment of claims. The different aspect which it must hold in the eyes of the law from that of the "reserve" accumulation of the level-premium company is an additional distinction between the two methods. As the liability of the policy-holder in the level-premium company is absolutely limited by contract, any payment that he may make over and above the current death-cost is a diminution of the present value of the future contributions which he can be called upon to make. The present value of these contributions is, at the outset, the equivalent of the present value of the insurance granted, and if only the amount of current death-claims was paid by the policy-holder as time went on, these two present values would advance by equal steps. Therefore when anything more than this current cost is paid, the result is that the present value of the policy-holder's liability to the company is reduced below that of the company's obligation to the policy-holder, and unless the company holds the difference in hand in invested assets, it is and must be insolvent. The amount of these overpayments, together with the accretions thereon, is, therefore, available only for the payment of the claim under the individual policy to which it belongs, and if the company uses it for other purposes, even though it be the payment of other death-claims, it is insolvent and its insurance-granting power is destroyed ; a receivership being the only alternative. It is because of this fact that failures have occurred in such numbers among companies operating on this plan.

In the case of overpayments to the assessment company no such liability exists. The money is received as a trust deposit made for a specific purpose—the payment of death-claims—and for that it is available. Its misuse renders the trustees criminally liable, but does not involve the destruction of the company's insurance-granting power. Thus in the level-premium company the impairment of the reserve fund means the loss to the policy-holder of the future insurance for which he has contracted, and this without returning to him the money that has been lost; in the assessment company, his future insurance is still secure, on the payment by him of its

cost, so that the loss of the money is not supplemented by the loss of what may be worth to him many times more.

Two corollaries follow from the distinction noted between the two plans:

(*a*) The cost of doing the business in an assessment company must be fixed by contract. This is the requirement of the law in all States that have legislated on the subject. Moneys that are collected for the purpose of paying death-claims must be held inviolate for that purpose, and though the policy that contributed them lapses and they are forfeited as a penalty, they are still available only for the purpose for which they were paid, and the persistent policy-holders must have the benefit of them in that direction.

(*b*) Savings in death-losses, surrender-charges on lapsed policies, gain in interest, and other profits in a level-premium company may be used for expenses or as the management determine. By the assumption on which the level premium is made up there is an excess over the requirements. The excess can be used for expenses. When the policy lapses, the liability under it is cancelled and the funds that were held to offset that liability are released, to be used as the management see fit. They are in no sense inviolate to the payment of claims or the benefit of the persistent policy-holders.

A large portion of the resources of every active life-insurance company must consist of the obligations of the policy-holders for payments on account of future death-claims, and this must especially be the case with an assessment company, which prosecutes its business without the accumulation of large sums of money. Upon the security of these resources rests the integrity of the contracts entered into. That security, under all plans, is the same—namely, such provision that the policy-holder who refuses to pay shall forfeit to the company more than the loss that he inflicts upon it. Theoretically, the lapse of a policy cancels an obligation to the company no greater than the obligation of the company to the policy-holder which is cancelled at the same time; but practically the matter of lapse is wholly in the hands of the policy-holder, who has it in his power to say whether the company shall be required to continue the contract that it has entered into with him, while the company has no election in the matter. Common-sense points to what experience attests—that lapse will occur when it is to the advantage of the member that it should, and that when a lapse would be to the advantage of the company, the policy will be kept in force. The company must, therefore, as an offset to the privilege granted the policy-holder, exact of him, in event of his lapse, a penalty sufficient to protect the persistent policy-holders against any loss that his act may cause. If it has always in hand the means of imposing this penalty, the security of that portion of the resources represented by the future payments of policy-holders is as secure under the one plan as under the other.

This statement of the principles underlying assessment life insurance is confined to the merest outlines. The plan is one that deals with pure life insurance—the protection of the family or the dependent against the loss that would be caused by the death of the father, the husband, or the provider. It shapes itself to many modifications; such, for instance, as creditor and partnership insurance. It furnishes, distinctively, insurance for the productive period of life, the period of the dependent family, the education of children, and the hazards of active business. It leaves the combination of insurance and investment, the seductive "tontine" and endowment, to the other plan. That its chosen and appropriate field is broad beyond even the need of a great business, the record that it has made proves.

Starting twenty years ago under the form of fraternal insurance, it has developed into a great business, recognized by the laws of almost every State as of equal legitimacy with its level-premium rival. It has formulated its methods, corrected its crudities, and to-day enrols in its list of policy-holders more than two and a half million citizens. During 1889 it paid over $42,000,000 in death-claims, swelling the total paid since organization, by the companies in active existence, to $300,000,000. That it has become the recognized plan of life, as distinct from investment, insurance, is attested by the fact that it paid more in death-claims in each of the last two years than did the level-premium companies. Thirteen millions of people in this country are interested directly in its present and future, while the whole people

have a common interest in the lessons of thrift which it teaches. It is far from necessarily antagonistic to the level-premium plan. Its true rivalry is to accomplish better than that plan can the work of life insurance. There is abundant room for both. As compared with the level-premium method, the assessment plan bases its claims upon the following propositions :

(*a*) Equal or greater security, without resort to excessive charges.

(*b*) Pure life insurance without the concomitant of vast accumulation, with the resultant dangers of poor investments and misuse of funds.

(*c*) A limited, as against an unlimited, expense charge.

(*d*) Funds paid for death-claim purposes held inviolate therefor.

(*e*) Equal security for that portion of the resources of the company which consists in the obligations of policy-holders to pay on account of future death-claims.

(*f*) Reserve funds available at all times as a conservator of the insurance-granting power of the company, rather than as a menace to that function.

(*g*) Equal accountability to the State for the proper conduct of affairs, and equal recognition under the law as life insurance.

GEORGE D. ELDRIDGE.

V.

SALVATIONISTS IN RETREAT.

IT IS now some ten or twelve years since the Salvation Army began operations in this country. The curiosity which at first followed the work has largely subsided, and the parades of the members, their songs and their exhortations, are no longer the object of ridicule or abuse. Public indifference seems to have overtaken these noisy, but in many instances earnest, people. The time is opportune, now that it is announced that a strenuous effort is to be made to excite renewed interest in the army's doings, to inquire as to the actual results of its ten years' campaign. How many converts can the army's officers point to as the fruits of their labors? How many outcasts have become respectable citizens, thanks to the army? How many pastors of churches are willing to say that the army has done valuable work in a field not affected by the usual church machinery? So far as I have been able to obtain answers to these questions, the results have been in inverse proportion to the noise made. I have found no pastor who says that he can count among his flock persons who might not have been there had the Salvation Army never existed. On the other hand, it will be admitted that such negative testimony is not altogether conclusive; the outcast, male or female, who escapes from the bondage of vice, crime, or abject poverty, is apt to hide the past and everything connected with it.

In 1883, when my acquaintance with the Salvation Army began, there were six "barracks," as the meeting-places of the army were called, in New York city and as many in Brooklyn. The present meetings are in strong contrast with those of that day. One friend of the order told me recently that the army was dying of respectability. Mr. Ballington Booth, a son of the founder of the order, and the chief of the American forces, is a quiet man as compared to some of the former leaders; there is less noise at the meetings, less laughter, less excitement, and, perhaps in consequence, a diminished attendance. Between a present meeting of a corps of the Salvation Army and an old-time Methodist revival there is no marked difference, either in the character of the talk or in the expression of feeling : if difference there is, it is wholly in favor of the Methodists.

Six or seven years ago it was another matter. For more than a year, when the army was beginning to work here, I followed the doings of a corps which met in Christopher Street. I went there once or twice a month and found the meetings interesting. Invariably the place was crowded, and, under the direction of an Englishman named Inman, the meetings were certainly full of life and noise, if of nothing else. At eight o'clock every night the corps rushed up the narrow stairs of the little building, followed by the throng attracted by the parade through the streets which preceded every meeting. The band, consisting of a cornet, fife, and bass-drum, played while the crowd found seats. The women members of the corps kept time upon tambourines, which were also vigorously thumped during the singing. Around the hall were hung placards bearing quotations from Scripture, or words of warning such as "Beware of the Flames to Come," or "It will be Hot-

ter Hereafter," or "If You do not Repent To-Night, You will Probably Go to Hell." Upon wires running across the church from gallery to gallery were strung the trophies of the fight, such as gaudy ribbons, feathers, gewgaws, and even bonnets, which the women converts had discarded as full of vanity. The bad boys in the galleries sometimes twitched these wires so that the array of trophies bobbed up and down in time with the music. Loud laughter was one of the features of the meetings. I remember that one night an announcement to the effect that a person known in army circles as "Salvation Johnny," who played a cornet in the corps, had burst a blood-vessel on the previous evening and then lay in a precarious condition, was received with merriment.

Such things are no longer tolerated in the meetings of to-day, so far as I could judge from one held recently in Jane Street. No remarkable or alarming mottoes are in view, and no string of trophies is to be seen. Either the army has discarded the custom, or the young women converts have followed a famous light, who, feeling that gay ribbons were dragging her down to hell, "took them off and gave them to her sister." It was so quiet and decorous in the little hall into which I ventured upon seeing the sign "Salvation Army Meeting" upon a lamp at the door, that I could scarcely believe myself in a Salvation meeting. No wonder that worldly outsiders found the proceedings dull. I was particularly struck with the sing-song style of the remarks made by the soldiers who were called upon to testify to the wonders that salvation had done for them. It sounded as if they were reciting pieces learned by rote and of which they were heartily tired. I find in *The War-Cry*, the official organ of the order, which I bought at the door, so good a specimen of this testimony that I cannot do better than quote it here. With the army's usual fondness for alliteration, it is headed "Short Sermon by a Saved Soaker," and is accompanied by the information that "he was a well-known drunkard for nearly forty years, but now he beats a drum in the Salvation Army." The sermon is as follows:

"Dear Friends: It's just the same old story—Jesus and His love. Thank God, the Book says 'Whosoever will may come.' That means me and means you and every body else. If you want to be happy, be men and serve your proper master. Salvation pays, if it is only for this life. But I reckon it will be better still in the next. My workmates talk about me going back to the old style; but no, that will never happen while I trust Jesus to keep me. I tell them in spite of their jeers I'm saved. I know it and they know it too; it's a fact that they can't get over. Glory to God. I've tried both sides. This is the best. God bless every body. Amen."

The women especially were peculiarly weak and monotonous in what they had to say, and the captain of the meeting only rose to heights of earnestness when it came to the question of asking the audience to furnish money to go on with the work. Fully twenty minutes were given to pleading for pennies. An appeal for dollars was received with jeers.

"Have you all lert your pocket-books at home?" he shouted. "Is there not a dollar bill left in this crowd?"

A bill floated down from the gallery, and was caught by the captain. "It's a counterfeit," said a voice. The captain examined it closely before he shouted "Hallelujah!" and went on with his begging. This mingling of business with religion is still as offensive as it used to be; which is also to be said of the frivolous manner in which ejaculations such as "Glory!" and "Hallelujah!" are shouted out on the slightest pretext. Young people will stop their personal gossip or quarrels to shout "Hallelujah!" without having the faintest notion of what is going on upon the platform. They shout because every one else shouts.

So far as may be judged by a casual visit, the hymns now used at the army meetings are those in use from the beginning of the movement here. Most of them contain pictures of the woes awaiting the unrepentant. One begins as follows:

"Oh, millions now in Hell are crying,
All is lost!
Amid eternal flames they're lying,
All is lost!"

Another of the same cheerful type:

"Your sparkling eyes and blooming cheeks
Must wither like the blasted rose;
The coffin, earth, and winding-sheet
Will soon your active limbs enclose."

Of adaptations from well-known hymns there are a number, such as this parody upon Keble's noble verse :

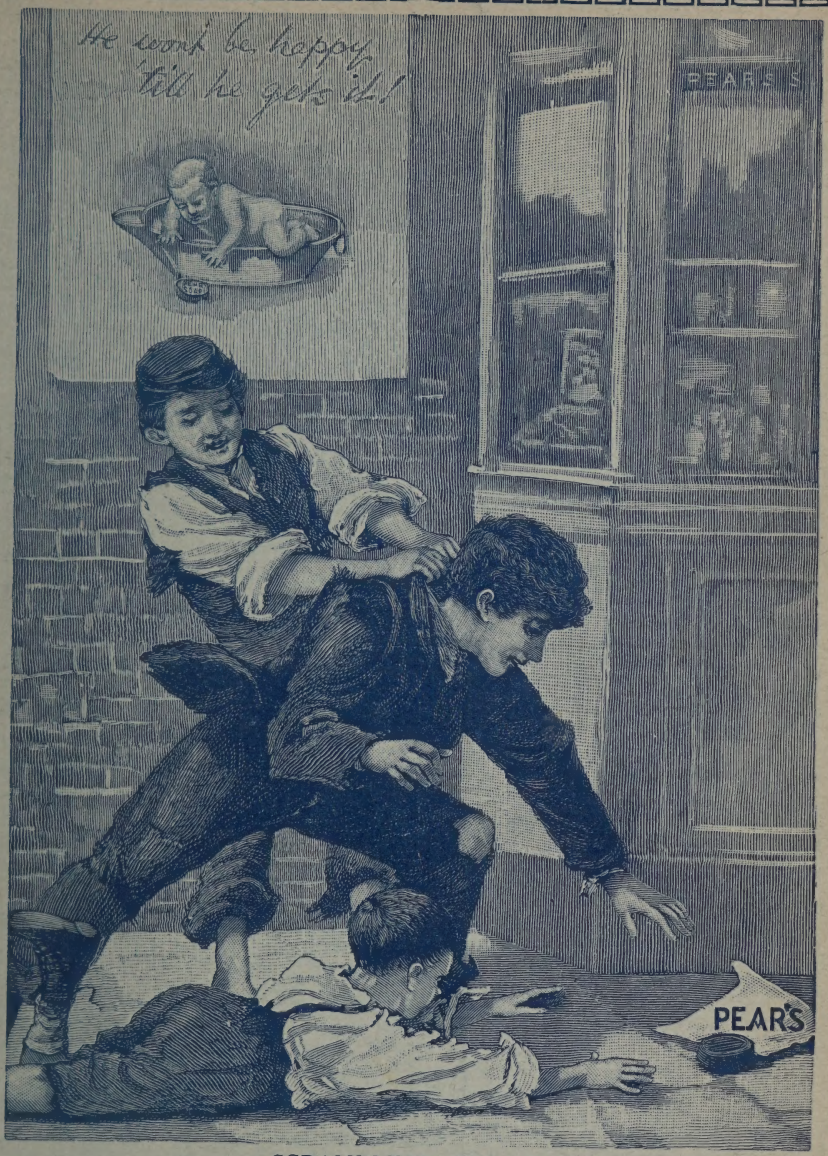
"Hark ! Hark ! my soul, what warlike songs are swelling
Through all the streets and on from door to door;
How grand the truths those burning strains are telling
Of that great war till sin shall be no more.
Salvation Army, Army of God !
Onward to conquer the world with fire and blood."

The pains of hell and the necessity of counteracting the devil's wiles are harped upon *ad nauseam*, and this curious insistence upon the idea that the devil is wandering around, particularly among poor people, seeking whom he may devour, and that he is to be driven off chiefly by songs and shouting, the reckless use of sounding brass and tinkling cymbals, is still uppermost, apparently, in the theory upon which the leaders of the army work.

My visit having convinced me that the days of the Salvation Army in New York were numbered, I took the trouble to ask an intelligent man who had once been an active officer of a corps, but has now abandoned the army, what, in his opinion, had brought about this singular falling-off. "The work," said he, "is not a failure elsewhere. In some parts of the West and in Canada it is still fairly prosperous. Here in New York an attempt has been made to raise it to a higher level, to interest church people, to enlist the clergy; and just so far as it has been made acceptable to conservative people it has failed to attract the rabble. Another thing which helps the army outside of New York is that in country towns there are few or no cheap shows. In New York people can go to the theatre for ten cents, and they prefer the theatre to the meetings of the army. Ten years ago there were no dime performances such as we now have all over the town." In other words, the Salvation Army flourishes in places where its meetings are looked upon as circus performances to which no admission fee is charged.

As might have been foreseen when the Salvation Army showed signs of disintegration, several other organizations, modelled upon the army, have sprung up, officered by deserters from the original body. It is to be feared that these offshoots will be more extravagant in their doings than the Salvation Army. The few clergymen who are willing to say anything as to the moral effect upon the classes of the community affected by the Salvation Army, assert that no backslider is so hard to help as one who has been a Salvation-Army light and has grown tired. If this may be said of the soldiers of the Salvation Army, it follows that the doings of the seceding bodies, such as the Salvation Crusaders, will be still more hurtful. A clergyman to whom I suggested this possibility, remarked, however, that perhaps just in proportion to the extravagance of the meetings and methods would be the loss of interest in the movement. It has taken ten years for the Salvation Army to run its course in this neighborhood : the Salvation Crusaders may exhaust public patience in half that time.

PHILIP G. HUBERT, Jr.



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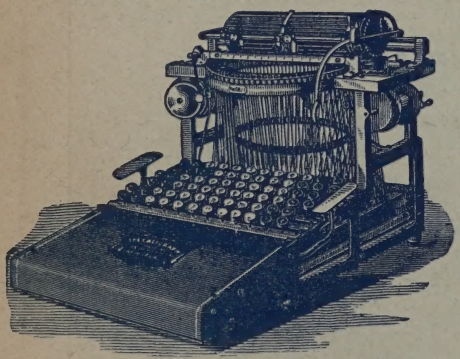

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCCCVIII.

NOVEMBER, 1890.

WHAT CONGRESS HAS DONE.

BY REPRESENTATIVES McKINLEY, OF OHIO, LODGE, OF MASSACHUSETTS, DALZELL, OF PENNSYLVANIA, FITCH, OF NEW YORK, McADOO, OF NEW JERSEY, AND CLEMENTS, OF GEORGIA.

MR. McKINLEY:

THE first session of the Fifty-first Congress has been, with a single exception, the longest one in our history. Although the first session of the Fiftieth Congress lasted until October 20, the session just closed, by reason of its longer daily sittings, has by far exceeded that in actual working-time, and the amount and character of the legislation accomplished are remarkable when contrasted with that of previous sessions.

It was preëminently a business session. Both branches of Congress were in the hands of the Republican party, and upon that party rested the responsibility for the legislation enacted.

The Republicans assumed control of the House of Representatives on the first Monday in December last with a scant majority, with most important public business pressing, and confronted by a minority determined to obstruct, as far as possible, the progress of business. The Speaker announced the appointment of the most important committees within ten days after the session opened, the entire list being completed shortly afterward, so that the House had really entered upon its labors before the Christmas holidays. This in itself is worthy of especial notice, for commit-

tees have seldom been announced heretofore until after the recess, and the House rarely, if ever, been in working order until some time in January.

Immediately after reassembling the first great question to engage attention was that of a quorum. The filibustering tactics of the opposition were obvious from the outset. Indeed, Roger Q. Mills, their leader, had already declared that no business whatever should be transacted during the session without their consent; that they would control legislation in the House just as though they were in the majority. Under the rule as previously construed it was possible for the minority to hinder and delay work indefinitely unless every member of the majority happened to be in his seat, which with ordinary casualties was impossible. The minority's mode of procedure was to call for the yeas and nays upon a dilatory motion, sit silently in their seats, refusing to vote when their names were called, and then, upon the announcement of the vote, make the point of "no quorum." This, of course, blocked the wheels of Congress, and made the minority, as obstructionists, the masters of the situation. The present Speaker's construction of the rule was that a majority of all the members of the House constituted a quorum when present and in their seats, even though refusing to vote upon roll-call; and he so ruled. This ruling has had the effect of placing the majority in possession of the House, instead of a filibustering minority, and has greatly facilitated legislation. Without it much of the work done would have remained unaccomplished, and the session, instead of being one of performance, would have been totally barren of results, except so far as they were approved by the minority.

There were introduced in the House during the session 12,402 bills and joint resolutions, and in the Senate 4,570, making a total of 16,972. This far exceeds any previous record in this respect, the nearest approach to it being in the first session of the last Congress, when 15,598 bills and joint resolutions were introduced. The House committees during the past session made 3,215 reports, and the Senate 1,817 (account being taken only of written reports in the Senate); 1,292 bills were passed by the House, of which the Senate passed 849; the Senate disposed of 1,100 bills, of which 486 were sent to the President for his approval, making a total number of about 1,335 acts or laws, against 1,790 for the whole of the last Congress. Of these acts, 606 House

and 275 Senate bills were for pensions to soldiers, their widows and children.

These figures are based upon reports made a few days before adjournment. The list of Senate bills passed by the House was considerably increased after this compilation, that body having acted upon them while waiting for the Senate to dispose of the Tariff Bill.

The people had intrusted to the Republican party the power of legislation upon a platform of pledges and a declaration of party purposes which good faith required should be strictly adhered to. And faithfully has the party fulfilled its promises to the people;—not a purpose which has not been executed; not a pledge which has not been kept.

One, and really the most important, plank in the platform upon which the party secured the ascendancy declared a purpose to revise the tariff laws of the country upon the lines of protection; and in response to that open avowal Congress has passed a bill, and the same is now a law, embodying a complete revision of the tariff, but in full recognition of the principle to which the party is attached. This bill lowers duties where they were unnecessary, and it increases them when by so doing great industries can be built up and encouraged, thereby enlarging the field of employment by increasing the demand for labor. In the formation of the new bill it has been the endeavor throughout to so levy and adjust duties as to cover the difference in the labor-cost of this and competing countries.

The House passed an Election Bill, and it is now pending in the Senate, under which, when enacted into law, as it will be at the next session, every lawful citizen, rich or poor, native or foreign-born, white or black, will enjoy the right to cast one free ballot in public elections and to have that ballot duly counted.

The Disability Act, the most generous piece of pension legislation ever passed by any nation on earth, was enacted into law during the last session as a fulfilment of the promise made by the party to care for the defenders of the Union. By its terms a vast number of disabled soldiers, widows, and orphan children are placed on the pension-roll; and dependent parents, in order to be provided for, are only required to show by competent testimony that they are without means of support. It will carry comfort and cheer to thousands of homes throughout the land.

On the subject of the forfeiture of unearned public lands granted to railroads the House has at this session restored to the public domain over 8,000,000 acres of land, so that the same can be placed within reach of our citizens for homestead purposes.

Gigantic corporations, whose greed and cupidity have extended all over the country, fleecing the poor of millions of dollars, and with whose enormous wealth thus acquired the legislatures of States have been sought to be bribed—these, and all of them, have been stamped out of existence by the passage of the Anti-Lottery Bill.

The Customs Administrative Bill recently passed by Congress has for its chief purpose the prevention of undervaluations and the protection of honest importers against the unscrupulous. It is believed that it will result in taking out of the hands of dishonest men the business of importing, and place it in the hands of honest merchants. Its chief agency for accomplishing this is a Board of General Appraisers, who will have supervision over appraisements and classifications for duty of imported merchandise, in order to secure lawful and uniform appraisements and classifications at the several ports.

A National Bankruptcy Bill is included in the list of important measures adopted during the last session, the same being demanded by boards of trade, chambers of commerce, and commercial bodies generally.

Among the more important pieces of legislation accomplished is the Silver Bill, which provides for the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of treasury notes thereon. It directs the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase from time to time silver bullion to the aggregate amount of 4,500,000 ounces monthly, or so much thereof as may be offered in each month at the market price, not exceeding $1 for 372.25 grains of pure silver, and to issue in payment for these purchases treasury notes of the United States in denominations not less than $1 nor more than $1,000, which notes are redeemable in silver. This law will utilize every ounce of the silver product of the country and more—utilize it for money and turn it into the channels of trade and avenues of business. As a result, silver is nearer parity with gold to-day than it has been for the last fifteen or eighteen years. The circulating medium is increased and made absolutely safe, with all the money of the country interchangeable with gold and silver and redeemable in either or both of these metals.

During the session provision was made for the admission of two new States, Idaho and Wyoming. In the case of Idaho the Territorial Constitutional Convention of July 4, 1889, was formally approved by ratifying the constitution then adopted. This enables Idaho to elect a governor and other State officers, to choose a legislature, which will elect two United States Senators, and to elect a Representative to the National House this fall. In the case of Wyoming the constitution of September 30, 1889, was ratified and confirmed. Oklahoma is made a territory.

This Congress has already passed an Anti-Trust Bill, designed to protect trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies. Under its provisions every combination in the form of a trust, every ring organized for the purpose of controlling prices, or which places restrictions upon trade or commerce between the States or with foreign countries, is declared to be illegal, and penalties are imposed for a violation of its provisions. The circuit courts of the United States are invested with jurisdiction to prevent and restrain violations of the terms of this act.

Among other notable measures enacted during the last session of Congress may be named the Original-Package Bill, giving to each State the right to control and regulate the liquor traffic within its borders; the Meat-Inspection Bill, which is to protect the meat of the country exported into other countries, and secure hereafter honorable treatment of the meat products of this country seeking a market abroad, and which, it is hoped and believed, will prevent discriminations that have been altogether too common; the provision for a World's Fair in Chicago in 1893 to celebrate the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America; the bill giving to the agricultural colleges of the several States an annual appropriation for the better education of the people of those States in agriculture and mechanics; and the provisions (in the Naval Appropriation Bill) to add to the new navy three line-of-battle ships, one protected cruiser, one torpedo cruiser, and one torpedo boat.

Nor has the House been unmindful of the rights of the Republican Representatives in the South who were deprived of their certificates of election, these being given to their Democratic opponents. The Republican House has given the seats to those who were fairly elected, and thus vindicated the majesty of the majority and the sovereignty of the Constitution, and put the seal of

its condemnation upon the practice, altogether too general, of tampering with popular elections and polluting the fountains of public authority.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY, JR.

MR. LODGE:

THAT this Congress, in its first session, has done many things and has been remarkably effective in the way of legislation is obvious not only from the statute-book, but from the assaults that have been made upon the present House by the enemies of the party in control. There is an old proverb that no one throws stones at trees that bear no fruit, and the quantity of such missiles flung at the Republican Speaker and the Republican majority shows that the fruits of their labors have been very important, and not a little disquieting to their opponents. A mere list of laws enacted is dry reading, and yet the list of important public measures passed by the Fifty-first Congress in its first session will consume the space allotted to me here for a a review of its work. As the members of the House are the only persons before the country for reëlection, I shall confine myself to the work done in that body.

We have passed a Silver Bill which, whatever its defects, leaves the currency which it enlarges on a safer basis than it was under the old law, and which maintains the two metals and the paper currency at an equal value in circulation.

We have passed a Pension Bill which is, like most great measures, a compromise between the extreme demands of certain sections of the country in regard to pension legislation and the equally extreme refusals of certain other sections of the country to do anything at all for the soldiers of the war. The bill is designed to care for all honorably-discharged soldiers suffering from any disability, whether incurred in line of duty or out, and it is estimated that it will cost in the neighborhood of $40,000,000.

We have taken a step toward securing pure food staples by the passage of the Conger Lard Bill, which also protects the agricultural interests from a competition that is unfair, because it works under a false name, while through the Meat-Inspection Bill we have sought to prevent unjust discrimination against American animal food-products abroad.

We have passed a bill to prevent the formation of trusts or combinations intended to raise artificially the prices of commodities in general use.

We have passed a bill shutting out the Louisiana Lottery in all forms from the United States mails, thus destroying an evil which has of late years assumed monstrous proportions.

We have passed what is known as the Original-Package Bill, which restores to the States the power to deal with the sale of intoxicating liquors just as they please—a power which had been taken from them by the recent well-known decision of the Supreme Court.

We have increased the appropriations for the Civil-Service Commission, which is the most important measure possible to secure the extension and enforcement of the Civil-Service Law.

We have increased the appropriations for the fortifications of our coasts and harbors, thus beginning, at least, to remedy a neglect which had become a disgrace, as well as a peril, to the country. In the same line of national defence we have increased the naval appropriations, so that the work of building up the navy is not only continued, but the construction has been begun of ships powerful enough in speed, battery, and defensive armor to meet any in the world.

We have passed a Bankruptcy Bill which has been for many years demanded, and demanded in vain, by the business interests of the country.

We have passed a bill for the relief of the Supreme Court, which has been demanded for twelve years, and which will remove the reproach of delays of justice that now justly attaches to the trial of causes in the courts of the United States.

We have passed three important labor measures which have been demanded for some years past by the great labor organizations of the country.

We have also kept our pledge to revise the tariff and reduce the surplus. For the second time in seven years the Republican party has performed the great legislative feat of revising the tariff, and at the same time that it has adjusted duties it has reduced the surplus revenues between $60,000,000 and $70,000,000, taking the bulk of the reduction from sugar, which enters into the consumption of every household as a chief necessary of life.

Lastly, we have kept the most important pledge made by the Republican party to the people by the passage of an Election Bill designed to protect every constitutional voter in his right to vote.

Any one who will take the trouble to compare this record with the legislation of the last twenty years will find that it exceeds in practical importance, and in meeting the demands of the country, not only anything that has been done by a single Congress, but the net result of all the Congresses which have come and gone during that period.

The most important work that we have accomplished, however, lies in the answer to the natural question, How is it that we have been able to do so much? The situation which confronted the Republican party when Congress assembled last December was, not what laws it should pass, but whether it should legislate at all. We determined that the majority should rule in the House of Representatives, because we believed that such was the plain intent of the Constitution and the most unquestioned doctrine of American institutions. Under the leadership of Mr. Reed, without whose courage, ability, and force of will the task would have been impossible, we succeeded. We destroyed a system where one man's voice could put a stop to legislation, and restored that in which the duly-elected representatives of the people could do the public business. This has been the greatest work of the Fifty-first Congress, and it is the work of the Republican majority and of the Republican Speaker. It makes an epoch in our legislative history which cannot be effaced, and marks a forward movement in the practice of free representative government which cannot be checked or put back either by misrepresentation or direct resistance.

HENRY CABOT LODGE.

MR. DALZELL:

WHAT has the House done during the first session of the Fifty-first Congress?

It has done more in the way of practical and far-reaching legislation than any of its predecessors since the days of reconstruction. Its measures will be found to relate to the most vital interests of the people, both material and moral.

Its greatest work, and that which will make it forever con-

spicuous in the history of American Congresses, is the revolution it accomplished in parliamentary practice.

Boldly ignoring senseless precedents, in the interest of business methods it put common-sense above form, and vindicated its character as a body truly representative of a practical people.

In every House preceding this the "quorum to do business," which the Constitution defines as a "majority of the members," has been held to be a majority as disclosed by a yea-and-nay vote. Theoretically, therefore, members who did not respond to a roll-call were not present, and a minority, by silence, could block legislation. The absurdity of such a theory is now manifest. It involves the right of members to do by neglect, what they cannot do by performance, of duty. It means a government of the minority instead of a government of the majority. A member may be present to call "no quorum," but must be regarded as absent when a quorum is to be counted. This monumental absurdity the present House abolished by saying that actual presence and constructive absence were as much a parliamentary as a physical impossibility, and by establishing the rule that a member present within view of the Speaker and clerk is present for the purpose for which his constituents sent him to the House, viz., to do business, and must be counted to make a quorum. Almost a hundred years ago, Hatsell, an English parliamentarian, said, in his book on "Precedents": "All the reason for forms is custom, and the law of forms is practice. Reason is quite out of doors." The present House has brought reason within doors. It may be conceded that the action was revolutionary, but it is no less admirable for that reason: it is by revolutions that the world advances.

The present House recognized the truth that no more important question can be presented to any popular representative body than that which relates to its own integrity. There were seventeen contestants for seats in the Fifty-first Congress, and eighteen seats contested. The eighteenth contestant had been murdered while prosecuting his contest. The House, after thorough investigation, declared the murdered man's seat vacant, and, in addition, decided, some in one way and some in another, all its other contested-election cases, with two exceptions. No other Congress has ever, within the same time, accomplished so much in the direction of making its actual membership conform to the popular will as expressed at the polls.

Having organized itself after business methods, the House proceeded to business legislation. Parliamentary practice having been adopted which enabled the majority to rule, the majority thereupon assumed the responsibility of ruling. What the House has done may be described in a sentence by saying it has put into the shape of law, so far as its power goes, the pledges of the Republican platform upon the faith of which the majority of the House was elected.

It has passed a law intended to secure pure elections. The prevalent abuses whereby the voter is intimidated and the ballot not counted or fraudulently counted, which are absolutely inconsistent with republican government, demand such law. The law passed is an extension of the supervisory system now in force. It is not, properly speaking, even a Federal Election Law, much less a "Force Bill," as it has been denominated. To so call it is a proof either of blind partisanship, stupidity, or ignorance. An impartial reading of its provisions will show it harmless to the honest. In common with all law, it is a terror only to evil-doers.

Having sought to make elections pure, the House addressed itself to the business interests of the people. For many years the banner cry of all parties has been tariff revision. Yet Congress after Congress has come and gone without results in this direction. The present House has passed the Administrative Bill in the interest of honest, as against unscrupulous, importers, and to secure, as far as may be, fair valuations upon imports. It has enacted the McKinley Tariff Bill, whereby the revenues will be reduced, American labor and manufactures fostered and protected, and the farmer made secure in the home market.

It has passed a wise Silver Bill, restoring silver to its monetary place, and making reasonably sure, under the operation of well-known laws, an equality in value between this metal and gold.

It has responded to the demands of the commercial interests of the country and passed the most perfect Bankruptcy Bill ever drafted, making provision for the equitable division of the insolvent estates of the living, as such provision already exists for the like estates of the dead.

It has passed an act to add to our Federal courts, to increase the number of our Federal judges, so as to avoid delays in litigation and bring justice within easy reach and to every man's door.

Passing from interests purely of a business character, the

House has taken care of the interests of labor. The law relating to the importation by contract of labor from abroad has been perfected and strengthened. The government has been prohibited by law from becoming the purchaser of the products of convict labor. Eight hours have been beneficently declared a day's work for government employees.

The House has written "false" upon the well-worn assertion that republics are ungrateful. The most liberal Pension Law that ever was passed by any people was passed at the first session of the Fifty-first Congress. By it there will be distributed amongst the veterans whose services saved the Union, and the orphans, widows, and dependents of such, an annual sum greater than that which serves to keep on foot the splendid army of imperial Germany or that of France.

Looking westward to the thrift and enterprise, the wealth and prosperity, of the once pioneer, but now established, communities, the House welcomed two new States beneath the folds of the national flag and added two new stars to its field of blue.

These measures, covering parliamentary methods, pure elections, business interests, the welfare of the soldier and of labor, and the additions to our statehood, have been passed by the House, in addition to the regular appropriation bills and a multitude of other measures—many of great importance—too numerous even to catalogue.

JOHN DALZELL.

MR. FITCH:

THE session of Congress which has just closed has had two features which will make its history interesting hereafter. One of these is the appearance of a new leader in the Republican party, and the other is the adoption by that party of a new policy on the tariff.

The new leader is Thomas B. Reed. It is not possible to speak of the action of the lower house of Congress without discussing him, for the reason that the history of the House at this session is simply the record of the movements of his mind and will from December, 1889, to September, 1890. Whether his rulings and the new rules which he made for the House are jus-

tified by precedent or by necessity has been fully discussed in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, and cannot at once be decided by any tribunal whose verdict will be generally accepted. But whether he is right or wrong, the situation is equally strange and interesting.

If he is right and is sustained in the future, parliamentary life and action have taken a new phase in this country. The Speaker of the House has become the second person of importance in our government. It is not altogether a question of whether the majority of the House shall govern. In this House the Speaker has governed the majority as well as the minority. It is well known that the Tariff Bill which carries the name of Mr. McKinley would have been altered in many of its schedules if Republicans who desired changes could have had recognition and the right to speak and vote free from the fear of the displeasure of a Speaker who could and would deal out in all legislation favors to the friendly and defeat to the rebellious. What may we fairly expect if at some time these new powers are found in the hands of some man as able and as unhesitating as he, but as fond, for instance, of money as he is of power and partisan advantage?

If he is wrong, the situation is even more startling. His is not the case of a party leader carrying out the wishes of his party. Instead of carrying out a policy, he has made one He is independent of the Republican President, for whom he has no liking, if he has any respect. He is in open opposition to the Republican Secretary of State, so lately the unquestioned leader of his party. He has only open contempt and derision for the Republican Senate, which he says is made up of grandmothers, and which he sneers at as a "deliberative body." He brooks no interference from his fellow-Republicans in the House. He does not even allow them to defend his action when it is attacked. From his place in the chair he answers argument with argument, and uses as freely his favorite weapons of wit and satire against his opponents as when he stood on the floor, the leader of a minority. His party in the House is only used as an audience to witness the fight between Democrats and the Speaker, and is only expected to applaud at the proper moment. I am not one of those who question at all his honesty or his sincerity. These are the very qualities which make him dangerous. He is clearly in earnest all the time. His belief

in himself and in the correctness of all his views never is shaken. Lowell described him when he wrote :

> "He couldn't see but just one side;
> If his, 'twas God's, and that was plenty."

The most remarkable thing that Congress has done at this session is to submit on both sides to such a ruler.

The second striking feature of this session is the new tariff policy adopted by Mr. Reed and his party, and embodied in the McKinley Bill. I say the new policy because it appears to me to be plain that a large increase of protective duties, covering almost every line of business, and the granting of bounties in place of protection, were never announced as a part of the Republican doctrine. To say nothing of the many Republicans who believed, with Garfield, that the old tariff needed revision in the direction of lower duties, the general party creed, as expressed in its platforms and explained by its orators and newspapers, was the defence and maintenance of the old tariff against the attacks of the tariff reformers. It was on this question that the vote was taken by which the present Congress was elected in 1888. An examination of the speeches in the House on the Mills Bill shows this to be true. Such a change as has been made was never announced as even a probable result of a Republican victory.

What Republican orator on the stump foretold the intention of the party to raise the duties on almost every article of use or ornament in the house, of clothing for the family, or food for the table ? What Republican candidate for Congress announced that, if he were elected, he proposed to vote to allow certain manufacturers to arrange for themselves, in the room of the Committee on Ways and Means, the prices at which they would allow the consumers of this country to buy their goods ? What party organ announced that the Republican party, if it came into power, would disturb the finances and business of the whole country by a new tariff agitation, start by this means immense importations of dutiable goods and give them time to arrive and accumulate, and end by substituting "McKinley prices" for those to which the business world had for years adjusted itself ? As to the scheme of a bounty on sugar this is is equally true. Mr. McKenna, of California, a Republican member of this House and of the Committee on Ways and Means, says in his report on the McKinley Bill :

> "A bounty is as useless as it is burdensome, and as odious as it is useless. It is

not Republican. It has no justification in either the practice, the principles, or the professions of the Republican party."

The issues raised by the new leadership and the new policy of the Republican party will be welcomed by its opponents.

ASHBEL P. FITCH.

MR. McADOO:

LEAVING out the Tariff Bill, the first session of the Fifty-first Congress is notable as much for the important measures that failed of passage as for those which became laws. The following important bills failed to pass both, or, in some cases, either, branch of Congress: the bill to control Federal elections; the amendment to the Alien Contract-Labor Law; the bill forbidding convict labor directly or indirectly on government works; the Copyright Bill; the uniform Bankruptcy Law; the bill relieving the Supreme Court by the creation of intermediary courts; the bill to revive American shipping by subsidies; the Compound-Lard Bill; the Pure-Food Bill; the Government Postal-Telegraph Bill; the proposition to reduce postage; bills to admit Arizona and New Mexico to statehood; the Service Pension Bill; the bill to transfer the revenue-marine service to the Navy Department; the Blair Education Bill; and the bill regarding the French spoliation claims.

From the stand-point of the opposition, the vital measures passed are considered, justly, I think, as dangerous and unjust, and are not based so much on fixed principles as intended to repay party obligations and continue party supremacy. Taken as a whole, they are unconcealed class legislation. They owe their passage in the popular branch of Congress to the dominant, and, indeed, regnant, personality and determination of the Speaker, Mr. Thomas B. Reed.

To understand them intelligently in their spirit and intent, it is necessary to briefly consider the force or forces in the House, where the great measures must originate. The Speaker, readily assuming responsibility for all legislation, did not hesitate to cast his party and personality into the contest for any measure that he desired to succeed, and thus, under the intense pressure of the one and the forceful and imperturbable presence of the other, to coerce the weak and wavering of his own party, and challenge within the same the fears and ambitions of those who might

otherwise be his rivals and opponents. Acquiring complete control of his own party in the House, cemented to him as partisans through the strenuous opposition begotten in the minority by his actions, he determined to redeem to the full the pledges given to the powerful interests, classes, and individuals who had joined in defeating the former administration. A key to the true meaning and intent of the vital measures of the session may be found in his favorite watchwords, "business" and "results," which in this light may be interpreted to mean that all roads are right ones that lead to party success, and that, in reaching the goal, there is no ground, however sacred, that may not be trespassed upon, and no obstacle, however venerable or just, that may not be demolished; not even excepting, as his critics insist, the Decalogue and the Constitution of the United States.

The change of rules, affecting all interests, may first be considered among the really important matters of the session. The amended rules aim to stifle discussion, give unusual powers to the Speaker, and transfer the control of legislation from the House to the committees. They are more restrictive of the rights of the individual member than the celebrated closure adopted some years ago, after many months of discussion, in the English House of Commons. These rules superimpose upon the powerfully restrictive "previous question" the right of the Speaker to declare a motion dilatory and to refuse to entertain the same, despite the protest of any number of members; confer on him the right to count as voting, so as to obtain a quorum, a member present and silent, even if incapacitated; do away with the public introduction of bills and resolutions, and leave their proper committal to the Speaker. Under this drastic code the Speaker called "business" as the referee at pugilistic encounters calls "time," and the contest began. Briefly, here are a few of its more important results.

Seventeen thousand bills were introduced in this Congress; most of these, as was so aptly said by the late Samuel J. Randall, reach out to the public treasury. Out of this mass there go to the statute-book two laws relating to the tariff—the Administrative Bill and the Tariff Bill proper. The Administrative Bill, by indirection, raises the duty on some articles at least 5 per cent., on the most conservative calculations; in some instances, it is contended, the advance is as high as 15 per cent. It does

away with trial by jury in contested customs cases, and leaves the decision to a newly-constituted Board of Appraisers. It frowns upon importations, and makes the importer akin to the smuggler. The Tariff Bill proper is the most ultra-protection law ever enacted in the history of nations, and, is in effect, a declaration of commercial war against the whole outside world. In my opinion, it will raise, in a marked degree, the cost of everything, except labor, and in the fierce, retaliatory, international war which it invites the American farmer will be the chief sufferer. Behind its towering prohibitory walls foreign products may scarcely come, but their alien makers are free to enter, and underbid the labor which the law pretends to protect. It is illogical, as well as unjust, when it does not extend the present Chinese-Exclusion Act to all mankind. By the results of this law the present Congress becomes either famous or infamous.

To make sure that this law shall not be repealed for some time to come, the Senate, the body most removed from popular elections, has had its membership increased by the creation of new States for purely partisan purposes. Idaho and Wyoming are admitted without sufficient population and with scarcely a pretence of fairness. Arizona and New Mexico are kept out, although possessing large populations, because they are not sure for the party in power. Idaho has 60,589 population, as against 153,076 in New Mexico. It can nullify the vote of New York in the Senate, and has about one-fifth the population of some Congress districts in that State and New Jersey. This, in the language of Mr. Speaker Reed, is "business."

The Silver Bill was passed to modify by a mild increase of money the effects of the new Tariff Law, but mainly as a party necessity to appease the silver-producing States for their support in the Senate and at the polls. The proposition to warehouse silver bullion begot the demand of the Farmers' Alliance for the paternalistic, government pawnshop, called by them the "sub-treasury plan." If silver bullion, why not corn and pork ?

One of the most important measures passed was the so-called Land-Grant-Forfeiture Bill. This bill ends a shameful and pathetic chapter in our history. It forfeits, out of a possible 70,000,000 acres, 6,000,000 acres, a small portion of which is unoccupied and arable. It settles with the land grant railroads on

their own terms. The vast public domain, with its splendid possibilities, is fast disappearing, and the last acre of the people's land will soon be gone forever. The Senate, more subservient even than the House, refused to leave open the contest for those lands not earned in the time stated in the original grants.

The Pension Bill is simply intended to get and hold the soldier vote at public expense, and, if followed by similar legislation, must beget an income or other additional tax.

Among other measures are the Original-Package Bill, passed to please Republican Prohibitionists, which gives power that must belong either to Congress or the States, to be exercised by the possessor, from one to the other; meat-inspection bills intended to delude the farmer into believing that we can make Europe, incensed at our tariffs, buy his food-products; the compromise measure opening the arid lands to speculators and water companies who will take advantage of the government surveys to control the springs, thus furthering monopoly and land-robbery, and all hastening the scourge of Europe—the landlord; the most expensive and vicious of all river-and-harbor bills, which, in addition to the usual attempts to make navigable streams out of creeks that are roaring torrents in spring and scarcely damp places in summer, contains a provision to build the Hennepin Canal in Illinois at an expense of millions, part of which will be paid by citizens of New York, whose taxes constructed, now manage, repair, and make free the Erie Canal. A true "business" Congress would abolish the present system and appropriate a lump sum to be expended by a board properly constituted, of which the Secretary of War should be a member. There were also many bills for public buildings, necessary and unnecessary, and in nearly all cases unduly expensive; a "business" Congress looking for good "results" would also appropriate a lump sum in this matter.

On the whole, the expenditures are increased by about $52,000,000, as compared with first session of the Fiftieth Congress. The total expenditures are estimated in round numbers at $461,000,000, which will cause a deficit before the end of the fiscal year, unless the receipts exceed the estimates. This vast sum, however, does not tell the full truth. Many works, such as the new ships for the navy; indefinite and permanent appropriations, under a new and vicious system inaugurated in this Congress, intended to pay rebates allowed

in contested customs decisions and in contingent pension cases, and extended also by the House to the cost of operating the vast machinery of the Federal Elections Bill; numerous public buildings ordered built, but not immediately provided for,—all these make it difficult to state the exact cost of the government for the present fiscal year. This avoidance of appropriations for public works ordered, so as to reduce the aggregate of the annual budget, before the Congress elections, will unprecedently swell the next batch of deficiency bills.

As to the merits of the bills that failed, as against those that passed, the reader must make his choice; but the majority, I think, will agree in deploring the disgraceful defeat of the Copyright Law. One "vital measure" in the line of "business" was the turning out of nine Representatives duly declared elected, and the placing in their seats of contestants in affiliation with the majority; and in the mean time the Force Bill, behind which is seen the gleam of government steel, and which revives the hates and horrors of reconstruction, awaits resurrection in the Senate next December.

When Mr. Reed first seized the official gavel, there were able and conservative leaders in his own party who thought they could go with revolution as far as they pleased, and then check it; when Mr. Reed hit his splintered and long-suffering desk for the last time this session, history had repeated itself: the Republican party Jacobins had absorbed or driven from the field the temporizing Girondins.

WILLIAM MCADOO.

MR. CLEMENTS:

THE first session of the Fifty-first Congress was the longest but one, and the most extravagant in expenditures, ever convened. The appropriations which it made, including indefinite sums estimated at $2,000,000, aggregate in round numbers $465,500,000, being $15,000,000 in excess of the estimated revenues, and more than $70,000,000 in excess of the appropriations made during the preceding session. That this enormous increase of $70,000,000 in the draft upon the people for public expenditures is extravagant and unwarrantable is conclusively shown by the citation of a few of the many items that go to make it up.

The sum of $1,200,000 is appropriated for the establishment of a public park and pleasure-ground in the fashionable suburbs of Washington city. Nearly, if not more than, 1,300 new offices were specifically created, with salaries aggregating about $1,500,000, and certain general appropriations, used wholly in the securing of personal services in the discretion of executive officers, were increased $1,347,100. Among the former are three assistant secretaries at $4,500 each, one each for the War, Navy, and Treasury departments. The first two cannot be justified in this time of profound peace and in connection with an army and navy that have not been increased in numerical strength in sixteen years. If there ever existed any necessity for the last, it was relieved by the passage of the act creating nine general appraisers of customs, with a salary of $7,000 each, to whom was transferred the greater part of the principal labors theretofore incumbent upon the head of the Treasury Department and his two assistants. The large and extravagantly-paid force of officials connected with the Senate was also increased thirty-seven in number, presumably in part to maintain the increasing dignity of that body because of the advent of four Senators from the new States of Idaho and Wyoming, admitted by this Congress, with an aggregate combined population of less than 145,000.

The salaries of about 1,100 existing officers were increased in the aggregate more than $132,000. Among others, the salary of the head of the Land Office is increased 25 per cent. over what had been acceptable to his distinguished predecessors. In the Patent Office thirty of the highest-salaried officials participate in the general raid upon the treasury. These increases have been made in the face of the facts elicited before the Committee on Appropriations, and presented to the House, showing that from 10 to 25 per cent. of the employees in the departmental service at Washington are below a fair standard of efficiency.

Pension legislation was enacted that will, according to conservative estimates, swell pension expenditures to probably $150,000,000 and possibly $200,000,000 per annum—a sum far greater than is annually expended by any of the great powers of Europe in maintaining their military and naval establishments and for paying pensions. Comparatively but a pittance of this enormous sum, raised by taxation upon all of the people and by a system purposely made burdensome upon the South, goes for

payment to or expenditure among the people of that section. Had it been the avowed intention of the Republican party to exact a war indemnity of the South, as did Germany of France, their object had already been more than accomplished. Yet the legislation had during the past session, which practically gives a service pension to the survivors of the Union army, in effect continues in increasing ratio the exaction of an indemnity from that section of our common country which was laid waste by the results of the war and despoiled by the carpet-bag governments of the Republican party for a decade after open hostilities had ceased. Such legislation, draining the resources of one section and giving in lavish bounty to the citizens of another section, for no disability or injury received in a service of their country which they claim to have rendered from high and patriotic considerations alone, will, so long as it continues, effectually prevent anything like universal or equal prosperity among the people of the country. Such a condition logically deters immigration to the South and the development of its natural resources by men who seek new fields for the use of their capital.

A nominal, but utterly impotent, Anti-Trust Law has been given to the people, while to the trusts and monopolies has been given a practical, effective system of enforcing their merciless exactions from the people on many of the prime necessaries of living by prohibitory taxes on imports.

The Tariff Act passed at the late session is not only excessively high in its rates, but it is a masterpiece of iniquitous sectional discriminations. A striking example of this feature is its disposition of the duties on cotton-ties, used by the farmers of the South, and binding-twine, used mostly by the farmers of the Northwest. The duty on the former is raised from 35 per cent. to 125, while on the latter it is reduced from $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents a pound to $\frac{7}{10}$ of one cent. The demands of the manufacturers of ties were overwhelming against the overburdened farmer of the South, but the appeals of the manufacturers of binding-twine were unavailing against the farmer of the Northwest.

The duty on cotton bagging has also been increased.

The limits of this paper will not allow an enumeration of the many other instances of like injustice abounding in this thoroughly bad law. Its sectional discriminations are only equalled by the provisions of the so-called Compound-Lard Bill, which

passed the House. Unmasked, this bill is solely designed to make the hog industry of the Northwest more profitable by destroying the cotton-seed-oil industry of the South. A more indefensible perversion of the taxing power could scarcely be proposed by the ingenuity and avarice of man.

For unseemly thrusts and controversies between the Chair and the members in their places, and between members on the floor, and the general exhibition of ill-nature, the session has been unprecedented. A conspicuous illustration of this was given by Republican members during the debate on the bill last named, when coarse vulgarity, vile epithets, and even physical blows were resorted to among themselves. To some of the new rules, the spirit and manner of their application and enforcement, this deplorable condition was largely due. These rules have vastly augmented the arbitrary power of the Speaker and given to the majority of the Committee on Rules, of which he is chairman, the control of the conduct of the business of the House. The representative power of the member has been correspondingly minified.

J. C. CLEMENTS.

SCOTTISH POLITICS.

BY THE RIGHT HON. THE MARQUIS OF LORNE.

Not very long ago the late Duke of Buccleuch saw a claymore in the shop of a Paris dealer in arms, and, entering, examined the weapon, asked the price, and purchased it. With the Italian "basket" hilt, and straight blade with double groove running nearly to the point, this was the sword adopted by the Highlanders, and purchased by them in considerable numbers, while at home they also manufactured them. The "Andrea Ferrara" blade which had caught the Duke's eye was a fine specimen of the old master's workmanship. But there was a special reason which led the purchaser to buy it at sight. Engraved on its steel was the name of "Strathalan," and the motto "Scotland for Ever. No Union." It had belonged to the nobleman whose title it bore, and whose hand had grown stiff in death while it gripped its hilt on "Drummossie fatal muir," the battlefield of Culloden. Whether taken by the victorious Hanoverian troops, or brought away from the scene of carnage by some faithful clansman before the last charge of the Highlanders had failed before the fire of the grenadiers and of the Campbells who had enfiladed the Jacobites' position from the shelter of a neighboring park wall, will never be accurately known. But Strathalan's sword was returned to the head of the family by the Duke.

That family, in the generation succeeding to that which had perished in the Civil War fighting for "No Union," saw its members conducting one of the richest private banks in the great metropolis of London, a capital with which their fathers had wished to have as little communion, and as little knowledge of it, as possible. The sons had more English gold in their coffers than there were drops of blood in the bodies of the Clan Drummond who bled at Culloden. The fathers had loved their Stuart king and Catholic faith not wisely but too well. The next generation found that the fathers' political sins are not always visited upon the children,

and Drummond Bank, in Charing Cross, stands to-day a curious and instructive commentary on that cry of old Scottish patriotism, "Scotland for Ever. No Union."

Monarchs may look with a natural approval on that fidelity to the sacred right of hereditary sovereignty which led the Jacobite to fight and lose life and fortune to uphold the succession to the crown of the last of the men of the Stuart royal race. The "Wee German Lairdie," the Hanoverian ruler, was only descended from a daughter of that old Scottish house, and the Revolution of 1688 had taught men in Britain to look to the bent of their kings' characters quite as much as to their blood. Descent might be of value in gaining the votes of those who laid store on such matters, but decency in regarding the liberties of the subject was of far more value, and had come to determine the tenure of the crown in our islands. But whether monarchs may approve of the blind fidelity to "loyalty" that led to the wars of 1715 and 1745 or not, all men must admire the chivalrous self-sacrifice with which the Jacobites flung themselves into the unequal fray.

It is true that the Catholics of the North of England had promised to take up the Stuart cause, and were said to be ready with many in the border counties to join the Highland host. But how small was that host! How badly armed and disciplined, and how ill equipped with money or any resource beyond its own fierce enthusiasm! There was not even a single battery of artillery, and it was with only a troop of cavalry and ten to eleven thousand ragged infantry that the champions of the white cockade marched boldly into the great and populous and wealthy England to coerce its teeming midlands and conquer its splendid capital. What marvellous daring and what extraordinary success crowned for a while the hardihood which many of the devoted gentlemen who joined the Prince must have seen to be madness! "Scotland for Ever. No Union." A fatal cry, and doubly fatal when success depended on the adhesion of the English Jacobites, who were, indeed, numerous enough in many a county to set alight vain hopes and fiery longings yet to be read in the beautiful stanzas of the Scottish poetry, and heard in the songs of which the defeated party has almost a monopoly.

But there was not only fidelity to a fallen king shown forth in the great risings in the north. There was also the passionate assertion of that independence which had made the Scottish nation re-

gard England as the "Auld Enemy" until Scotland's own statesmen led her to embrace the ancient foe, and under Scotland's own king to commence an alliance which was intended to heal all old wounds by the indissoluble welding of hitherto separated interests into one commonwealth, to the equal profit and advantage of both peoples. One nation should henceforth cleave the seas of circumstance, and that nation should be called the British. To all the outer world, to every foreigner, the two should be indivisible. At home each was to keep its own laws and usages, and no man could uproot the glorious history of either.

The gain was undoubtedly chiefly for the weaker and the poorer people. Yet this was not acknowledged by many, and was, indeed, seen by few. In Edinburgh, especially, where the departure of the court and the people it brought was justly dreaded as the taking-away of profitable business, the mob was in arms. It could not have been foreseen by those who watched the preparations for departure made by all the wealthiest and the foremost men among the Scots that within the lifetime of their own grandchildren that old Edinburgh, in whose narrow streets and close "wynds" the Anti-Unionists shouted and swore, would be but a picturesque corner in a city greater than any that existed in their day, with the sole exception of London. They saw only, as Lord Belhaven pathetically said in the Parliament House, that it "was the end of an old song." They could not know that it was the prelude to such a burst of glorious harmony as would fill the world with the triumphal notes of hymns of victory that have followed Britain's march over regions wider than even a Scot had ever travelled. They had felt the power of England's enmity. Their commerce had been hindered, their influence withered, under the influence of her jealousy. They could not believe the enemy of their fathers would be the helpmate of their children.

And thus when "the Bonny Prince" called to them to maintain his rights, they hesitated not, but joined him, and when they saw how hopeless was his cause, they did not falter. Not a man forsook him. That grand loyalty would not permit any Highlander, however wretched, to betray the Prince after his defeat, when a word or a gesture would have put £25,000 into the poor man's pocket, and have consigned the "Pretender" to prison. So when affairs were darkest, and the chief and the gentlemen

around him knew that their heads and lands would pay the forfeit, the only cry was "onward" and "attack." For the Holy Church, for their scarcely less holy King, into the jaws of death, into the scenes of contumely, with the scaffold and the headsman in the foreground, they marched, glad to give their all and the hopes of their sons for the cause of the Prince. It was a noble devotion, condemn it as we may as a mistake, and it was fed by the remembrance of their ancient independent nationality. It was "Home Rule" with a cause, and a creed, and a history to justify it. They had the knowledge of the glory they had acquired in separation. They had not the wisdom to anticipate the good of the union. They saw only the merging of the old and known into something strange and untried. We, looking back with after-knowledge, must not blame them who could not call expansion patriotism.

It has taken nearly two centuries to make the truth very clear; and even now there is among a few an attempt to deny it, and to declare that the spirit of Scotch nationality would be purer and better without being tied to the clay of the British body. Education itself helps to keep this feeling alive. Just as every boy in the United States hates England when he reads at school of the American War of Independence, and considers Bunker Hill as an undoubted victory, so every urchin in Scotland revels in visions of the heroic feats of Wallace and Bruce, and of the day when the dead Douglas won the fight at Chevy Chase, and thinks how he, too, would enjoy such days, and how easy it would be to "whip" 120,000 English with 30,000 Scots, as did the good King Robert on that morning under the hill of Stirling in 1314. And he knows that from those far-away times onward to those of which he may have heard his great-grandfather speak there were fights between Scotch armies and English armies, in which the Southron did not come off best without Scotch help, and he very rightly thinks that he could fight three Englishmen at least. That old border line was made good against the wealthier nation for a thousand years, and it could again be held if necessary. So his pride swells, and he, at all events, is not among those against whom Walter Scott wrote:

> "Breathes there a man with soul so dead,
> Who never to himself hath said,
> 'This is my own, my native land'?"

Is it necessary to hold that border line? Some people think nowadays that they will emulate Bruce and Wallace, and because they can't get all they want in agrarian disputes and social equality, and this and that in local wrangles, the work of the eighteenth century is to be revised and the great union is to be debased and annulled for the elevation of their little selves.

One of the most intensely "national" of Scots, and one of Scotland's best writers,—a local man to the bone, and ready to hate all that was antagonistic to what is noble in a national and race spirit,—wrote thus after he had paced for the first time the transept of Westminster Abbey. He had not visited England until middle life, and his book on his "First Impressions of England and Her People" is one that can be read by all at any time with pleasure and instruction. His eye was as keen to note the characteristics of the men around him as it was to examine his own tendencies, and he would have despised himself if he had taken color from mere surroundings. But he was proud to color his own mind with the illumination of others, and the fuller light with which his was filled came because he did not hedge himself round with the walls of narrowness and isolation. He saw on the tombstones in the Abbey the names of the poets and writers whose words had cheered him at evening after the long hours of his mason's toil, and whose sentiment had been with him by day and by night. Among them he saw his own countryman, Campbell, but he thinks of all the great dust beneath his feet and writes:

"How thoroughly had they served to break down, in my mind at least, the narrower and more illiberal partialities of country, leaving undisturbed, however, all that was worthy of being cherished in my attachment to poor old Scotland. I learned to deem the English poet not less my countryman than the Scot, if I but felt the true human heart beating in his bosom."

"The narrower and more illiberal partialities of country," as opposed to the pride in a great nationality to which we may ourselves belong through the patriotism of our forefathers—this is the distinction which over and over again must be made and enforced on those who would degrade patriotism into a mere provincial peacocking. If the superficial study of history inclines the boy to be patriotic in the narrower and less worthy sense, its continued study will make the man consider himself the more fortunate the larger and more cohesive is that flag which symbolizes a country able not only to look back on the feats that wove

together its different tribes, but proud of the genius that formed the races into a political power. That power need seek no enhancement of reputation in the remembrance of the struggles between its own sections in the past, but relies for its self-respect on its force in the rivalry of nations in the present.

Yet there are a few who would like to see Scotland talk only of her pedigree and of her pipers, of her tartans, her feuds, of clans and churches. The feeling has arisen on account of the multiplicity of work devolving on Parliament, which has sometimes made that assembly slow to get quickly either into or through purely Scottish business. It would be as great folly to take up the false and mischievous position over against England of "a separate national parliament, with an executive proceeding therefrom," as it would be to despise and reject the devolution of powers on local bodies for the purpose of lightening the work of the central Parliament at Westminster. A step in the right direction has recently been made in the constitution of county councils elected on a wide franchise. This may yet be further developed.

But what many of those who clamor loudest for a revived Scottish parliament want is to effect changes in the tenure of property and interference with the obligation of contract which would not be tolerated in America. The Imperial Parliament has done some things which encourage these gentlemen to hope that the transfer of property from one individual to another, or of goods from one class to another, may not be wholly impracticable even with an Imperial Parliament governing the realms. With a purely national or home-rule parliament, representing in one chamber the majority of Scotland alone, they fancy that it would be easy to take, for instance, property in land from one class and give it to another. It was said long ago that the British, slow as they are, have proved themselves to be often capable of being filled with a greater amount of enthusiasm for an idea than other nations. Just as in London, if a man appears who has filled the newspapers with accounts of his travels, his fights, or his adventures of any kind, he becomes the "lion" of the season, and is petted and spoiled by "society," so does the British public sometimes in its Parliament awake to a fit of enthusiasm to pet some special trade or class.

It was so with the so-called "Crofters" of late. They were said to be the lost tribes of a kind of Tartan Judah, and their story

formed a romantic trilogy which began with patriarchal manners, continued through an era of wondrous loyalty to chief and king, and was terminating under the eyes of an indignant but sleepy world in the acts that were disinheriting them of their patrimony and depopulating the land by their enforced exile to the wilds of inhospitable America. Virtue awoke in the breast of the British politician. He was quite aware that this excellent peasantry never possessed any more rights than did the peasantry of England, who used to cultivate the land exactly as the Crofters do; namely, dividing the land like a "crazy" quilt exhibited at an American fair, each man having during one year to tend half a dozen of the different patches apart from each other. During the next year he had to tend other patches, because it was considered in the village right that each should have "turn about." The system was hopeless as regards agriculture, and in all parts of the country, except in the Highlands, where want of communication and Gaelic had made people more content than elsewhere when they starved, the system had given place to another more adapted to get food out of the land for the public at large and enhance the value of the soil. They had no more right than had any other peasants to the plots they occupied. Leases were never granted to them, because they were part of the fighting "outfit of the chief," bound to do his service in peace or war, give his daughters a "tocher" when they married, cart and carry for him; and all this service was in exchange for the safety and protection he was supposed to be able to give to them. Every estate history in the Highlands could point to this absolute rule, tempered only by prudence, and show how the small tenants were ordered out by their chief to attack other tribes, and to be shifted from one set of farms to another, or be arbitrarily dealt with in other ways.

This was history, and it may be very shocking that it was history, and that the clansmen allowed it; but patriarchal sway was absolute, shocking as the fact may be. These people, therefore, had far less right to their farms than had those in England who had been under its common law for ages. But history was made to serve virtue, and, as it is always pleasant to show generosity to the poor, Parliament decreed that any house built by the landowner should on all "crofts" become the property of the landoccupier, and that, further, when any five peasants wanted their

holdings enlarged, the addition was to be taken from the nearest good farm, at the discretion of a roving party of commissioners, who should act as they thought best on these general principles: (1) that the rent paid for a holding should never be more than the present occupier could easily pay, to the exclusion of any other man; (2) that the owner's improvements should become the tenant's, for the occupier was now to have not only his rent adjusted, but also to have the right to remain forever where he found himself so long as he paid the low rent; (3) he could bequeath his holding as property to his successor. Any arrears of rent were also either cancelled by order of the commission or greatly cut down. American readers will say they guess that was pretty drastic legislation. And so it was. We shall see what are the fruits in a few years. Meanwhile the politicians who desire the Crofters' votes tell them that they must have a present made to them of cattle and sheep to stock the lands they will yet take from the neighboring land-owner to add to their holdings.

Opinions will differ as to whether it was right to fix a "fair rent." It is not done elsewhere, but in the case of the poorest of the peasants I, for one, think it was very defensible. But in regard to the further measures, we shall see whether the strings of the land-owner's purse are not now greatly tightened in subscribing to help the peasant who has been placed in a position which tempts the land-owner to look upon him, not as his friend whom he would like to help, but as his natural enemy, who may conspire with others against him. Most of the railways, the piers, and other public improvements, as well as all the large drainage operations, have hitherto been undertaken by the land-owner, who had a pride in doing them, and a satisfaction in seeing them make his property better and his people happier. The legislation now enacted tends to cut off his sympathy, and, in a wild and barren region where the kindly good-neighborship of the "big man" is of great advantage to the poor, to deprive the peasant of the aid and countenance he has hitherto had. An American may think the peasant is all the better without such patronage. If the land were good, it might be so, but in a wet climate and on bad soil can a man be as independent as he may become on the prairies of Nebraska or Iowa? The query is a painful one to those who know the Highlands, and hear the very different tone which men now assume when they speak of

laying out their money elsewhere than in places where benevolent legislation confiscates it for the assumed benefit of the tenant, who is accidentally at the moment the recipient of such enforced and temporary bounty. They who have pointed this out are denounced as "depopulators" and "grasping landlords," but time will show whether they or the people's noisy advocates at election times are the true friends of the Crofters.

Every person having a remembrance of Scottish song and story, every well-wisher to the most romantic part of the old country, will desire that as many of the peasantry as can remain with comfort to themselves on the wild shores and healthy glens shall be enabled to do so. The hateful, but ever-necessary and ever-recurring, question, "What will pay best"?—not for the land-owner, but also for the land-occupiers—must, however, be asked. They who have known comfort in the towns or in the better-equipped homesteads of the fertile low country, or in the States, or in the great colonies of Britain, will not be so contented with the old ways which were good enough for their forefathers. In one of the most fertile of the Hebrides, the island of Islay, Pennant, in the middle of the last century, saw the people rushing down to the strand to meet a vessel, for in that ship they saw their only hope of sustaining existence. They were starving, and it was bringing flour. Such scenes were possible in the "good old days." They are not so now, but they would again be possible in the Lewis and in some of the over-populated districts were it not that steamers and charity can bring more certain aid than was possible in the days when Pennant voyaged and truthfully wrote all he heard and saw. To keep the Highlander "on the land" may not always be a kindness to him.

"What is the name of that glen?" asked a tourist of the stage-driver in the Highlands. "The Devil's Glen, ma'am," was the answer, and the ejaculation which followed from the tourist was natural, when she emphatically murmured: "Poor Devil!"

But the land-hunger is sufficient in the Highlands, as in Ireland, to make persons accustomed to the wet climate anxious to live there even on bad land. It is also not only the Crofter who wishes for more soil to squat upon, but others envy even his poor estate. There are numbers greatly in excess of the number of Crofters who demand of him some "rigs" of his land whereon to plant potatoes. There are many who cannot get this. They are

told by their benevolent friends, the politicians who woo their votes, that they too must have land, and that they must not think of emigrating, for they must get what they can of the bad lands at home rather than in America or Australia. Accordingly the following language is heard. It was used last week in the Lewis, a large Hebridean island, to a former minister of the Crown, who, at present in opposition, hopes to get into power again on some wave of Gladstonian tergiversation. He was told that it was not forgotten by the Crofters that, when, a few years ago, they had taken the law into their own hands with a fair prospect of driving out the cattle of the land-owner and putting their own upon the grazings, the Gladstonian delinquent before them had acquiesced in the sending of an armed force to aid the police, who had been overpowered. They were willing to let these bygones be bygones so soon as they had an assurance that the enforcement of law by the supreme government would not be repeated, but they warned him that they would take up equal arms should the same act be repeated by any government. The burden, they continued, that took away the breath of a Crofter was that he dragged behind him the cotters and squatters. If there was any disorder, they would hold the government responsible. As long as they had thousands upon thousands of landless cotters, the government, in allowing good arable farms to dangle before the eyes of the landless, starving, desperate, hopeless men, were tempting these men to crime.

The ex-minister replied by saying that he wanted all that was good in the ancient state of the Highlands restored, by which he doubtless meant the rapid suspension by the neck of all intrusive politicians. His audience accepted his words as an omen that every landed Crofter would soon have his little farm doubled in size at the expense of his neighbors, and that every squatter and every cotter who has no land should have land granted him by the government, so that he should no longer bother the Crofter; and of course a good grant must be made to all landless men so that they may buy cattle, sheep, and "outfit" to stock any land given to them by a grateful public.

Some Americans may think, on reading these statements, that the persons who make these demands on the goods of their neighbors cannot much care for religion. They would be mistaken. For the moment these people have agreed that the "land ques-

tion" comes before the church question. But when every man shall have a little farm stocked by the state and granted rent free, then, it is agreed, there must be a great deal of church talk. The form that their interest in church matters assumes is an interest in the refusal of any land-tax that may go with the land that may be given them. Of course they should have the land free of any drawback in the way of payment to anybody. But these demands are the dishonest men's demands. The bulk of the people pay something now for their Free-Church ministers, and the majority are quite willing to pay for the luxury of a little argument on creed and "Erastianism." Most of the clergy who minister to them are subsidized by richer members of their church in the south and east of Scotland, but they do not contribute for their sustenance. The number of adherents the Free Church possesses in the Highlands and islands is remarkable. There is a zone of Roman Catholic country, but the bulk of the western men are Presbyterian, of the division of that church which broke off from the Established State Church in 1843, mainly on the question of the election of the pastors by the congregations. Although "patronage," or the nomination of a clergyman to a parish by a patron, became only a nominal right many years ago, and has now for some time been formally and legally abolished, the Free Church still maintains its separate organization.

The United Presbyterian Church is another large body, detesting to a greater degree than do the adherents of the Free Church all connection between church and state. In matters of general government, organization, ritual, and usage, the three bodies, "Established," "Free," and "United Presbyterian," are precisely alike. There may be a little more architecture in the Established churches, but that is doubtful. There may also among them be a few more organs used during worship, and there may in some instances be more written prayers used and a larger number of hymns sung, where in other services you will only hear the psalms of David sung according to a version made in the seventeenth century by a Welshman named Rouse, who was well inspired in the case of a few of his versions, and prompted by the demon of discord in the majority of his "renderings." But they are all in rhyme, and have attained through association a semi-sacred tenure in many Presbyterian minds, not to be disturbed by any afterthought or experience. Milton's versions are by many considered

barbarous in comparison with the following specimen by Mr. Rouse :

> "Thus grievéd was my heart in me,
> And me my reins opprest;
> So rude was I and ignorant,
> And in Thy sight a beast."

They all sing this with equal satisfaction. Why should they not join in having one national church "established" in the national reverence and love? You may well ask. Questions are proverbially discreet; the answers seldom. So it is best to decline to answer. To sound the unfathomable is an unprofitable task. The perverseness of human nature gives the best answer.

But there is a strong party anxious to disestablish the state section of the Presbyterians and to disendow the church and apply the funds to education. It is probable they will succeed in severing the connection of the state, but not with the bulk of the church's property. This was of old given for the good of the donor's soul, for the support of the church, and for the education of children, which the Roman Catholic Church undertook almost alone in the middle ages. Since those times the church property has greatly increased by gifts which could not without the grossest impropriety be diverted to other uses than those for which they were designed. In Canada the various religious bodies have not kept up the distinction so tenaciously held in the old country, and the presumption is that in Scotland also union would take place after a time should the connection with the state be dissolved. The "Establishment" has formed "church-defence associations," and one of the most eloquent of her "divines" spoke a few days ago to this effect :

"All that the Scottish Church wanted was this, that they would allow no man to go to Parliament and represent the opinion of Scotland who had pledged himself for disestablishment until it had been put as a fair, clear issue before the Scottish people. This was not a question that had to do with the three Presbyterian churches. It had to do with the great spiritual and moral interests that underlay our churches. It was a religious question affecting our dear land for generations yet to come. Disestablishment meant that the corporate life of the nation would be cut off from all recognition of the Supreme Being as its Ruler, and would become atheistic or agnostic. The act to disestablish the church was, when viewed rightly, an act of disloyalty to God and his Christ. In regard to disendowment, the endowments were the legacies or bequeathments of pious generations gone by for the keeping up of the parish church and the religious objects of the day. They were now being used for the same purpose as for the last 1,000 years. What had the state to do with that? The state never gave these endowments, and the state had no right to alienate them as long as they were used for the religious wel-

fare of the nation. What would they call an act that would take all the old endowments throughout the length and breadth of Scotland? He would tell them what it was called in the Bible. It was called robbery of God. The Church of Scotland was prepared to share these endowments to-morrow with the Free Church, with the United Presbyterian Church, on the one condition that they were kept for the purposes for which they were given, namely, the worship of God and for his religion. They were told that it was an injustice, an anomaly, but, at the same time, their opponents called endowments a bagatelle. Now it was the defenders of the churches' turn to influence candidates for Parliament. They were to make their voices heard as a national church, and they wanted every M. P. and Mr. Gladstone to know that the voices of the Scottish people were against disestablishment. If they were true to themselves, they would never see the old church down."

After his late manner of examining, inquiring, and of humbly following to alter that which he formerly defended, Mr. Gladstone has declared he is ready to follow any expression of the feeling of Scotland. This feeling will, of course, be measured by votes, and it is significant that at the last election the church showed herself strong enough to make a great deal of reticence prevail among the disestablishers on the question of disestablishment because they wanted first to gain a wide haul of votes for the setting up of a separate national secession parliament in Ireland. This probably means that the "Auld Kirk" position was found to be too strong to be forced, and the difficulty of the attack on her will undoubtedly be augmented if the assaulting party declare they desire to loot the camp as well as drive the defenders from their intrenchments.

To an American jurist the chief interest of British politics at present must lie in watching how soon the tendencies of the new voters will make it necessary for Britain to imitate her American cousins in devising something like the fifth amendment to the Constitution. There is no doubt that private property in the old country is not nearly so safe as it is in the new. We are also probably in Britain advancing towards that which we have hitherto carefully avoided, namely, a written constitution. Whatever powers may be delegated by the Parliament to local assemblies, to provincial or to county representative bodies, must be clearly defined. Hitherto Englishmen have hated exact definitions, and the common-sense of the comparatively few has been allowed to guide and govern the "happy-go-lucky" and "one-bit-at-a-time" method of British political procedure. With sections setting up, as Ireland now does, for a separate national recognition, and with the overcrowded population in England finding it more and more difficult to get food and elbow-room, more attacks

on property and more impatience of the slow justice of the supreme government are sure to arise. Greater power must be given to localities to settle matters among themselves, and it will be necessary to define clearly and concisely, and in a manner that can leave no doubt, how far the local powers extend. Thus gradually we shall arrive at having a good written constitution, such as has for so long been found of use and necessity in America.

Of other and minor Scottish political affairs it is not necessary to speak, for they can hardly interest any one not dwelling in the land of cakes and caution. It is amusing to see Gladstonian candidates fishing for Irish national votes by telling the numerous fishermen that "free fishing," or no restriction or property in fish, will be recognized; and the American who spends Federal dollars in restocking the depleted waters where salmon used to be and are not, and in filling the waters even of the sea with ova that are to thrive again in the overfished marine banks, will think with satisfaction that soon his salmon will be the only salmon in the market, should such a "generous and liberal" plank be successful in the British reformers' platform. But these things are of little general interest, and will engross the attention of the natural scientist rather than of the philosophical watcher of politics. Scotchmen are probably shrewd enough not to be inoculated to any fatal extent with the periodical Irish small-pox of discontent; and if they think that more people can, with decent comfort, be housed in Scotland, and that they can gain more than they lose by a dislocation of the close union with England, they will effect their wishes, but will not act until they are very sure of the ground on which they venture, for they do not wish to pull their hands out of the full pockets of the Southron, where they have now been handling the "red, red gowd" for considerably over a century.

LORNE.

THE LADIES OF THE LAST CÆSARS.

BY GAIL HAMILTON.

In misery unspeakable perished Tiberius, the third Emperor of Rome, loving and beloved husband of Vipsania Agrippina, hated and hating husband of Julia; and was succeeded by his grand-nephew, Caius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus. All these noble names history has discarded; he is known to us only by his nickname, Caligula,—Little Boots,—because of the military boots —the *caliga*—wherewithal his military mother shod him in camp to please and flatter the soldiers; as if the President were to be called "Little Brogans," because an ambitious mother in his youth had sought to conciliate the Irish vote by making her boy wear brogans. The sound of his nickname always angered Caligula, but Caligula and nothing else has he been called for eighteen centuries, and, alas for the poor lad! the best we know of him is his name.

His mother, Agrippina, daughter of Marcus Agrippa and the woful Julia, seems to have been almost the only woman who escaped unscathed from the hapless hearthstones of Augustus's model family. When the knights at the theatre tried to raise a riot against Augustus for striving to purify society by too stringent marriage-laws, the astute Emperor summoned to his box this austere young princess with her devoted husband, the popular young general, Germanicus, and, holding their little ones in his arms and by his side, silently and successfully appealed to the purity, fidelity, chivalry, in every man's heart.

The triumph of family fealty was of short duration. Germanicus died. Agrippina, haughty and straightforward, not politic enough to conceal her opinions or even her suspicions, standing between a sad, bad, reckless mother fighting for life, and a seductive step-grandmother fighting for power, found but short shrift, and starved in exile. Of the rosy children whom Augustus loved, three little boys, the happiest of all, died in infancy; three little girls, the most wretched of all, would better never have been born; and three sons grew up to die of violence. One, Caligula,

though slain at the early age of eight-and-twenty, found the years enough to make his name a watchword for infamy so long as time shall last. With the fierce bad blood of Mark Anthony in his veins, an epileptic from childhood, and through his mother's exile intrusted to the tender mercies of the step-dame Livia, what could be demanded or expected of the unfortunate boy? He was not without cleverness. Child though he was, he could discern the scheming of Livia, and acutely characterized her as a "Ulysses in petticoats," though not from the rostrum where, after her death, he pronounced her eulogy. But he was reared in an atmosphere of guilt, terror, enforced hypocrisy. Not one word dared he utter for the doom of his mother or his brothers. Tiberius, moody, misanthropic, mad, summoned him to his hiding-place at Capri, where he witnessed and shared a life of such gloom and horror as might have wrecked a steadier brain. Abject, enslaved, knowing no other way to conciliate, he copied the dress, the manners, the very tone, of Tiberius, with pitiful flattery; and Tiberius, who detested the servility which his tyranny exacted, was, no doubt, often wrought to frenzy by this poor, little, terrible travesty of himself.

Tiberius died, and Caligula was free. Free and an emperor at twenty-four. Hitherto invisible in the sombre shadow of Tiberius, the nation rejoiced with great joy as the young man came out seemingly bright, fresh, fair, into the sunshine of the Palatine Hill whence Tiberius had fled, scourged by intolerable furies. But the Nemesis of Augustus Cæsar pursued his memory with unquenchable fire. From all the glory and grandeur of his great-grandfather the crazed boy selected for emulation his shameless and shameful marriages, justifying and glorifying himself by the example of the "deified Augustus." One wife he discarded. Another had been the wife of one of his best generals, a man who became so great that, when Nero's flatterers would have persuaded him that if he died the empire would die with him, he replied: "No; the republic still has a support in Memmius Regulus."

M. Lollius had been the teacher and tutor of Caligula. Reproached by his pupil for his extortions in Asia Minor, he had poisoned himself from chagrin. But his fabulous, if dishonest, wealth descended to the innocent hands of his granddaughter, of whose exceeding beauty Caligula one day heard his grandmother speak. Lollia was then with her husband, Memmius

Regulus, who was commanding the army in Syria. Caligula instantly summoned her thence, and in spite of the protests of her legal husband, his loyal servant and soldier, forced her into marriage with himself. But to the caprice of Augustus he did not add the constancy; and soon wearying of the lovely heiress, he banished her from his home, but forbade her any other marriage, or even a return to her husband.

His third wife, if wife she could be called to a man who polluted all relations, even the most sacred, was a woman without the charms of beauty or character; so that Caligula, with true maniacal acuteness and demoniacal playfulness, used to threaten her with the rack to make her reveal the arts she practised to enchain his love—that terrible love, a menace in its revel, an outrage in its expression. But quickly the madman ran his race—four baleful years of wild dominion—and perished with guilty wife and innocent child. Still may one stand beneath the vast frowning arches in the vast twilight corridors of his palace, on the spot where the gleaming dagger of Cherea sped the soul of Caligula to—I think no worse a world, for could a worse exist for him than this which granted him such a career of cruelty and crime?

In the old time when Augustus and Livia had been wont to rejoice in the beauty and brightness of her grandson and his grand-nephew, Germanicus, his younger brother, Claudius, slow-witted, painfully bashful, uncourtly, but not without mental gifts and scholarly tastes, would often have been left in the background but for the kind appreciation of Augustus. Slow-witted he may have been, but he was swift enough and witty enough to rush and hide himself the moment he heard of Caligula's assassination, shrewdly fearing that he should be killed, or, first, sought and set for Emperor. Wise Claudius—wise in vain. A roving soldier saw him, brought him forth, and threatened his life if he did not instantly submit to the purple; and thus a private in the army made him Emperor.

Whoever has seen Alma Tadema's famous picture in the Walters Gallery at Baltimore will not soon forget the face, livid, distorted, ghastly, of Claudius, vainly crouching behind his curtain; or the tall Roman soldier whose sense of humor overpowers his sense of horror, so that we are fain to believe he was diverted by the sight of a fright that was needless, and invested his victim with the royal insigna as an excellent practical joke.

Slow-witted and unambitious though he were, he had been as amply wived as his cleverer kinsmen. Betrothed in early youth to Æmilia Lepida, great-granddaughter of Augustus, he was presently separated from her because her family in some way offended Augustus. His second betrothed, Livia Medullina, blessed of fate, died on what was to have been her marriage-day. He then married in swift succession Plautia Urgunilla, whom he divorced on suspicion of grave crimes, after she had become the mother of his two children, Drusus and Claudia; Ælia Pætina, whom he divorced for comparatively trivial offences, after she had become the mother of one child, Antonia; Valeria Messalina, the daughter of his cousin, the great-granddaughter of Octavia and the ferocious and profligate Anthony, who crowned him with her dissipations and infidelities.

One young man above all others attracted her fatal attention, Caius Silius, reckoned the handsomest of Roman youths, of noble rank, great intellect, and high promise. He was already married to a noble lady, but, unable to withstand the seductions of an Empress, he divorced his wife and gave himself up wholly to Messalina's devotion. While slow-witted Claudius was bending over his books in the library of Apollo or listening, delighted, to the long reading of literary "papers" by "literary societies,"—which so bored the real literary folk that they used to sit outside the door and gossip as long as they dared, sending in surreptitious messengers from time to time to see how many leaves yet remained to read; and when certain that the end was not far off, the mean creatures—and Pliny was one of them, as he confesses—used to sneak in and sit on the edge of their chairs, just to show themselves, and slip out again—dear old Pagans! with such a naïve touch of humanity; or perhaps Claudius was out on the Campagna planning the innumerable arches of his aqueducts whose beauty still spans that wilderness after the ravages of eighteen hundred years, bringing health from the hills; but all the while his wife was flirting in the capital with the young consul-elect, visiting him at his house under cover of her numerous retinue, not hesitating to permit the imperial carriage to be seen standing at his door, the imperial livery to be met flitting through his halls and corridors. She accompanied him incessantly abroad, loaded him with presents, even the priceless heir-looms of the palace of the Cæsars;

and all Rome, save only her plodding, patriotic, public-spirited, stupid husband, looked on agog and aghast.

Claudius went down to Ostia, perhaps to supervise the splendid harbor which he built in spite of all his imperial civil engineers, who declared that it could not be built, but built it was, not only with the engineer's skill, but with the architect's beauty and the sculptor's art, with marble columns, cornice, and entablature, with mosaic pavement and memorial inscription. But Claudius left Messalina at home. And Messalina, in the frenzy of her wicked wilfulness, determined to go through the forms of a marriage with her Caius Silius. He could not have been so reckless as she, but he probably counted it as dangerous to resist as to obey. The day was set, the guests were invited, a marriage-feast was set forth, and with civil contract and religious rites they celebrated the profane ceremony.

The court circle of Claudius were horror-struck, not so much at the guilt as at the audacity of the act. They feared to tell him lest his blind love for his wife and her power over him should expose them to Messalina's revenge; and they equally feared his wrath at their apparent connivance should he of himself discover what it seemed impossible should long be concealed. That nothing of infamy might be wanting to this high pagan social life, they at length decided to acquaint Claudius with his public shame through two women whose association with him had been his private shame. The efforts of the court were to be directed to extorting from him the condemnation of Messalina before she should have a chance to see him and ply him with her blandishments.

The two women, fitly named Cleopatra and Calpurnia, went at once to the Emperor, threw themselves at his feet, and gave him the startling tidings that Messalina had married Silius. The Emperor, confounded, summoned his confidential friend and attendant, the freedman Narcissus, who, according to their programme, confirmed the astounding story. Begging the Emperor's pardon for having been silent regarding her course while it had seemed merely a social scandal, he confessed, now that she had thrown off the mask openly in the face of the people, the senate, and the soldiery, "I must speak, for unless you, Cæsar, act with despatch, Silius is master of Rome!"

Silius, poor fool! was not master of Rome. Claudius, another,

though Emperor, was not master of Rome. It was the freedman Narcissus who was master of Rome that day. He instantly hurried the Emperor back to his capital, never leaving him a moment to the workings of his own feeble will and insensate love. Through the whole journey homeward Narcissus sat by the Emperor in his carriage, and whenever unhappy Claudius, already relenting, would moan, "Oh! my poor children!" Narcissus would mutter, "Oh! the villany of it! The villany of it!" and Vitellius, his servile friend, would add the gruesome groan, "O crime! O penalty!"

Messalina and Silius were at the height of their mad revels. It was in mid-autumn, and the palace of the Cæsars was the centre of a bacchanal rout. They were enacting a representation of the vintage. Wine-presses were crushing out the fragrant fruit, and round the wine-vats leaped and danced wild women, Roman belles and beauties, garbed in skins like bacchanals. Messalina, with loose hair tossing, waved a thyrsus, and Silius, crowned with ivy at her side, led the drunken dance. Suddenly one of the throng, who is said to have climbed the highest tree in bacchanal frolic, but more probably was set to watch, reported to an eager questioner, asking him what he saw, "a terrible storm from Ostia." Messsengers instantly rushed in, exclaiming that Claudius had been told and was returning bent on vengeance.

The rioters fled in all directions. Messalina flew to her mother, in the gardens of Lucullus. For her own base pleasures she had braved her mother's severe displeasure, though the mother's own character left her no right to be displeased. Now, in fear and terrible trouble, the daughter's instinct turned to the mother's heart, and found but little help. Silius, feeling, no doubt, that the end had come, gathered up what manhood was left him, resumed his duties at the Forum, and resolved to die, if die he must, as die he did, without pleading or palter. The wretched Empress, recovered from her first panic, did exactly what the wily Narcissus had counted upon her doing—determined to meet her husband. With the skill of a general she surveyed the situation, marshalled her forces, and took her strongest position. Her two little children, Octavia and Britannicus, she directed to be led out to meet and embrace their father. She then ran to the Vestal Virgins and prayed the powerful intercession of the Mother

Superior. On foot and almost alone she crossed the whole city from the Pincian Hill to the Ostian Gate and, in a field-cart,—the only carriage she could procure,—unpitied and abandoned, she pressed forward over the Campagna along the road to Ostia, to meet her insulted and angered husband.

Narcissus, on the watch, saw her coming and braced himself for the struggle. Afar off Messalina began praying aloud to the Emperor to "hear the mother of Octavia and Britannicus!" And the louder Messalina cried the more strenuously harangued Narcissus to drown her cries, haranguing into the Emperor's ears the story of her wantonness and its publicity, nor wearied of holding up the memorials of her crime to divert his eyes and distract his notice till they had left her far behind, lost in the ever-gathering throng.

Nearer the city the poor little children were descried with the Vestal Virgin Vibidia, but Narcissus quickly ordered them out of sight. The Vestal could not be so summarily disposed of, and her Narcissus plied with deception, promising her that Messalina should not be condemned unheard, but should have the opportunity to plead her own cause to Claudius. In one thing there was no deceit—his prompt and hearty prayer to the Vestal to retire and resume her devotions! Pious Narcissus!

They entered Rome, but not the palace. Straight the bold freedman took the passive and prostrate Emperor first to the house of Silius, and bade him witness the proof and the fruits of her folly in the family treasures of the Cæsars transferred as tokens of love to adorn the halls and the chambers of Silius! Then the poor man was allowed to go home, and, having eaten a hearty dinner—for nothing seems ever to have affected the Claudian appetite—and refreshed himself with abundance of red wine, which softened his fond, foolish heart toward his beautiful wife, he escaped a moment from his stern keeper and bade a messenger tell Messalina he would hear her on the morrow!

So then Narcissus had protested and labored in vain. No, for he knew his man. He went out quietly and ordered up *his* messengers—a tribune, a slave, some soldiers.

Messalina had returned to her mother, and lay prostrate, her lovely loose hair prone along the ground; the shining silken hair that had waved in fragrant rhythm with the waving thyrsus only a few short hours before. Her mother knew too well how fitting

was her despair, and strove to rouse her to the only way of escape still left her—the stern old Roman way of self-slaughter. "To die becomingly," urged the Roman mother, "is all that remains"; but to that the poor writhing butterfly could not bring her resolution. She who had never troubled herself to live becomingly—what had she to do with the becomingness of death? She was only twenty-four years old. She wanted to live, only to live. Youth and health and vigor were strong within her; the physical joy of being; the keen pleasure of pleasure. She wanted to live, to be pardoned, to drain again and again and again the strong-spiced cup she had so often quaffed; and her voice of agony rang out through the unpitying groves in supplication to the Emperor, in imprecation of her foes, as hope or rage thrilled her impassioned heart.

By the shock of a roughly-approaching party the door flew open, but it was not the messengers her husband had sent charged with the message that would have meant to her hope and life. It was the messengers of the freedman Narcissus. The tribune stood before the fallen Empress in respectful and pitying silence. The slave, sent to watch the soldiers and secure their perfect work, reviled her with insolence, as a slave may. Messalina understood. Her mother's words would have forewarned her. With trembling pitiful fingers she pressed the cruel steel to her soft white throat, to her panting, tortured breast; but no courage could nerve that weak hand to a wound; Messalina could not "die becomingly." But the freedman was master. The slave was there to see that the freedman was obeyed, and the tribune obeyed. All that it was considered worth while to report to her husband was that Messalina was no more. Her dead body was granted to her mother. Claudius asked no question, nor ever paid to his murdered young wife or her stricken children the tribute of a tear. He but called for more wine, and continued his feast—this author, Emperor, master-mechanic.

Then began in the most refined and polished clique of the highest pagan society a contest for the dead woman's place—a contest in which ex-slaves and fine ladies took the active part, and Claudius awaited passively the issue. One freedman advocated one lady, and another, another. Finally the competition narrowed down to Lollia Paullina, the some-time wife of his late nephew, Caligula, and Agrippina, the daughter of his brave,

bright brother, Germanicus. The eleven years since her forced marriage with Caligula had but added richness to the beauty of Lollia and self-possession to her bearing. Her surpassing charms of person and grace of manner were enhanced by the splendor of array which the ill-gotten wealth of her grandfather placed at her command. When the young lady was queening it in Rome, Pliny affirms that he had seen her at evening parties with her hair dressed in emeralds, and pearls for ear-rings, necklaces, bracelets, breast-plate, and even the simple trimmings of her robe ; and the calculating, cool, old wiseacre, instead of making up to her as a young man should and presenting his compliments, and entertaining her with his learning and his accomplishments and his adventures, must needs walk around her, with his eye-glass levelled at her gems, computing that they must have cost sixteen hundred thousand dollars !

Well, dear Pliny, I have seen women in this simple Republic wearing nearly, perhaps quite, as many and as priceless, whose grandfathers never robbed a province, but bought their emeralds honestly by selling cabbages, driving a canal boat, wielding the butcher's cleaver, and otherwise benefiting humanity. Lollia's jewels do not astonish Americans, Sweet Gossip !

But Agrippina, as his niece, had ready access to the Emperor, and her blandishments prevailed over Lollia's *bijouterie*. Nevertheless, because these heathen were far from being without the witness of God in their conscience, the relationship between the high contracting parties made the marriage illegal. A servile Senate responded, however, to the noble plea that Claudius deserved consideration because he had ever been content with his own wives and had not, like his predecessors, plundered the wives of other people ! A special dispensation was granted, and the next day Agrippina became Empress.

The Empress took the helm. As base as Messalina, she had the will to veil it under an austere demeanor. So much, at least, had she inherited from her mother. She ruled not with riot, but rigidity. Coveting the great estates of her whilom sister-in-law, and angry with her for having disputed the possession of Claudius and the empire, she never rested till she had procured Lollia's arraignment for treason. Stupid Claudius, spurred on by his wife and unmindful of his late admiration, appeared at the trial, addressed the Senate, emphasized the birth and circum-

stances of the accused, and pronounced sentence of banishment and the confiscation of her estates. But Agrippina could not be easy in mind while Lollia lived, and the fatal tribune was quickly sent out to compel Lollia to self-execution. Then, having satisfied herself by an examination of the teeth that a dead, disfigured face they showed her was Lollia's, Agrippina entered into secure and serene possession of the coveted wealth.

Only the other day, digging for the foundations of Prince Massimo's palace, the workmen came upon the remains of an unknown park. Many masterpieces of art and ornamental marbles indicated what the beauty of the place had been. A line of terminal stones was presently brought to light on which, breathless, chilled, dazed, one read the inscription: "These stones mark the lines of the gardens of Lollia, which gardens are now the property of the Emperor Claudius." Instantly across the crowded, wailing centuries sweep the white robes of Lollia walking in the shade of her oaks and her ilex groves, plucking the Roman violets of her fresh morning, singing love-songs by the coolness of her fountains, wringing wild hands of anguish at the ruin which threatened all—youth and beauty, love and luxury and life whelmed in one bitter moment by a remorseless and successful rival.

True to the traditions of her blood, Agrippina, even before she had secured Claudius, was scheming for empire by rending marriage alliances. Octavia, the young daughter of Claudius and Messalina, had been betrothed to a brilliant man, Lucius Silanus, a great-grandson of the deified Augustus. He had been prime favorite of Claudius, and honored not only with the promise of his daughter's hand, but with splendid triumphal ornaments and magnificent gladiatorial shows given to the people in his name as a personal compliment to him. Agrippina determined that the son of her first marriage, Lucius Domitius, should be the husband of Octavia. She caused Silanus to be accused of high crime. He well understood. On the day that Agrippina's marriage with Claudius proved the success of her intrigues and foreshadowed her dominion Silanus slew himself.

The way was open. The consul-elect was bribed to move the Senate that Claudius might be solicited to betroth Octavia to Domitius; after which Domitius was formally adopted by the Emperor, who, giving his family name of Nero to the lad, gave a

noble name to an infamous immortality. His own son, Britannicus, was but two years younger—younger, but a clever lad, clearly aware of what was going on, and not afraid to speak upon occasion. The officious attentions of his stepmother he laid to their true source. Once when Nero, meeting him, accosted him by his name Britannicus, he calmly returned the courtesy by addressing Nero as Domitius. Nero reported the grievance to his mother, and his mother complained to Claudius that Britannicus was taught to despise the adoption. In consequence all the tutors of Britannicus were exiled, and new tutors were selected by Agrippina. Before the people, Nero, though but two years older than Britannicus, was presented in a general's uniform, while Britannicus appeared in boy's clothes. All these things the people noticed with a foreboding compassion, but they were helpless; and at length the one wish of Agrippina was gratified, and in his sixteenth year Nero became the husband of Octavia.

Hardly was this stepping-stone to the succession secured when danger beset her from another and unexpected quarter. Stupid Claudius, who, after all, knew more of what was going on around him than he pretended, over the wine-cup which he loved too well was heedless enough to say that he was fated to bear the iniquities of his wives and then to punish them. Agrippina was instantly on the alert. To *punish* them? To punish her? She declined to be punished! Had never Claudius heard the fate which befel her second husband? Claudius fell ill and Agrippina resolved that he should never recover. Between her and the doctor he never did. Punish Agrippina, indeed!

His death was kept secret. While the Senate was offering prayers for his recovery, Agrippina was wrapping his dead body with cloths and warm applications to hide the truth. She detained his daughters in the room under one or other pretext. Feigning to be overpowered with grief, she clasped Britannicus in her arms, calling him "the very image of his father." She guarded all approaches to the palace, gave out word from time to time that the Emperor was improving—till all was ready. Then, at high noon, the palace gates were thrown open, and with fitting pomp and paraphernalia, forth walked—not Britannicus, but Nero, and was presented to the world as the new Emperor. There were many who looked back, hesitated, peered behind Nero, and anxiously asked, "Where is Britannicus?" But they asked in vain.

Agrippina was cursed with her granted prayer. Like Livia, she quickly discovered that her son was no longer her boy, but an independent man, the Roman Emperor; and she was not Empress. When she entered the audience chamber, intending to receive jointly with the Emperor, Seneca, Nero's late tutor and now mentor, stood at Nero's side, and, while every one else fixed his eyes on the floor in breathless fear and expectancy, Seneca suggested in a low voice to Nero that he "meet his mother." Promptly and gracefully Nero acted on the suggestion, and conducted his mother to her seat—not to his. And so, under the guise of deference, the swift, silent battle was fought, and Agrippina lost.

It was but the prelude of her coming fate. Haughtily she resented her secondary state, and refused to be conciliated. When Nero selected for her the most splendid of the state robes and the *parure* of the crown, he received but the ungracious acknowledgement that "her son gave her only a portion of that which he owed wholly to her"; and the sting of her words was in their truth. As Nero had no love for the wife his mother had imposed upon him, innocent Octavia, Agrippina took up her cause and heaped reproaches upon Nero for his conjugal infidelities. A freedwoman, Acte, attracted the young Emperor's notice and what seems to have been a lasting attachment. He wished to dismiss Octavia and marry Acte. The haughty Agrippina resented that they had given her a slave for a rival! But all to no purpose. Then she took another tack. She belied a mother's instinct, and gave herself to the encouragement of his worst vices; and Nero's indifference was changed to disgust. She became desperate. With violent gesticulation and fervid appeals to Heaven, she called him to witness that, at any cost to herself, she would pull him down from the throne on which she had placed him, and which he refused to share with her. She would expose her own crimes, she would lay bare the wrongs of Britannicus, and bring the true sovereign to his own.

Nero was thoroughly alarmed. A sinister incident increased his alarm to panic. Britannicus, now fourteen, at a public play, was ordered by the king of the play, who, in this instance, was by lot Nero himself, to rise and sing some song to show his fine voice. By custom it was a comic song, and the boy, too young for such scenes, was expected to add to the amusement of the occasion, at least for Nero, by his confusion and the break-down

of his "fine voice." On the contrary, instead of a song, he gave, with perfect self-possession, a recitation from Ennius, in which he personated a prince "thrown out of his father's throne and imperial power." The sensation in the audience was irrepressible, and, to Nero's intense surprise and chagrin, it was wholly of compassion for Britannicus. He felt that he could afford no delay.

Poison? But the young prince ate in the same room with the Emperor, though, as the custom was for children, at a smaller table. Every dish was tasted by a special officer, and Nero dared not brave public opinion, even in servile Rome, to the extent of causing the simultaneous death of prince and taster. Rome was servile enough, but there was a great deal of human nature still in Rome, and no highest sinner of them all ever knew when he should pass the boundary line of forbearance. A plot was arranged by which a cup of beverage, tried by the taster, harmless, but scalding hot, was handed to Britannicus. He refused it as too hot, and cold water was poured in containing a poison so powerful that the doomed boy was instantly deprived of speech and breath.

Every one was in consternation except Nero, who calmly remarked that Britannicus was subject to these ill turns from childhood and it would soon pass off! Sympathy became suspicion, and suspicion certainty. Some, horror-stricken, hurried away. Those who remained fixed their eyes on Nero. Into Agrippina's soul the iron entered. None so well as she knew the fell meaning of it all. She had shown her hand, and Nero again had won the game. Too well also young Octavia knew; but both women dissembled, the one her baffled revenge, the other her sisterly love. After a short silence the baleful feast went on. Britannicus was buried before the morning.

Her ally and instrument removed, a fresh foe beset Agrippina. In every New England sitting-room that respects itself, on some bracket, book-case, or other pedestal, stands a bust of Clytie, with low brow, crisp, waving hair parted deep on the slightly-bending head and falling over the slender neck, a gentle, modest, thoughtful, tranquil face, shapely shoulders, springing delicate, yet firm, from their curved and carven wreath. It is the portrait bust of the woman who now rose from the welter of crime and vice to give the *coup de grace* to Agrippina—Poppæa Sabina. History has endowed her with every ornament but an unpolluted

mind. Charm of person she inherited from her mother, who in beauty excelled all the women of her time, and that charm she preserved with unwearied pains, as her chief possession. Out of doors she wore always a veil; within she used all the recipes known to Roman ladies to attain or secure a good complexion. She covered her face with a mask against the sun. When she travelled, a herd of five hundred she-asses followed her to furnish her bath of milk, whereby she trusted to keep her beauty during her life. Fervently at least she prayed to die before she lost it.

Her beautiful mother, daughter of a famous and honored man, had been driven to death by the machinations of Messalina, so utterly without the knowledge of Claudius that, when, a few days after her death, her husband appeared at the imperial table, the Emperor asked him why his wife was not with him. He could only reply that she was no more.

Engaging in mind and manners, modest by policy, but utterly corrupt and utterly reckless, Poppæa had been early married to a Roman knight, but was easily allured from him into marriage with a gentleman of the court, Otho, who himself afterwards became Emperor. So quickly she threw out her net for Nero that her husband was more than suspected of having secured her for the purpose of establishing his own sway over the erratic young man. If true, it was but partially successful, for her gentleman of the court was speedily banished to Lusitania under the pretext of a governorship, and Poppæa was left to fight for the hand of Nero against his wife and his mother. Their combination proved too strong for her. Convinced that Nero would never marry her during his mother's life, she begged him to restore her to her husband. The covert threat produced the intended effect. Nero saw that Poppæa would not be trifled with; that something decisive must be done if he would not lose her.

His mother he had long, but decently, avoided. When she had withdrawn to her country seat at Tusculum or had secluded herself in her groves and gardens, he had praised her prudence and wisdom. This must now be changed, for it was necessary above all to gain access to her. Everything must seem natural. He dared not repeat the scene of Britannicus and defy popular suspicion. Moreover, it would probably be useless, for Agrippina was an adept at poisons and had fortified herself by constant anti-

dotes. Rightly conjecturing that she would welcome any overtures for reconciliation, Nero invited her to visit him in his palace at Baiæ, the fashionable watering-place of wealthy Rome, on the bay of Naples. She was staying at her villa in Antrium, across the bay, the home in which Nero had been born. The delighted mother accepted his invitation, not without fear and suspicion; but hope was stronger than they. Nero met her on the shore with affectionate greeting and conducted her to his door, gave her the seat of honor at the sumptuous banquet which he had prepared for her, entertained her with pleasant talk, and asked her opinion concerning sundry matters of graver moment. At her departure he again escorted her in person, and, embracing her, clung to her neck and fixed his eyes upon her in long and fond farewell.

Reposing in her state-room during the sail home, Agrippina could not but listen with joy to the comforting assurances of her maid, Aceronia, lying at her feet, who congratulated her upon her reconciliation and renewed influence with Nero. Her boy was capricious, but he was her boy, after all, and—a crash! a horror! The roof of the cabin had fallen in, crushed with a weight of lead heaped upon it! The two women were saved by the sides of the couch, which rose high enough and strong enough to resist the pressure. Both crept out. Aceronia, in the selfishness of frantic terror, and supposing it accident, cried and called that she was Agrippina, and implored the sailors to "help the Prince's mother!" They rejoined by beating her to death with poles and oars. Agrippina heard, kept silence, let herself down from the slowly-sinking boat, swam out into the darkness, and was taken up by one of the many small boats cruising in the bay, and so reached the shore and escaped to her own villa.

The miserable mother, deliberating on her future course, promptly determined, for the present, to recognize nothing. She at once despatched a messenger to Nero to notify him that through the mercy of the gods she had escaped the shipwreck, but besought him, however terrified at her danger, not to give himself the trouble of coming to inquire, as, though not injured, she was much shaken and especially needed rest.

Nero also understood. He knew that she would know, and that between them it was death for death. Paralyzed with fear, his imagination saw the daughter of Germanicus confronting the Senate, enkindling the soldiery, arousing the people. His freed-

man, Anicetus, who had engineered the abortive shipwreck, declared himself still able and ready to finish the work. Nero sprang up overjoyed, and exclaimed that he had that moment been presented with the empire and by a freedman.

The messenger of Agrippina arrived with his smooth words that deceived no one. Anicetus slyly dropped a dagger between the messenger's feet, snatched it up, and on so flimsy a pretext assumed and announced that Agrippina had sent the man to assassinate her son, and therefore merited death.

As the news of Agrippina's shipwreck had spread, a great crowd had gathered on the shore and flocked to her house in joyous congratulation over her escape. Anicetus, plunging ahead, harshly dispersed them with his armed band, burst open the gates of her villa, seized such slaves as he met in her halls, and strode on to her chamber. Agrippina lay agitated and anxious. No messenger had arrived from Nero. Even her own messenger had not returned. A small light was burning dimly in the room. A single maid was in attendance. Agrippina perceived the change without—silence for the stir of the multitude. Across the silence came startling noises—not the joy of a jubilant throng. The maid arose. "You, too, are leaving me!" cried the despairing woman; and, turning, saw Anicetus with two sailors armed with clubs and swords—and saw no more.

And still the story runs that among the surrounding hills long was the sound of an unseen trumpet heard, and wailing from Agrippina's grave.

Nero waited, breathless, fearful, to see what Rome would do. Rome did nothing. Then at first cautiously, but gathering courage, as no man opposed, rudely and roughly he banished Octavia and in twelve days married Poppæa. The divorce and the remarriage the people endured; but when they learned that Octavia was not only repudiated, but banished and placed under a guard of soldiers, they raised such a murmer, mounting to clamor, that Nero recoiled and recalled Octavia. Forthwith the populace went up to the capital to offer thanks to the immortal gods. They threw down the statues of Poppæa, carried those of Octavia, wreathed with garlands, on their shoulders, and reërected them on the Forum and in the temples. More than this, the loyal, saucy, stupid, wise people, who knew quite well what they were about, thronged up the Palatine Hill to offer their grateful applause to Nero.

Poppæa was wild with rage, and Nero sent out his soldiers to disperse the mob and restore her displaced statues ; but I think there must have been many a jeer from the stalwart, sturdy folk, scattered before official spears and chuckling that they had, for once, given that haughty supplanter a piece of their minds !

But Poppæa threw herself upon her knees before Nero and besought him now at last to see for himself that her life was not safe while Octavia lived; that Octavia had only to come to town and a tumult was raised. In truth, it was Nero that Poppæa feared more than the Roman people. She knew his terror of them, and trembled lest he should succumb to them and give her up for Octavia, whom they loved. All her horses shod with gold could not bear her away from the fear of one weak, innocent, defenceless woman, discrowned of her husband, crowned with her innocence.

A charge of guilt was invented against the innocent Octavia. The murderer of Agrippina was summoned, and, with assurance of immunity from punishment and promise of untold rewards, was induced to accept the odium of being announced as Octavia's partner in crime. As a penalty for the imputed crime she was banished to Pandataria, where so many of the imperial house had already been sent to perish. An emperor's daughter, an emperor's wife, she was left to the attendance of coarse soldiers. She lingered out a few days of woe, and then, not yet twenty years old, was ordered to die. Forlorn as she was, life was dear to her; perhaps, rather, death was dreadful. She pleaded that she was no longer Nero's wife; she was but a widow; she was the Emperor's sister. Poppæa knew it all before. The poor child appealed to their common kin. In vain ! Her tender limbs were fast bound, life ebbed slowly in mortal terror, and the suffering soul was released.

The triumph of Poppæa was complete. Then it was, I suppose, that, as she walked through the palace of the Cæsars, feeling it now first her own, and saw the great Augustus glorified in bronze and marble Apollos, the ambition seized her to be herself immortalized among the gods. It was just the whim to meet Nero's classic, artistic taste, and it was in perfect keeping with his refined sarcastic cruelty to select, for her impersonation in the hall of Apollo, Clytie, beloved of Apollo, but deserted and despised, pining away and changed into the sunflower which "turns to her God when he sets the same face which she turned when he rose."

If Poppæa discerned the sinister meaning, none the less was the artist summoned, and the fair, calm face looks down the centuries upon us from its shining sunflower of eternal radiance.

So fair and calm the face that looked down upon old Josephus—old Josephus! Why, it was a man in the flower of his youth that stood before the fair young Empress; invested with the royalty which six-and-thirty years had lent him of Jewish virtue, Roman valor, and Greek grace. Well may Poppæa have smiled from the heights of a throne upon her admirer till all his rabbinic lore and all his patriotic uprightness melted in the fervor of his enthusiastic admiration, and all the lust and greed and murder vanished from its lovely curves and colors. The sweet voice, too, added its charm to captivate the high-born, accomplished, fascinating Jew she cared to conquer; and, under the spell of downcast eyes and soft lips, faltering pious thoughts, he, man-like, came to think "she had a very religious nature," and did not hear the suppressed cough of her ladies in the palace or the rough Roman guffaw outside. But he laughs best who laughs last, and so much advantage reaped the countrymen of Josephus from Poppæa's smiles that her fine eyes gathered them all with the imperial sunshine.

Nemesis did not tarry long for Poppæa. Weak and ill with an approaching motherhood, Nero left her for his drive one afternoon, and, returning late, was met by her reproaches for his delay. Vexed and uncontrolled, he retorted with a kick so violent that it caused her speedy death. From the rostrum the Emperor pronounced her eulogy and celebrated her funeral rites with the burning of more spices than his ships could bring or Araby the Blest produce from the harvests of a circling year; but none the less had he kicked his wife to death.

Conscience may have given Nero some inward loathing of Poppæa, some slight, sharp compunction for Octavia, since he betook himself next to Octavia's half-sister, Antonia, the daughter of Claudius and Ælia Petina, and besought her hand in marriage. She had the courage to refuse him, perhaps choosing a swift to a slow death. She had her choice. In prompt revenge he, as was his wont, charged her with crime as a pretext for her death—so much was conscience worth, if, indeed, conscience yet remained alive within him. Statilia Messalina, whose husband he had vilely slain, preferred a slow death to a swift one, married the

young Emperor, and survived him to a tranquil and intelligent life. With all his marriages and murders, he was only in his thirty-second year when the torch of the Cæsars was forever extinguished in his blood.

And, in spite of murdered mother and wife and child, over him in death stood faithful Acte, no wife, but a woman loyal to an ideal love, seeing in that deflowered body not the deflowered soul, but the high-hearted child of music and poetry and art and genius, the Greek boy overweighted with his stern Roman armor, not so much Rome's imperator as hers by love's own anointing and coronation, who

> "drew
> With one long kiss her whole soul through
> Her lips, as sunlight drinketh dew."

And if upon her dark brow, as tradition holds, the dawn of Christianity had risen and kindled in her heart a rosy hope, it may have befallen, as with Philip Ostrander dying in the forest, a future in his face returned her gaze, and she who loved him last would yet love him at his best.

Shall we condemn those actors of the old world? They were the children of their time.

> "It is not ours to separate
> The tangled skein of will and fate."

Ours it is to see what are the tender mercies of the wicked. When men celebrate the grandeur and splendor of paganism, it is ours to see its crumbling and corrosion too. It is ours to see from what slough of despond a remote, obscure, and quickly-obliterated Roman province would lift the rich, great Roman and Rome-ridden world when a divine voice came through the troubled air: Sin when it is finished bringeth forth death. The true God is Eternal Life!

GAIL HAMILTON.

RELIEF FOR THE SUPREME COURT.

BY EX-JUSTICE STRONG.

AMONG the many subjects now reasonably deserving consideration from Congress, there can be no one which more imperiously demands early action than the present condition and the necessity for relief of the Supreme Court of the United States. Great public and private interests emphasize the demand. The court was created by the Constitution and placed at the head of one of the three divisions of this government to maintain the just powers of each, as also to protect the rights of the States, and particularly and avowedly "to establish justice." Plainly it was never contemplated that at any time it should be allowed to become incapable of performing the functions assigned to it. If embarrassments should intervene, or obstacles to the efficient working of the court should arise, the Constitution conferred power upon another branch of the government to remove them, and the grant of that power carried with it the obligation to use it whenever it became necessary.

Now, what are the facts? For more than seventy years next following the adoption of the Constitution the court was able to discharge promptly all the duties imposed upon it. No suitor was unreasonably delayed, and the legal business of the government was never embarrassed by any inability of the court to give it early attention. During all that period the court needed no relief. Not until after 1860 did the number of cases brought into the court exceed an average of about seventy in a year. Not until after that year was the court unable to dispose of all pending cases within a term comparatively brief. There was, it is true, from year to year a gradual increase of the court's business, especially after 1850, and the length of the term during which the court sat was prolonged correspondingly, in order to accommodate this enlargement. Still, until 1860 the number of cases brought into the court was never so great as to be beyond the

power of the court to dispose of them all. Even in 1858 the number of cases on the docket at the beginning of the term was only 261; in 1859 the number was 309; in 1860 it was 278, and in 1861 it was 265. Thenceforward there was an immense increase from year to year, doubtless owing, in large measure, to the Civil War, to the reconstruction measures, to the amendments of the Constitution, and to the establishment of the Court of Claims. This increase has continued steadily down to the present time, though questions arising out of the war, reconstruction, and the amended Constitution have been largely settled. There is now every reason to believe that the future will exhibit a steady increase over the present and past.

The figures of past growth are worthy of note. In 1880, at the close of the second week of the term of the court, the number of cases set for argument was 1,069.

In 1881 the number at the same period of the term was	1,113	In 1885 it was	1,177
In 1882 it was	1,110	In 1886 it was	1,251
In 1883 it was	1,169	In 1887 it was	1,277
In 1884 it was	1,174	In 1888 it was	1,408
		In 1889 it was	1,478

It is not meant that all these cases had been brought into the court during the next preceding year. In each year a large part of them were *remanets*—cases which the court had been unable to dispose of at former terms, although the terms had been lengthened to seven months. Even in 1880 the calendar or argument list had become so large that a case could not be heard and decided within less than about three years from the time when it was brought into the court. The evil is much greater now. This overloading the court, and the consequent injury to suitors and to the government, have for many years attracted public attention and called loudly for relief. But nothing has hitherto been accomplished by Congress, from which alone relief can come.

The court cannot relieve itself. As already remarked, its sessions are now about seven months in length, and so they have been many years. With the extremest industry it is impossible to dispose of more than about four hundred cases in any one year. Long experience has demonstrated that. It will require nearly four years to clear the present calendar, and if it were now clear, the next calendar would in all probability be beyond the power of the court to dispose of in due season. From three to four years must elapse before a case now brought into the court can be reached for decis-

ion, and in view of past experience, and of the amazing growth of the country, of its wealth and business, of the multitude of startling inventions, of the increase of railroads, and the prospective increase of commerce, it is not unreasonable to anticipate that, if relief does not come, the burdens under which the court is now struggling will grow larger from year to year. Is the present condition of things establishing justice? Is it not, rather, a practical denial of justice? Has a suitor no just cause of complaint against a government avowedly organized "to establish justice" between itself and its constituents, and among its individual subjects, when he must wait three or four years before he can obtain it?

The evils of a continuance of such a state of things are too many, and too great to be patiently endured. Beyond the wrong to those who have just rights which they seek to enforce, there exists a temptation to persons in the wrong to remove cases from the lower courts into the Supreme Court solely for delay. The general public also suffers. Among the cases long delayed, there are always some, and often many, which raise questions in which the business of the country is interested—questions which, so long as they remain unsettled, paralyze industry and enterprise.

I have said the court cannot relieve itself. Relief must come from some other quarter, and it can come from no other than Congress. The Constitution manifestly intends that Congress shall from time to time make all needful provision for the administration of justice. While it cannot create a Supreme Court (that having been done by the Constitution itself, and no power having been given to create another), it is empowered to establish inferior courts wherever it may deem them either needful or useful, and it may assign to them such jurisdiction as the public interest may require, excepting only in cases over which the Supreme Court has original jurisdiction. Congress has power given to it by the Constitution expressly to except from the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court such cases as it may deem wise to except from it. Moreover, the Constitution gives to Congress the power to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution all powers vested by that instrument in any department or officer of the government. Can it be denied that the possession of such authority carries with it a duty? If

any officer of the government, or if the Supreme Court, becomes unable to execute efficiently and usefully a power vested in him or it (that is, the power of his office), is it not incumbent upon Congress to provide by law what is necessary and proper for the execution of that power?

It is needless to pursue this subject further. I cannot think the power and duty of Congress to provide some remedy for the embarrassed condition of the Supreme Court, some relief for the present inadequate administration of justice, are doubted by any one. Nor can I think there is any difficulty in finding a complete remedy for the existing evil. The late Mr. Justice Davis, long a member of the court, and familiar with its burdened condition before 1880, when its burden was much less than it is now, prepared and submitted to the Senate a bill, which, in his judgment, and in the judgment of the other members of the court, and, I think, of the legal profession very largely, if not generally, would, if enacted into law, have efficiently and permanently relieved the court, and at the same time would facilitate the administration of justice in all the circuit courts of the country. No doubt it would have been an adequate remedy. A different proposition also was submitted by Mr. Manning, of Mississippi, in the House of Representatives on the 26th of January, 1880, and referred to the Judiciary Committee, from which it was never reported. Neither measure was ever moved farther, and Congress has hitherto remained silent, I had almost said indifferent.

Yet the bill prepared by Mr. Justice Davis undoubtedly exhibits a plan for an arrangement that would effect all that is needful. And it furnishes, I think, the only possible adequate remedy for the existing evil. It proposes the establishment of a court of appeals in each of the circuits into which the country is now divided—a court intermediate between the Supreme Court and the circuit courts. It is obvious that the details of such a plan may be various, but they all should contemplate vesting in the intermediate courts a large part of the appellate jurisdiction now belonging to the Supreme Court. To what extent this appellate jurisdiction may be taken from the Supreme Court and given to the courts of appeals may admit of differences of opinion. That Congress may determine. The courts of appeals should be courts of error alone, and their decisions should be final in most

cases. They may be, and they probably should be, constituted either of the Supreme-Court justices assigned to the circuit and two or three circuit judges, with, perhaps, one or more district judges; or constituted of circuit judges alone; or of circuit judges associated with one or more district judges. In regard to the extent of the jurisdiction to be given to the courts of appeal there may also be differences of opinion. Of course the Supreme Court must retain all the original jurisdiction conferred upon it by the Constitution. That Congress cannot take away. So it may be, or it may not be, wise to leave for that court immediate appellate jurisdiction of all cases in law or in equity in which there are questions arising under the Constitution or laws or treaties of the United States. Perhaps the same may be said of revenue and patent cases, appeals from the Court of Claims, and cases in the territorial courts.

But there is a vast body of other cases in which no questions arise under the Constitution, laws, or treaties of the United States—cases which may be excepted from the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court without danger to the correct and intelligent administration of justice. This is true of most cases which come within the jurisdiction of United States courts because of diverse citizenship of the parties. If these, with perhaps some others, were not removable into the Supreme Court for review, there can be no doubt that the court would find permanent relief and be able to dispose of all its business within a reasonable time. Certainly this would be the case after the present accumulation shall have been worked off. Unfortunately, that will occupy several years, and therefore a temporary continuance of the present evil may be unavoidable. But present evils may be endured if alleviated by an assurance of early-coming relief.

The suggested establishment of intermediate courts of appeals contemplates that in all cases of which appellate jurisdiction is given to them, appeals from the circuit courts shall be taken only to them, and that writs of error may be sent to the circuit courts only from the courts of appeals. It is also a necessary part of the scheme that judgments of the courts of appeals shall be reviewable by the Supreme Court only when the amount in controversy shall exceed a fixed sum, say ten thousand dollars, or when the case presents a question arising

under the Constitution or laws or treaties of the United States (if jurisdiction of such cases be given to the courts of appeals), or when the court shall certify that the case raises a legal question of sufficient general or public importance to require its final determination by the Supreme Court, or when a writ of error or an appeal shall be specially allowed by a justice of the Supreme Court.

I forbear entering more fully into the details of the proposed plan. They may safely be left to the wisdom of Congress. But of the wisdom of this plan itself I think there will be little doubt. Its purpose and its effect, if adopted, are to sift out of the very large appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court large classes of cases that now encumber and, indeed, overwhelm the docket of that court, and commit them to the final disposition of another court of errors. It is impossible to see how suitors can be injured by it, or how the public can suffer. The Supreme Court will continue to be, as now, the final interpreter of the Constitution, laws, and treaties of the United States, and the protector of all rights held under them, while the judgments of the courts of appeals will be final in a vast number of cases. And in many cases, no doubt, where those judgments would admit of another review, they will be acquiesced in and allowed by suitors to become final. Nor would any suitor suffer injustice. He would have in a lower court a trial, and a review in a court of errors, as now, if dissatisfied. That is all which is allowed to suitors in the State courts.

It is, I think, worthy of consideration that the establishment of intermediate courts of appeals, as proposed, is not an untried experiment. The highest courts of some of the States have been greatly embarrassed by the accumulation of business upon their dockets, and relief has been sought in various ways. In one State at least, if not in more, relief has been sought and obtained by the establishment of intermediate courts of appeals. I refer to Illinois. In that State appeals to the Supreme Court directly, and writs of error from it, are allowed in all criminal cases, in cases involving a franchise or freehold, and in all cases involving the validity of a statute. But all other appellate jurisdiction is invested primarily in intermediate courts of appeals, and their jurisdiction is final in all cases where the amount in controversy is below one thousand dollars. Cases involving a

greater sum may be removed from the courts of appeals to the Supreme Court by writs of error or by appeal, and so may cases involving a smaller sum by special allowance. The arrangement is, in substance, the same as that proposed for the national Supreme Court by Mr. Justice Davis's bill. The system has been in existence nearly twenty years, and I am informed by the highest authority that it has worked admirably. The result has been that the Supreme Court of that State has been completely relieved, although it was about three years behind when the courts of appeals were established. It soon caught up, and since the institution of the intermediate courts it has not had on its docket more than half the number of cases it would otherwise have had. I am assured also that many cases which could under the law go to the Supreme Court stop at the decision of the appellate court. I may add that the intermediate courts are constituted of circuit-court judges. Beyond doubt an arrangement similarly formulated by Congress would bring speedy and permanent relief to the Supreme Court of the United States.

It must be admitted that the plan contemplates and requires a moderate increase of the judicial force of the government. It requires an addition to the number of circuit judges now in commission. But the addition is needed if no new courts be established. The present circuit judges cannot do all that is needed in their circuits, and the business is steadily increasing. It is now many times greater than it was in 1869, when the last addition was made to the judicial force of the government. That was the only considerable addition that had been made within more than fifty years, though the population of the country had more than quadrupled and the business of the country more than correspondingly increased. Many of the circuits are now too large, and the admission of new States has added to the embarrassment. And what of the future ? Can it be doubted that, with the rapid development of the country, with the wonderful advance in population, wealth, production, invention, and consequent litigation, the courts will be still more burdened, and, if justice be not denied, more courts and more judges will be indispensable ? Is it not enough that in the past the judicial force of the country has not kept pace with the country's development ? Shall the future witness a greater lack ?

I have heard it suggested that, instead of intermediate courts

holding their sessions in each circuit, it might be wiser to institute only one, to sit in Washington, but sending its writs to all the circuit courts, and receiving appeals from thence. I spend no time upon this beyond saying that such an arrangement would be far less convenient than the establishment of a court of appeals in each circuit, that the costs and expenses to parties would be much greater, and that the circuits would lose much, if not all, of the advantages of the presence and work of the new circuit judges at home.

I must not dismiss the subject without at least a brief notice of another plan for the relief of the Supreme Court which has been brought forward. It is the one mainly embodied in the bill introduced by Mr. Manning, to which I have heretofore referred. It proposes a large addition to the membership of the Supreme Court; a division of that court into two or three sections; a distribution of the cases on the docket among the several sections, and a hearing and decision of the cases assigned to it by each section. In regard to this it may be said that a decision by a section of the court could not fail to be received, alike by the parties and the public, with less confidence than is now given to the judgment of the entire court. This is no unimportant consideration. There are others more grave. If the decisions of a section are to be final, not subject to review and correction, then the section is practically an additional Supreme Court, which Congress has no power to create.

I know that some of the States, in order to relieve their highest courts, have organized an additional tribunal, coördinate and having equal powers. This it is conceded a State may do, for its legislature has all legislative power which is not withheld from it by the constitution of the State; but Congress has no legislative power which has not been expressly granted to it, or which is not necessarily implied by express grant. No such grant can be found in the Constitution of the United States, and if there be any implication, it is a denial of power to ordain and establish any other than inferior courts. Moreover, if, after a section has heard, examined, and reached its conclusions in a case it has had under consideration, it pronounces no judgment, but reports its conclusions to the entire court for judgment to be entered there, it is manifestly only an attempted evasion of the Constitution. So if the court is to reconsider the case before giving judgment, instead

of accelerating the disposition of its business, the plan must retard it. And in case there is to be no reconsideration this absurdity is involved: the court gives judgment in a case which it has never heard or considered. It is hardly to be expected that any conscientious judge will consent to that.

I will not prolong this discussion. In 1881 I wrote an article (published in the May number of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW of that year) in which I much more fully expressed my views of the needs of the Supreme Court and of the remedies proposed for relief. I am unwilling now to repeat what I then said. My present object is only to invite renewed attention to the subject, and to express the hope that Congress will no longer delay devising and furnishing that relief to the court which the "establishment of justice" and the voice of the public imperatively demand.

WILLIAM STRONG.

BUSINESS MEN IN POLITICS.

BY THE HON. WARNER MILLER, EX-UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM NEW YORK.

OUR form of government gives the right to all to participate in it, and assumes that all will do so.

Government is a science—the highest science: it has to do with business affairs: without government we are barbarians; with good government we are progressive, enlightened, educated, prosperous, and happy peoples.

Our government is founded on the theory that that is the best which proceeds directly from the people governed. The science of government is most intricate. Philosophers and statesmen have studied it for centuries; yet but few of its fundamental principles have been determined so conclusively as to command universal acceptance. As governments are so closely connected with the happiness and prosperity of the people, it follows that those who administer them should be not only patriotic, but skilled in the science of government by a thorough course of training and study.

The science of government has been greatly neglected in the past in all of our schools and colleges; only lately has it been included in the curriculum of a few of our public schools. The fundamental principles of our government should be taught in all our high-schools and colleges. Much of the present disorder and unsettled condition of affairs in this country is due to an imperfect understanding or comprehension of the duties and powers of the government. Many wild and communistic theories are advocated by people who may be sincere and honest, according to their lights, but who would never think of entertaining them had they had the advantages of a careful education regarding the correct fundamental principles of government. Anarchism, socialism, communism, nihilism, and all forms of pernicious doctrines

flourish in despotic countries, where the people are purposely kept in ignorance of the science of government, and are not permitted to have any voice in the management of affairs. Such autocratic rulers will always be confronted with these hostile and dangerous elements so long as they continue the policy of keeping their people in ignorance. Intelligence is the greatest of civilizers. Let the masses of the people of a country be educated, and I will show you a well-governed state.

We are not free from socialism, anarchism, and their kindred evils in this country, but we have them here in less aggravated forms. Our atmosphere is not conducive to their growth on this side of the water. That these false doctrines can obtain any foothold here at all must be taken as an evidence that many of our people are totally lacking in understanding of the true principles of the science of government. They should be educated as to what the government ought and ought not to do. We have not attained the highest stage of development in the science of government. We have different parties advocating different theories of taxation and other ideas and principles. Probably we shall never see the time when everybody will say: "At last our government is perfect. We cannot improve on it in any way." But the more our people are educated in the fundamental principles of government, the higher will be our standard and the greater will be our prosperity and happiness. The wild and inconsiderate legislation which is to-day found in many of our legislative bodies would disappear with the more extensive education of the people. Therefore, I say, let the fundamental principles of government be included in the curriculum of all our schools, colleges, and universities, the same as any of the other necessary branches of learning. It is the most important subject that can be taught to the rising generation.

One frequently hears it asserted that the government should step in and regulate the rate of wages, and do this and do that, exercising a paternal supervision over the people. That is all wrong. One of the good effects of a more liberal education of the masses of the people regarding the fundamental principles of government would be to do away with many of these false doctrines. Capital and labor have mutual rights which should be respected. The freedom of contract between one man and another should not be disturbed.

The theory sometimes advanced that any man is fit to hold a public office is erroneous. The men who hold office under the city, State, or nation should have ability and especial fitness for their respective positions. The reason why we have had more lawyers than any other class in public places in the past is because their training made them more familiar with the art of government; and they were perhaps better qualified to grapple with the legal and constitutional questions arising during the last twenty or thirty years than men in any other walk of life.

But there is no longer any necessity or reason for giving the preference to lawyers in selecting men to hold our public offices and to represent us in our legislatures. We have arrived at a time when all the great fundamental and constitutional questions are practically settled, and they are not in politics now to any extent. There are no constitutional questions requiring the presence of a Webster or a Judge Story in our national councils; they have all been settled and are out of the way.

The great problems for the present generation of statesmen to exercise their talents on are commercial and business questions. We have reached an era in our development, it seems to me, when the purely professional men should be succeeded in both our State and national legislatures by practical and experienced business men. They are more competent to deal with the live questions of the hour than any other class. On a purely legal constitutional question I should prefer to have the judgment of a Webster or a Story, but on a commercial or business matter the opinion of a practical business man would be worth more than the verdict of the highest legal talent possible to obtain.

The men who are engaged in manufacturing, commerce, and transportation, being intelligent and educated men, are more competent to pass upon questions relating to their business than professional men who are not connected with those industries. The whole question of government to-day seems to me to be of constitutional rights under the law, taxation, and the develop ment of the industries of the country. Certainly a business man is fully as competent to consider these questions as any lawyer, no matter how gifted, who has no practical acquaintance with our great industries—if, indeed, he is not more competent. Questions like the settlement and opening of lands in the West, the tariff, mining, and marine, can be acted on more intelligently

by men who have been made familiar with these subjects by their education and experience than by any other class, no matter what their attainments may be.

In short, a great country like ours should have men representing all the great industries in all of its legislative bodies, both in the State and in the nation. For the next generation, at least, good common-sense business men can be of infinitely more service to the country in our legislatures than almost any class of professional men ; and this can be said without disparagement of any one.

The one class which it seems to me desirable to retire permanently and for all time is the professional politician. He has certainly outlived his usefulness, if he ever had any—which I seriously doubt. To the professional politician we are indebted for the worst and most pernicious legislation on our statute-books. He has no desire to serve his country, and he probably never experienced a single patriotic impulse in his life. He is in politics for what there is in it for him personally and for his friends. On all matters affecting the general welfare of the people and the prosperity of the country he does not consult his constituents as to what their wishes in the premises may be ; he does not even consult himself, but obeys blindly, and with a fidelity worthy of a better cause, the orders of some party boss who sits behind the screen pulling the wires. Such a spectacle is very distressing, and most humiliating to all lovers of honest and clean government. The American people are long-suffering, but I believe they have arrived at a point where they are about to deal with the purely professional politician as he deserves. His continuation in public life is a disgrace to the country.

It is gratifying to note that there are signs of the downfall of the professional politician and his creator, the party boss, already in the air. The deliverance cannot come too soon for the general good of the country. Business men are gradually making their appearance in all of our legislative bodies.

I realize, of course, that the average business man cannot give much time to becoming a candidate for and holding office, but none should be excused from the primary work of seeing that good men are nominated and elected. And there are a few business men to be found in every community who have achieved success and who can afford to accept public positions. Too much

importance cannot be attached to the work to be done at the primaries. There is where the professional politician is strongest. He has held his own for many years through his diligent work at the primaries. They are his stronghold. Once driven out and defeated at the primaries, the retirement of the professional politicians to private life will be a comparatively easy matter. Above all, therefore, business men should give their attention to primary politics.

If the business man looks at it from a selfish stand-point alone, he must take this view, for in no other way can he protect his interests so well. He may reason that it is better to pay the extra taxation brought about by the pernicious legislation of the professional politician than to neglect his business. But if he follows this course, he may discover, when, perhaps, it is too late, that his business has been ruined by the politicians. A government like ours is supposed to look after each class alike, and therefore all classes should be represented in it.

Every industry and commercial interest should be fairly and equitably represented in our legislative halls. Just now, when business and commercial questions are uppermost in the public mind, there is a necessity for a larger number of practical business men in our legislatures than of representatives of any other class.

The influence of business men in our legislative bodies is already seen to advantage. Wherever they are found, whether at Washington or elsewhere, they will be found to be exercising and wielding a marked power in shaping commercial and business legislation. A man who has earned a reputation for sagacity in business and financial circles is certain to have weight as a member of a legislative body. His fellow-members look up to him and defer to him on questions affecting the matters with which he is familiar.

The business man as an office-holder and as a lawmaker is no longer an experiment. He has demonstrated to the satisfaction of the business world and to all who seriously have the welfare of the country at heart that he is a success. If he does not continue to increase and multiply in public places, he will have nobody to blame except himself. Three-fifths and possibly more of the legislation to be enacted in this country for the next twenty years will relate to the great commercial and business

questions: there is nothing else in sight of more than passing importance.

The situation, then, is: Shall the adjustment and settlement of these industrial and commercial problems be left to men who either have no practical acquaintance with them, or are unfitted, by reason of their subserviency to party dictation, to consider any question from a high and patriotic stand point, or to men who, by training and experience, have acquired a thorough mastery of these subjects? To intelligent and patriotic men of all professions and grades there should be but one answer. The need of the hour is to retire the professional politician, and with him his party "boss," and to place in power men who have a deep interest in the welfare of the country. Then, and not until then, will the pending industrial and commercial questions be settled satisfactorily to the people of the States and the nation.

WARNER MILLER.

REMINISCENCES OF A PORTRAIT-PAINTER.

BY G. P. A. HEALY.

Louis Philippe, King of France, whose sympathies with our country are well known, ordered me to paint portraits of American statesmen for the Versailles gallery. Early in the spring of 1845 he said:

"Mr. Healy, I hear that General Jackson is very ill. You must start at once for the Hermitage."

The Hermitage, General Jackson's country place, was within twelve miles of Nashville, Tennessee. I lost no time, and somewhat fatigued by the long journey, a good deal excited, a little unnerved, too, by the excessive heat, though it was only the last day of April, I drove to the old hero's door.

General Jackson was suffering from moving dropsy, and for forty days and forty nights he had been unable to lie down. He sat in a big arm-chair, propped up with pillows; he was worn out with fatigue and pain, and it was not without difficulty that I was admitted to his presence.

I was so full of my object, so eager about it, that without any preparation I at once made my request. Nature evidently never intended me to be a diplomat. It is not impossible that General Jackson looked upon me as an impostor. At any rate, he answered curtly:

"Can't sit, sir—can't sit."

"But, General, the King of France, who has sent me all this way on purpose to paint you, will be greatly disappointed."

"Can't sit, sir—not for all the kings in Christendom!"

I could get nothing more from him, and, sick at heart with the disappointment, I bowed and left the irascible old man.

On my return to Nashville I told my story to a friend of mine, who greatly blamed me for having gone directly to the General. Long suffering had made him suspicious of all strangers. He ad-

vised me to see young Mrs. Jackson, who happened to be at a friend's house in town that very day. The General had adopted the son of an old friend, Mr. Donelson, who took the name of Jackson. His wife, a young and very charming woman, was a great favorite with the General, and had real influence over him. I went at once and requested a few minutes' conversation with Mrs. Jackson. She listened to my story, read the King's letter, which I had neglected to show to the General, and promised to do her best. She added :

"I own that I am not very sanguine. Father is very ill, and it is not easy to make him change his resolutions. Should I succeed, my husband will call at your hotel at eleven o'clock tomorrow, in order to drive you back to the Hermitage."

As can well be imagined, I spent a very restless and feverish night. It was really hard to have taken so long a journey for nothing.

Mrs. Jackson told me afterwards that her task had not been an easy one. At her first words he exclaimed :

"Can't sit, child. Let me die in peace."

She insisted, used her best arguments — all in vain. Finally she said :

"Father, I should so like you to sit."

He hesitated, much moved by her earnestness, and, with tears in his eyes, answered :

"My child, I will sit."

And so, at eleven the next morning, young Mr. Jackson drove up to my hotel, and it was with a light heart that I took my place at his side.

When the General saw me, he said :

"Sir, you made a *faux pas* yesterday. You should have shown me the King's letter."

After this, things went on very pleasantly and easily. I was admitted into the sick room as much as I chose, and the General before long seemed to like to have me near him. He was as polite and gracious as he had been unfriendly and curt. But he suffered greatly, and on one occasion he said :

"I wish I could do you greater justice as a sitter, Mr. Healy."

I assured him that all I asked was that he might forget altogether that he was a sitter.

When the portrait was finished, the different members of the family assembled to see it. All approved it so warmly that the General begged me to make a copy of it for his adopted children. I replied that a copy never had the living look of an original, and that, if he could endure the fatigue of further sittings, this first portrait should be for him, and I could paint another for Louis Philippe. This he readily agreed to, and I began my second portrait. When it was finished, in its turn, the General said:

"Mr. Healy, will you remain at the Hermitage long enough to paint a whole-length portrait of my dear child? I request this as a personal favor." The "dear child" was young Mrs. Jackson.

I had just heard that Mr. Clay, whose portrait the King also had ordered, was about to leave Nashville, and I considered that my duty was to try to get a few sittings before he left the city. I shall never forget the impressive way in which the General said, after he had listened to me:

"Young man, always do your duty; never allow anything to turn you from it."

But I was soon back again. Mr. Clay had already left Nashville, and, owing to an accident to the river boat which he had taken, no one could tell me where he was at that moment. I at once began the portrait. General Jackson watched its progress with eager interest, and on more than one occasion he exclaimed:

"I hope the Lord will spare me long enough to see my dear child's portrait finished!"

I began it early in the week, and on the Saturday afternoon it was almost finished. The old man was much pleased, and looked forward to the following Monday morning, when I was to give the last touches.

I was awakened, early on Sunday, by a long, pitiable wail. It was the cry of the negro servants—a sort of cadenced cry: "Oh, Lord! Oh, Lord! Old massa's dead! Old massa's dead!" The wail was then caught up by the slaves outside of the house, until it spread far and wide, all over the plantation; it was echoed here and there, now sounding close by, now dying off in the distance, always the same: "Old massa's dead! Oh, Lord! Old massa's dead!"

It chilled the blood to hear it, and I remained sadly enough in

my room, not daring, at such a time, to intrude upon the family. However, I soon learned from two boys, nephews of Mrs. Jackson, that "grandfather," as they called the General, was not dead; he had had a long fainting fit, which had at first been mistaken for death, and the end was not far off.

At about six in the evening I went to the door of the sick-room for news. George, the General's black servant, said that his master was very low. I turned to go, when young Mr. Jackson, his face bedewed with tears, came to me. "Come in," said he; "father is dying." As I hesitated to disturb them in their grief, he continued: "Please come in. I wish it."

Ten or twelve persons were already in the room, and all were weeping. The General was propped up in bed, his head sustained by his great friend, Major Lewis. Mrs. Jackson was kneeling by the bedside, holding his hand; on the other side of the bed the faithful negro servant stood.

The General seemed unconscious, but suddenly he rallied and looked about him. He said very distinctly: "Why do you weep for me? I am in the hands of the Lord, who is about to release me. You should rejoice that my sufferings are at an end."

These were his last words. His head dropped, and soon all was over. On seeing this, his adopted daughter, his "dear child," fainted, and was carried from the room.

After leaving the Hermitage, where I remained some little time after Jackson's death to finish his adopted daughter's portrait, I went on to Ashland, Clay's beautiful country place near Lexington, Kentucky. The contrast was great in every respect. Instead of tears, of suffering, of death, I found happiness, luxury, and joyous life. Clay, though he had been a poor boy and a struggling young man, was at that time one of the most popular and successful orators and politicians of the United States. He was very fascinating in manner, and his friends took to heart his defeat when he ran for the Presidency almost as much as he did himself.

On one occasion he said to me: "Mr. Healy, you are a capital portrait-painter, and you are the first who has ever done justice to my mouth, and it is well pleased to express its gratitude." Clay's mouth was a very peculiar one—thin-lipped and extending almost from ear to ear. "But," he added, "you are an indiffer-

ent courtier; though you come to us from the French King's presence, you have not once spoken to me of my live stock. Don't you know that I am prouder of my cows and sheep than of my best speeches?"

I confessed my want of knowledge on the subject, but I willingly accompanied him around the grounds and admired the superb creatures, saying they would do very well in a picture. I fear that that was not the sort of appreciation he expected, and that I sank very low in his esteem from that moment.

But on another occasion I proved a worse courtier still. His jealousy of Jackson is well known, and the two men formed a very striking contrast. During a long sitting he spoke of his old rival, and, knowing that I had just painted the dying man's portrait, he said:

"You, who have lived so long abroad, far from our political contests and quarrels, ought to be an impartial judge. Jackson, during his lifetime, was held up as a sort of hero; now that he is dead his admirers want to make him out a saint. Do you think he was sincere?"

"I have just come from his death-bed," I answered, "and if General Jackson was not sincere, then I do not know the meaning of the word."

I shall never forget the keen look shot at me from under Mr. Clay's eyebrows; but he merely observed:

"I see that you, like all who approach that man, were fascinated by him."

Another time a friend of Mr. Clay's, Mr. Davis, speaking of Jackson's proverbial obstinacy, said that one day, looking at a horse, Jackson remarked: "That horse is seventeen feet high." "Seventeen hands you mean, General." "What did I say?" "You said seventeen feet." "Then, by the Eternal! he is seventeen feet high."

Clay would never have sworn to the seventeen feet. He knew how to make himself loved as well as admired. After his defeat by Polk he refused to see any one. It was with great difficulty that his friends obtained his presence at a banquet given in his honor. When he entered the dining-hall, where two hundred guests were assembled, no one present was able to restrain his tears, so popular was Mr. Clay and so great was the disappointment at not having him for President.

It was at a dinner given by Clay at Ashland that I first saw and heard the "negro minstrels." I was delighted with them, and found the performance as original as it was charming. The head of the company, knowing that I lived abroad, asked me whether I thought they would have any chance of success in Europe; they had some idea of trying London. I greatly encouraged the idea, being persuaded that they would succeed admirably. Before I returned to Europe, they were all the rage in English society; the Queen was much pleased with their songs; and, naturally, where she smiled the court and the town laughed and applauded.

Though I had proved so mediocre a courtier, my stay at Ashland was most pleasant, and Mr. Clay was the most courteous and hospitable of hosts. The portrait was successful, and we parted on the best terms possible.

Some time later I was in Washington, where Clay also found himself, and, remembering with pleasure our long talks, I hastened to call upon him. Feeling sure of my welcome, I followed the servant upstairs, and was near enough to the door to hear Clay exclaim wearily as he looked at the card: "What! another? Well, show him up." But when I entered he came forward with the sweetest smile and outstretched hands, saying with an intonation peculiarly his own: "What! you here? I thought you were with the King."

After all, public men, even the best of them, are obliged to be good actors. It does not prevent them from being true friends to the few they really care for. As to the others, they wish merely to be popular; popularity is as necessary to them as the air they breathe.

In September, 1845, I found myself in Boston, and there I obtained sittings from John Quincy Adams for the portrait ordered, among others, by King Louis Philippe. John Quincy Adams was then seventy-eight years of age. Unlike most of his predecessors at the White House, he continued to mix actively in politics after his term of office. When he sat to me he was a member of Congress, and was called the "old man eloquent." His conversation was most varied and interesting; so much so that at the time I took a few notes after each sitting, and these, by some chance, escaped destruction, whereas most of my papers were

burned in the Chicago fire or have been lost in my frequent travels.

From his childhood John Quincy Adams had known celebrated personages at home and abroad ; his father's name made him welcome everywhere, even before he was appreciated for his own sake. It seemed odd to talk with one who had been in France before the Revolution, whose father had spoken to him familiarly of Voltaire, of Buffon, of the Encyclopédistes, of the French court ; who had been at school, near Paris, with Franklin's grandson, somewhere about the year 1775. In 1845 the sensation was a strange one ; and writing about these things in 1890 gives one an impression of the long succession of generations holding each other by the hand until they fade into the far-away past.

One of my sitter's earliest and most agreeable recollections was that, while at school with Franklin's grandson, La Fayette with his young and beautiful bride visited the boys frequently, and no doubt brought them sweets from the Boissier of that day. "I was but a small boy then," said my sitter, "but I still remember what a deep impression the lovely marquise made on my youthful imagination."

Later he was able to be of service to Madame de La Fayette. In the summer of 1792 La Fayette was taken prisoner by the Austrians. This mishap doubtless saved his life, as, had he been in Paris during the Terror, he would certainly have been swept away by the revolutionary storm. At that time John Quincy Adams was Minister at the Hague. He there received a letter from the Marquise de La Fayette, who was ruined, and could not join her husband for lack of money. Adams sent her the sum she needed, $1,500, only too happy to be of some service to the wife of La Fayette, remembering also his youthful admiration for the beautiful marquise. When, in his turn, Robespierre was dragged to the guillotine, a list of intended victims was found among his papers, and Madame de La Fayette's name appeared on that list.

Once more John Quincy Adams saw La Fayette. It was in 1824, a short time before his election as President. La Fayette then visited America, where he was received with great enthusiasm, as was only too natural, and the Passy schoolboy, as Secretary of State, was able to return the cordial hospitality tendered him at the La Fayette mansion. John Quincy Adams accompanied the old hero to Washington. At Alexandria, during a banquet offered to the

"nation's guest," the mayor, who presided at the table, received the news of Louis XVIII.'s death. Should La Fayette be told of this sad event or not? Adams was consulted, and, knowing that La Fayette cordially hated the King, said he would take it upon himself to break the news to their guest. He did so, and La Fayette was obliged to put his hand up to his mouth to hide a smile.

John Quincy Adams was a most courteous gentleman. The first time he came to sit, I said something about the annoyance we artists caused celebrated people; Webster was very frank on the subject; he compared us to horse-flies on a hot day: brush them off on one side, they settle on the other. Adams smiled, but said that he was by no means of Webster's opinion; that he had enjoyed his sittings to artists on more than one occasion. He had, perhaps, found that a man busy with his brush can be a good listener. I, for one, listened with great pleasure. Copley had painted an excellent portrait of my sitter's father, and when I asked permission to measure the face, as I always do, he observed that he had seen Copley measure, not only his father's face, but his arms and legs. Then he spoke of different painters he had known. He had, as a boy, seen Reynolds, whom he greatly admired, but who would often "not let well alone," and spoiled his portraits with over-care; Stuart he had sat to, though the portrait had to be finished by Sully, after the great artist's death. He had had many opportunities of studying the old masters in the different galleries. He had seen the Louvre, in Napoleon's time, filled with the finest masterpieces, unscrupulously taken from conquered countries.

"But," added he, "there were too many; it was a surfeit of sweets; it was impossible to appreciate each picture seen thus crowded by other pictures. The Dresden gallery has always seemed to me an ideal gallery."

On the landing outside of my painting-room, John Quincy Adams noticed two busts, that of Voltaire and that of Franklin.

"Sir," said he in his impressive way, "these two men I should take as representative men of their respective countries. Look at this unquiet skeleton head, so full of satire, of energy, devilishly intellectual, bold in thought, but forced to be wily and full of tricks, capable of violence, however, between two mocking smiles. Voltaire prepared the Revolution which he was not destined to

see; indeed, some of his letters seem prophetic. My father saw him when he came to Paris at the age of eighty-four, after having been a kind of voluntary or involuntary exile during the latter part of his life. Public opinion turned at last; he was a sort of god. When he assisted at the first representation of his play, 'Irène,' at the Comédie Française, the whole audience rose and shouted out their enthusiasm. It was too much for the old man; he was killed with kindness. Now look at Franklin's head. It seems a little heavy in comparison, but how solid, how peacefully powerful, how full of reason and that first of qualities, common-sense! A strong-headed Englishman—for he was an Englishman seventy years of his life."

Then he added: "And yet I love France; I was a boy there; I always went back with pleasure."

He was in Paris during the *cent jours*. He never spoke to Napoleon, but frequently saw him in public places, at the theatres, at balls, etc. But his sympathies were rather with the Bourbons than with the Bonapartes. While he was President of the United States he frequently saw Joseph Bonaparte, who was quite convinced that he was a much greater man than his brother. His one idea, the object of all his diplomacy and intrigues, was to proclaim his nephew emperor under the name of Napoleon II., while he himself meant to be an all-powerful regent.

John Quincy Adams was an excellent classical scholar, and while speaking of his favorite authors he would grow quite excited, with his eyes cast upward. On more than one occasion I saw him literally trembling with emotion. In those far-away days cold indifference was not yet the fashion. A man did not fear to show the enthusiasm he felt. Mr. Adams said that he could never, even then, read the account of the death of Socrates without tears springing to his eyes. On one occasion he made a learned comparison between Demosthenes and Cicero, and confessed that, in spite of the usually-received opinion, his preferences were for the Latin orator; he *felt* his eloquence more than that of Demosthenes.

But my great delight was to make him talk about his early reminiscences of France and Frenchmen. I remember an anecdote which he held from his father about Buffon. We had been speaking of the anti-Christian movement of the last century, of the conviction among the philosophers that, if the world was certainly governed by some superior power, the God worshipped by mortals

did not exist under the form their imagination had given to him. But if the philosophers between themselves indulged in these bold and subversive doctrines, they feared persecution, and never openly expressed them in their writings.

A German who had undertaken a translation of Buffon's works said to him :

"I see that you constantly use the word God. Do you believe in God ?"

"Oh, certainly not. But in France I have to take into consideration the prejudices of the people. In Germany one is free to say what one thinks. Therefore, each time you see 'God' written by me, pray translate it as though it were the word 'nature.'"

This struck me as very characteristic of the state of feeling in France before the Revolution.

While executing the orders of my royal patron, my work brought me in contact with the most celebrated of our public men. It was then that I first conceived the idea of grouping them together in a large historical picture. I chose as my subject "Webster Replying to Hayne." The great orator was a magnificent-looking man, with his deep-set eyes, his superb brow, and his fine massive presence. His, naturally, was one of the first names on Louis Philippe's list. I remember that, when I showed his portrait at the court, an impulsive Frenchwoman asked me whether Mr. Webster had ever visited Paris. When I assured her that he had done so, she exclaimed : "*Dieu ! et dire que je ne l'ai jamais vu !*"

I was as enthusiastic as the French lady, but perhaps in a different way. Webster was the very man for the central figure of a large picture. His friends and enemies, in various attitudes of attention, of admiration, or of indignation, set him off very well, and in the tribunes I grouped all the prettiest women of the day, with their big bonnets trimmed with drooping plumes, and their oddly-made dresses, which in 1846 or 1847 did not seem odd at all.

This was an immense undertaking, which required seven years to accomplish. I painted the picture in Paris, but all the studies, about one hundred and fifty portraits, I made from life. When at last the picture was finished, it was exhibited in America and finally placed in Faneuil Hall, where it is still to be seen.

I painted Webster several times, the last being in 1848 at his country place, Marshfield. I there made a small picture of our great orator in his hunting gear; Mrs. Webster, his second wife, is seen in the distance in the doorway. This lady had no children, and as at that time my wife was with me and had a small baby, Mrs. Webster declared that she would go barefooted from Washington to Boston to have such a white, soft, pretty baby of her own. Her husband was very fond of holding the little creature in his arms and of playing with it after a solemn fashion.

Life at Mr. Webster's was very simple and pleasant; his children by his first wife, friends, and relatives made a large home circle. One of these relatives on one occasion had Webster as his partner at whist, and it seems that one can be a powerful speaker without knowing the rules of that noble game. Being much absorbed by thoughts quite foreign to the cards, Webster forgot to return his partner's lead, whereupon this gentleman exclaimed: "Mr. Webster, you play like the devil's rag-baby!"

It was while I was thus at work in the United States that I heard of Louis Philippe's fall; the King of France was an exile in England. Not only was this a real grief to me, but, from a worldly point of view, it was a real calamity. To fulfil the King's orders I had left an excellent English connection. Many of the portraits of American statesmen intended for him were either not finished or remained on my hands. I could scarcely expect that those who had overthrown Louis Philippe would think of keeping his engagements.

However, I continued my work, and when I had all the materials ready for my big picture, I returned to Paris. I never regretted the time I devoted to it, however onerous to an artist such undertakings usually are, and this one proved particularly so to me. But I hold it an honor to have painted so many of my illustrious country people; to have grouped them about a man of whom all Americans are so justly proud. And, whatever criticisms may be addressed to "Webster Replying to Hayne" as a picture, I can at least affirm that it was painted with absolute sincerity and regard for nature and truth. Each head on that vast canvas is a portrait.

GEORGE P. A. HEALY.

ELECTION METHODS IN THE SOUTH.

BY THE HON. ROBERT SMALLS, FORMERLY REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM SOUTH CAROLINA.

THE highest right of a citizen, and by far the most important for the protection of all citizens, is the right to vote for the candidates of his choice and to have his vote counted as cast. The Constitution of the United States and the constitutions of all the States guarantee this right to all citizens who have not forfeited the same by the commission of certain crimes and conviction therefor. It is not a question of fitness, intelligence, wealth, color, or previous condition of servitude, but a right secured by the organic law of the country and bestowed upon all.

In South Carolina there is neither a free ballot nor an honest count, and since the election in 1874 the history of elections in the State is the history of a continued series of murders, outrages, perjury, and fraud. The brutality and fraud of the Democracy in the campaign and election of 1876 and the determination of its result were only equalled, but not excelled, by the Kuklux outrages which aroused the just indignation of the entire North. Republicanism was in that year overthrown by murderous gangs called "rifle clubs," who, acting in concert, terrorized nearly the entire State, overawing election officers and defying the courts. The elections in 1878 and 1880 were repetitions of the outrages of 1876. The shot-gun and rifle were the factors that prevented a thorough canvass, and a false count in those counties where Republicans made contests completed the work. Having perfect immunity from punishment, the encouragement, if not the active participation, of the State government, and the protection of the courts of the State, the rifle clubs committed their outrages without restraint, and the election officers their frauds without even the thin veneer of attempted concealment. Elections since then have been carried by perjury and fraud—two things worshipped and adored by the South Carolina Democracy

Many apologists for the rule of the minority in South Carolina assert that the negro votes the Democratic ticket, and that to form a majority from the census giving the entire vote to the Republican party is erroneous. There are colored men who vote the Democratic ticket, and I suppose that there are Irishmen in Ireland who act with the Tories of England. There are, however, more white Republicans in the State who vote the Republican ticket than negroes who vote the Democratic ticket; and what better authority for the statement that a minority rules in South Carolina could be asked than the following from the lips of the present Governor of the State, who is also a member of the Board of State Canvassers, in a speech delivered at Chester, S. C., July 30, 1888, and repeated at Charleston, August 10, 1888?—

"We have now the rule of a minority of 400,000 over a majority of 600,000. No army at Austerlitz, Waterloo, or Gettysburg could ever be wielded like that mass of 600,000 people. The only thing that stands to-day between us and their rule is a flimsy statute—the Eight-Box Law—which depends for its effectiveness upon the unity of the white people."

The statement is true as far as it goes, but it is not complete. In the manner of enforcing the election statutes lies the strength of minority rule, for even if the election laws which impose an educational qualification and otherwise restrict suffrage were properly administered, Republicans would still have a majority of the legal voters in the State.

The Election Law places in the hands of the Governor the appointment of the supervisors of registration and their assistants, the commissioners of election for the election of Presidential electors and Members of Congress, and the commisioners of election for the election of State and county officers. The commissioners appoint three managers at each poll, who conduct the election, canvass the return of the managers, and determine all controversies in relation to the election. The manner of their appointment will give a better indication of how the officers act, and of their motives, than any partial discussion of their character, and for it to be understood properly some idea of the political organization of the Democracy is necessary. There is a State Executive Committee, the centre of control, with more power in the State than the President of the United States and all the laws of the country and State. Each county has an executive committee and a county chairman; the former is elected by the

State convention and the latter by the county conventions. The rifle and other clubs exist, although murder has given way to theft, and delegates from them compose the county conventions —the basis of political action.

The governor of the State receives his orders, called recommendations, from those political committees, and they in turn receive their orders from the rifle clubs. The supervisor of registration and the commissioners of election, both State and Federal, are appointed upon the recommendation of the Democratic county chairman and county executive committee, and the managers are selected from the rifle clubs in each precinct on their recommendation. It will therefore be seen that the entire machinery of the State is in the hands of the active politicians and partisans of a single party, without the presence of a single representative of any other party to secure even the appearance of justice.

With one or possibly two exceptions, the policy of the supervisors is inaction so far as Republicans are concerned, and in nearly every county in the State it is almost as easy to earn at once a competency from a basis of zero as it is for a Republican to secure a registration ticket or correct any change of residence or irregularity ; and frequently when everything appears to be in shape, the registration-book on the day of election shows different initials, residence, or some technical objection that deprives him of his vote. The officer seldom appears on the day fixed by law,* and when he does, he manages to create so many delays that the few hours he remains are not sufficient for anything like the proper transaction of his business. Thousands of voters, after travelling fifty and often one hundred miles to the county-seat, the only place for registration, have to return home after a fruitless search for the register on the days that the law requires him to be present, and as these journeys cannot be made often, the voters are disfranchised and the votes lost. All persons desiring to vote the Democratic ticket are registered without personal application, and certificates are furnished them either before or on the day of election without even the formality of an oath as to eligibility. Registration, the fountain-source of election, curtails Republican suffrage by the expense and incon-

* Which is the first Monday in each month, commencing in January and closing on the first Monday in July of each year in which elections are held.

venience it entails upon persons not living at the county-seat, by refusal through wilful neglect to register Republicans, and by fraud of the supervisor in making false entries; it adds to the Democratic vote through his fraud in unlawfully adding to the names on the registration-books those of all persons who are expected to vote the Democratic ticket.

If fortunate enough to obtain a certificate and he is in the low country or the Seventh Congressional District, which strikes nearly every Republican centre, the Republican goes to the polls, if he can find them, early in the morning, as he is more or less acquainted with the delays there, especially if there is a promise of a large Republican vote. The hour for the opening of the polls comes and goes, and neither managers nor boxes make their appearance. The crowd grows larger and soon there are four or five hundred Republicans. Anxious inquiries are made for the managers. It is learned later that, of the managers, Colonel Jones has gone to town, Mr. Brown has gone hunting, and Mr. Smith says he does not intend to serve, as there is no pay in it. Four or five hundred Republicans are disfranchised by the neglect of the managers, and not even the letter or spirit of the law is violated by the poll not being opened.

At a neighboring poll another scene is enacted. The polls are open, the boxes shown, the voters deposit their ballots, there is general levity, and everything appears to be fair. There are three hundred Republican voters; the Democracy have secured forty or fifty votes, and the polls close. The votes are counted; there are two or three hundred more ballots than names on the poll-list; instead of fifty Democratic ballots there are three hundred and fifty. The ballots are of regulation size, nobody has had access to the boxes but the managers, and the opening is too small for the introduction of any quantity of ballots without detection. Who put them in the box? The managers. The law for legalizing fraud is invoked. It requires the managers to draw ballots from the box until the number in the box tallies with the total number of votes cast. The box is shaken, for there is nothing for the Democracy to lose, being a case of "tail I win, head you lose"; the drawing is made; the votes are again counted. Result: the Democracy have a majority of fifty votes, more or less, at an overwhelming Republican precinct. The law has been obeyed and the rights of all protected.

"The ballot shall be without ornament, designation, mutilation, symbol, or mark of any kind whatsoever, except the name or names of the person or persons voted for, and the office to which such person or persons are intended to be chosen." Advantage is taken of the law by Democratic managers to perpetrate a fraud of their own. The opening in the ballot-box being small, a ticket inserted does not fall to the bottom of the box. The obliging and attentive manager pushes it down with his lead-pencil, managing to leave a mark on the ballot. At the count the marked ballots are thrown out as mutilated, and are not included in the vote. At an election in Beaufort County, a dishonest manager was caught performing the trick. The people at the polls prevented the ballots from being destroyed, but one of the commissioners of election, when the box reached Beaufort, obtained and destroyed them to prevent me from using them as part of my evidence.

Other Republican precincts with large majorities are disfranchised by the managers of the election wilfully neglecting to take the oath required by law, failing to sign the returns or seal the boxes, or taking advantage of any other possible omission or violation of the numerous requirements of the election statute. These matters form the basis of protests from Democratic candidates, and are parts of the scheme of fraud that are seized upon by the Democratic commissioners of election as pretexts for refusing to count the votes of protested precincts.

A little explanation as to the mode of procedure in deciding protests will at once show the injustice, amounting to fraud, that is practised. The commissioners meet. The boxes are in their custody, and the canvass of the votes goes on. All of the precincts where there is a considerable Democratic vote are counted at once. When the Republican precincts are reached, there is a protest filed by one of the conspirators. It charges an array of irregularities, and, incredible as it may appear in fraud-ridden and bulldozed South Carolina, it often contains a charge of Republican intimidation. The protest is general in its wording. No testimony is taken; the controversy is settled by affidavits; and as Republicans are not allowed by the commissioners to have any knowledge of the contents of the affidavits supporting the protests until the final hearing, when charges like intimidation, bribery, etc., are made, they have to make their fight in the dark,

and their affidavits can contain little except general denials of the charges. The commissioners hear the affidavits and arguments, if there are any, and by their decision reject sufficient Republican precincts to give the Democracy a majority in the county or Congressional district. The dirty work required of the commissioners where contests are made makes the office an undesirable one for honest men, and there are many honest Democrats who have no sympathy with the schemes of fraud and acts of violence practised by their political associates; but they are powerless in the face of the Democratic political machine that rules Democrat and Republican alike with its iron hand. Men are generally appointed who have little or no character and are violent persons.

I have given as fully as limited space will permit the most prominent frauds and acts of injustice that occur in the registration of voters and after the gantlet of the eight boxes has been passed, and it will be seen that considerable more is necessary for the continuance of minority rule than eight ballot-boxes. The eight-box section, from which by common consent the statute takes its name, depends upon the unfair methods of its enforcement for its effectiveness. The poor whites who form the bulk of the Democratic voters could no more vote intelligently under its provisions than the ignorant colored voter. The mode of making the law one-sided is as follows: The managers have the custody of the Democratic ballots. They place a package for each box alongside or generally upon it, and the Democratic voter has nothing to do but fold and put it in. The boxes are often shifted to prevent intelligent Republicans from indicating to their more ignorant brethren the location of the boxes. The law requires the managers to read the names on the boxes when requested, but as this would be of no value to a man who could not read the ticket in his hand, and as managers have been caught lying so often when they pretended to read the names, the apparent protection is only a further abuse of a free ballot. As no ignorant man can place in the proper boxes eight or more distinct ballots with no other guidance than the names upon them, it can be readily seen that the section imposes an educational qualification upon voters contrary to the constitution of the State; and it is this flagrant violation of the organic law that has given this section so much prominence. Democratic majorities in South Carolina are due, not to obedience to the law, but to its flagrant violation. If

through mistake a ballot is placed in the wrong box, it is not counted, for this reason: the ballot-boxes are shifted, and only one voter at a time is allowed in the room where the votes are deposited. He is compelled by law to deposit his own ballots in the boxes.

In view of all these frauds and outrages I call upon the true Representatives who are in favor of honest elections and a fair count to give their undivided support to the Lodge Election Bill.

The State Republican Convention, when it adjourned on September 18, referred the matter of nominating a State ticket to its Executive Committee. This committee, of which I am a member, at its meeting in Columbia on October 6, owing to the above-stated facts, decided that it was inexpedient to nominate a State ticket.

Since the adjournment of the committee the straight-out Democrats of this State have nominated a ticket, which brings about a split in the Democratic ranks. That ticket, I think, is 99 per cent. better than the ticket nominated in Columbia, headed by B. R. Tillman, who is the personification of red-shirt Democracy. He bases his claims and qualifications for the office on the fact that he organized the first red-shirt club in South Carolina, and led it in the bloody massacres at Hamburg and Ellenton, and that the trusty rifle which did such deadly execution now occupies a prominent position in his parlor, and is one of the most cherished of all of its ornaments. He also opposes the levying of the two-mills school-tax, which is required by the constitution of the State. He is in favor of calling a constitutional convention, should he be elected governor, for the purpose of framing a new constitution. The nominee for lieutenant-governor on the same ticket said, in a public speech at Florence, that "it made his blood boil in his veins to see a negro woman occupy a seat in the same car with white people."

While it is repugnant to my feelings as a Republican to advise my people to vote for any Democrat, yet in this emergency I must advise them to do anything that is legitimate to bring about the defeat of this arch-enemy of my race. The ticket headed by Mr. Haskell represents the better element of the Democracy of South Carolina, who, in my opinion, are opposed to the frauds perpetrated against a free ballot, while the election of the ticket headed by Tillman means a perpetuation of all of the evils mentioned in this article, *and more.*

I desire to state in the most positive and emphatic manner that the number of negroes in South Carolina who have voted the Democratic ticket from compulsion or other causes from 1867 to the present time would not exceed five hundred. The entire white vote of the State (census of 1880) is only 86,900, while the total colored vote is 118,889, and yet at no election held in the State, except the election of 1876, when the gigantic steal was perpetrated by the Democrats, has the Democratic vote ever exceeded 70,000. At any election in South Carolina when the votes shall be counted as cast, it will be found that the negroes of the South are as true and as loyal to the principles of Republicanism as they were to the flag of this great country when treason sought to blot it out.

There are men now in Congress who are willing to vote for an appropriation out of the treasury to have us sent out of the country. As long as there was a Democratic government at Washington, and the South could get false representation in Congress, they were opposed to our leaving. But now with that lover of constitutional liberty, Benjamin Harrison, in the White House, they certainly know that the rights of all the citizens of this great country will be protected alike, and that South Carolina, like Massachusetts, will have an honest election law, under which there will be free elections and fair counts. These men forget that the negroes of the country gave 186,000 men who fought in two hundred and fifty-two battles for the perpetuity of this great nation. We do not intend to go anywhere, but will remain right here and help make this the most powerful of all governments.

ROBERT SMALLS.

A SOUTHERN REPUBLICAN ON THE LODGE BILL.

BY A. W. SHAFFER, CHIEF FEDERAL SUPERVISOR OF ELECTIONS IN NORTH CAROLINA.

MR. LODGE, in his interesting paper in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for September, came near to voicing the sentiment of Southern Republicanism when he said: "The original Supervisors' Law, of which this is an extension, was designed especially to meet the notorious frauds in the city of New York, and the present bill aims quite as much to cure frauds in the great cities of the North as in any part of the country."

Reasoning from twenty years of experience, observation, and analysis, we think it would have been more creditable to the judgment of himself and of Congress if he could have added, "*and a great deal more.*"

Whatever may have been the design of the framers of the act of 1871 referred to, it had its origin in the infinitely grosser frauds in the South, and its authority in their denunciation by Republican State and national conventions everywhere. While that act seems to have had some deterrent influence in the North, where the way of the transgressor was made hard by faithful courts, honest juries, and a correct public opinion, it did not so operate in the South, where all the conditions are reversed. Here the party arrogating to itself all the wealth, intelligence, and respectability constitutes the minority party—the usual beneficiary of successful fraud. Here public opinion tolerates, when it does not justify, all crimes for the maintenance of the supremacy of the Democratic party; the State courts treat them as "a species of wild justice," and *all* juries ignore them. Falsification of elections in

the South has been so common and so safe during the last twenty years of national "supervision" that Democracy has long since ceased to deny or extenuate it; the long-suffering victim meekly anticipates it at every election, and even the incredulous Northern Republican has come to comprehend it. Oligarchy sits enthroned by Fraud and Violence and dominates one-third of the Republic,—a visible monument of the folly and inefficiency of the Supervisory Act of 1871, which still encumbers the national statute-books, and of which, says Mr. Lodge, this bill "is an extension."

Southern Republicanism is reluctantly, but irrevocably, opposed to the pending bill, on the general ground that it has had a surfeit of quackery and malpractice already. It has long known and tried to impress upon Congress the fact that the malady with which the South is afflicted has become chronic. The Congressional knife of excision must take the place of this folly of supervision, or fraud and violence must go on forever.

Suppose, for illustration, that the president, teller, cashier, and other officers of a great national bank in New York should enter into a conspiracy to rob the vaults, falsify the books, destroy the records, and perpetuate themselves in office and power: what would the directors do when they detected the crime? Would they create a duplicate set of officers, under duplicate salaries, and set them in supervision over the rogues, to reduce subsequent crimes to a minimum? Would they not purge that bank from turret to foundation, reorganize the institution from the bottom up, and start the thieves on a dog-trot to the penitentiary?

To obtain a comprehensive view of the Southern situation and see the folly of attempted supervision of State election officials acting under State laws, the Northern reader must divorce his mind from his surroundings. He must forget that respectable society, public opinion, intelligence, capital, labor, the courts, and the juries are arrayed in solid phalanx for the maintenance of law and order, without which no great party at the North could stand the ordeal of a single campaign. He must see, instead, a race possessing all the haughty pride and resolution of twenty centuries of domination, monopolizing the wealth, the intelligence, and the respectability of the people; a minority controlling their State, and more than half despising the general government; united by the strongest ties that ever bound mankind in any un-

holy compact; sworn to rule at every hazard. These he must see arrayed in deadly political conflict against a party composed largely—perhaps two-thirds—of a confessedly inferior, despised, and contemned race, barely a quarter of a century out of barbarism.

That a party so constituted and so antagonized can never maintain its political rights without violence, under a sickly-sentimental, half-hearted national supervision, ought to be evident to the commonest mind. That it *is* sickly-sentimental and half-hearted, witness these facts. *First,* that Congress has frequently declared that elections in the South are an unmixed farce. *Second,* that Congress is specially charged with the maintenance of a republican form of government in the States. *Third,* that Congress claims, and public opinion concedes, the constitutional authority to direct and control, absolutely, the election and qualification of its own members. With such support and such authority for effective legislation, Congress affects an attack upon this portentous evil by galvanizing into life, patching up, and extending an existing statute of supervision which was justly characterized by a Republican ex-Congressman from the South as "an attempt to oversee without overseers, and to coerce without coercers, under the provisions of a statute having no more vitality in the South than the laws of a foreign country."

The primary cause of its lack of adaptation to the South lies in the difficulty of obtaining efficient supervisors to attend the registration and election. There are hundreds, perhaps thousands, of precincts in which no sufficient number of available white Republicans reside to man the polls with the requisite proportion of that party, and these precincts, far more than any other, are the centres of Democratic fraud, and require close supervision. It would be cruel to appoint colored supervisors there, even if negroes could be found in those remote rural districts with the requisite education and capacity, because their fellows of the opposite party would not serve with them, and the State officials would not suffer them about the polls. If, serving under the ægis of a national commission, they determined to act without their opponents' assent, one would be about as likely to discover the lost pleiad as to find the colored supervisors of such precincts when the election returns were wanted.

The natural retort of a critical mind would be: "How will

you conduct an election under a national election law, if it cannot be effected under a national law of supervision?" The answer lies in the fact that supervision implies the recognition of the paramount executive authority of the State; which the State official is quick to see and swift to appropriate. The creature of an inferior sovereignty, he is, nevertheless, greater than that of the sovereign paramount, and regards the latter's presence as a deadly imputation upon his official integrity, and the exercise of the functions of his office as an unwarrantable insolence. There are five of these State officials at every poll, *not* required to be able to read or write,* the majority of whom are always Democrats, and whose chief study it is to make the way of the Republican supervisor a hard road to travel.

Under a national election law there can be no conflict of authority, no question of precedence, no State interference, and no dodging of official duty. There can be no inducement for fraud, because a Congress possessing the nerve to "bell the cat" with such a law would provide the wholesome alternative of "honest elections or no representation." (The reader may elaborate this paragraph into a chapter, a sermon, or a book. It forms the key to the solution of the whole negro problem.)

Granting that this bill has some valuable provisions not found in the existing statute of 1871,—notably that for the official canvass and certification of the vote,—it is fair, keeping these improvements in view, to judge of the probable utility and value of the new by the success or failure of the old. Brief citations of characteristic cases which were duplicated indefinitely in ten States, without possibility of correction or punishment, may be taken as samples of scores of methods of successful fraud committed in the actual presence of supervision.

During the Presidential election of 1888, at the precinct of East Durham, that city of great Southern enterprise and Northern capital, 350 registered negro voters were challenged at the polls

* During the debate on the State Election Law in the Legislature of 1888, a Republican member moved in amendment that the poll-holders be required to be able to read and write. It was voted down, because it would destroy the practice of selecting ignorant, stupid, or idiotic white or black men for the Republican precinct election officials, who would not have sense enough to detect or interfere with the frauds. Boards of county commissioners are elected by the county magistrates, who in turn are appointed by the Legislature—all Democrats to a man. These appoint the poll-holders, and the commissioners are acting upon the legislative suggestion described for the pending election. It matters not what the vote be; the *count* will be for the Democratic candidates.

and ordered to stand aside until 4 o'clock P.M. No specification of cause of challenge was made or required, and when the cases were taken up at the appointed hour, the time was occupied in the argument of frivolous and irrelevant questions until night, when the polls were closed without the polling of a single one of the challenged votes, or the disclosure of a cause for their rejection.

Again, Warren County, N. C., has twelve precincts, with a Republican majority in each, aggregating 1,315 votes. At the election of 1888 the county was equipped with supervisors at every precinct. Ignoring the lesser frauds at the polls, the aggregate vote of seven of the twelve precincts showed a Republican majority of 713 on the Congressional ticket. On the Tuesday following the election the Board of County Canvassers —all Democrats—threw out and rejected the entire vote of these seven precincts, in open violation of law, for the following alleged causes:

NUTBUSH AND SHOCCO—Because the returns were not dated at the bottom, as well as at the top.

WARRENTON—Because the polls had not been opened precisely at 7 o'clock A.M.

SANDY CREEK—Because ditto marks (") were used after the names of some candidates upon the returns.

FORK—Because the number of the senatorial district was left blank in the returns.

JUDKINS—Because the number of votes was given in figures only in the returns.

ROANOKE—Because the first person chosen did not carry up the returns to the Board of County Canvassers, though a second did.

These are fair samples of two devices by which enormous frauds were committed throughout the district. Other precincts and other counties had other devices equally efficient in the teeth of supervision, but when the uncontroverted evidence was laid before the grand jury of the United States Circuit Court, "twelve good men and true" laid their hands on the Bible and answered, "Not a true bill"; the only reason that the entire county of Warren was not thrown out being that the district had been "sized up" for the Democratic candidate for Congress. But the conspirators had underestimated the actual Republican and overestimated the probable Democratic vote in the district by 300; and the Republican candidate in a district polling 10,000 normal Republican majority was returned "by the skin of his teeth."

That district was as well supervised as it well could be under existing conditions—as well, indeed, as it could have been if Mr.

Lodge had been present in person at every poll; and if he had been there,—let it be said "with bated breath and whispering humbleness,"—he would not now be trifling with a conspiracy against human rights the magnitude and enormity of which he does not understand.

The bill contains structural infirmities which ought to be fatal. Of these, three are worthy of special consideration, to wit:

First—The disfranchisement of fifty citizens in every election precinct, town, parish, city, county, or Congressional district, and one hundred in every city of 20,000 inhabitants, asking for the supervision of election. (See sec. 6.)

Second—The gross inequality of compensation provided for services performed by the various officials. (See secs. 14 and 24.)

Third—The excess of penalties provided beyond the limit of prosecutions upon information in lieu of indictment. (See penalties.)

The mere statement of the first infirmity ought to be its condemnation. It is a tub thrown to the Democratic whale, and when the too generous donors are again floundering in the political waters, it is to be hoped that it may be given them to see the folly of disabling one's best seamen upon the first indication of a storm. Some knowledge of the metal required of men who ask for the supervision provided by the bill may be drawn from a late speech at Raleigh by Senator Vance:

"A Southern man who supports the Force Bill ought not to be allowed to live among us. Don't understand me as advocating violence, but there is such a thing as driving such men out by fierce intolerance and contempt; and they deserve all that can be heaped upon them!"

If the Northern reader is deceived with the notion that "fierce intolerance" was intended to qualify "violence" in the minds of his audience, it will have accomplished its purpose there; but those men who have suffered the tortures of both for twenty years have not been able to distinguish the one from the other, and are not intimidated thereby. Only the base ingratitude of disfranchisement for patriotic service can make the heart sick and quench the fires of patriotic devotion.

The character and extent of the second infirmity may be best illustrated by reference to past experience under like conditions. The work of the chief supervisor of elections for 1888 commenced in early August for the Eastern District of North Carolina and

continued until late in December, nearly five months. It related chiefly to the details of the selection, appointment, instruction, direction, and control of some six hundred supervisors and the proper disposition of their reports and returns. There were no deputy marshals, no paid supervisors, and no city canvassers. After the account of the chief supervisor for that service had run the gantlet of the court and of the accounting officers of the treasury, he realized therefrom the net sum of $153.30—that is to say, about $1 per day.

Meanwhile the account of the clerk of the court for two days' work of himself and of his deputy in filling up, signing, sealing, and recording supervisors' commissions was $749.05—that is to say, $374.52 per day.

The Lodge Bill proposes to take from the clerk and put upon the chief supervisor this two days' work, amounting to $749.05, without compensation. Besides, it adds four supervisors for every precinct, for which the aggregate fees of the clerk would be $2,247.15, but for which the chief supervisor would receive absolutely nothing.

There is fully 300 per cent. more work put upon the chief by the new than by the old act; but his compensation is still dependent upon the ridiculous item of *papers filed* at ten cents each—an item which bears no more proportion to the amount of work performed than a dewdrop bears to the ocean, and may reach, all told, $1.50 per day. True, there are some luxuries; but they are expensive to a man on day-laborer's wages. He may have a deputy and a chief clerk, but he must pay both from his own salary. He may bring one action in the circuit court and another in the court of claims every day, if his little fees are not "paid on the nail"; but he cannot sue *in formâ pauperis*, nor have the United States attorney assigned as counsel. Extraordinary care is taken to demonstrate the self-evident fact that these ten-cent fees are cumulative, and do not vitiate such as may have accrued for service as United States commissioner; but, alas! no single item of that description has ever yet been discovered in connection with these duties, under the microscopic vision of the most expert formulator of a bill of costs. Truly, the ways of the petitioner for supervision and of the chief supervisor are hard, their burdens great, and their rewards—*nil.*

Not so the Board of State Canvassers, of which there are to be

three members. These receive $20 a day each, and have a clerk to do their work at $12 a day, *not* paid from their salaries. While this clerk tabulates the returns, the members of the board may inhale their oxygen in the mountains and their ozone by the sea, limited only as to time and expense by their official consciences in certification, upon salaries 50 per cent. above that of a United States Senator.

It is not surprising that the original act of 1871 should contain some inequalities of compensation, arising from unfamiliarity with the duties of a class of officers whose bills of costs even the accomplished experts of the treasury never yet adjusted twice alike; but to reënact the ridiculous provisions of that law twenty years later, and, in addition, to increase by 300 per cent. the labor of one officer without reasonable, not to say *decent*, compensation, while creating others with nominal duties and extraordinary salaries and clerical aid, may well subject its promoters to severe criticism, if not to the suspicion of inexcusable ignorance or of the attempt to handicap the law with provisions so repulsive as to render its effective execution impracticable.

Of the third and last infirmity cited it may be said that the grand juries of the circuit courts constitute the stumbling-block before which all attempted prosecutions for election frauds fall. Summoned for intelligence and impartially assigned to grand or petit duties, the majorities are Democratic, in full sympathy with the criminals, if not of them. No amount or character of testimony can convince such a jury that an election fraud was ever committed, and there follows in natural sequence the dictum, "Not a true bill."

The Hon. D. L. Russell, the ex-Congressman heretofore cited, has suggested, in his own terse and unequivocal style, that, "instead of piling up penalties so as to make every breach of law a felony, the bill should pronounce infractions of its provisions to be misdemeanors, so punishable as to render it competent for the government to bring up offenders upon simple informations. Then if juries will not convict, there will at least be exposed two classes of criminals—those at the bar and those in the jury-box." That seems to hit the nail on the head.

In conclusion: It has dawned upon the intellect of those who have borne the brunt of the political crimes for the last twenty-five years that their experience and opinions are neither sought nor

accepted, nor do they pass current in high places ; that when they have asked for bread, they have received a stone ; and when they sought a national system of Congressional elections,—a system that would be neither evaded nor annulled,—lo ! there is tendered this miserable caricature of a long dead and forgotten statute, valuable only for the spoilsman, and fairly reeking with fraud, violence, and blood, because both threatening and impotent. Who shall judge them if, in the bitterness of deferred hope and violated promises, they cry aloud for deliverance from these their friends ?

A. W. SHAFFER.

OLD POETS.

BY WALT WHITMAN.

POETRY (I am clear) is eligible of something far more ripened and ample, our lands and pending days, than it has yet produced from any utterance old or new. Modern or new poetry, too, (viewing or challenging it with severe criticism,) is largely a void —while the very cognizance, or even suspicion of that void, and the need of filling it, proves a certainty of the hidden and waiting supply. Leaving other lands and languages to speak for themselves, we can abruptly but deeply suggest it best from our own—going first to oversea illustrations, and standing on them. Think of Byron, Burns, Shelley, Keats, (even first-raters, "the brothers of the radiant summit," as William O'Connor calls them,) as having done only their precursory and 'prentice work, and all their best and real poems being left yet unwrought, untouched. Is it difficult to imagine ahead of us and them, evolved from them, poesy completer far than any they themselves fulfilled? One has in his eye and mind some very large, very old, entirely sound and vital tree or vine, like certain hardy, ever-fruitful specimens in California and Canada, or down in Mexico, (and indeed in all lands) beyond the chronological records—illustrations of growth, continuity, power, amplitude and *exploitation*, almost beyond statement, but proving fact and possibility, outside of argument.

Perhaps, indeed, the rarest and most blessed quality of transcendent noble poetry—as of law, and of the profoundest wisdom and æstheticism—is, (I would suggest,) from sane, completed, vital, capable old age. The final proof of song or personality is a sort of matured, accreted, superb, evoluted, almost divine, impalpable diffuseness and atmosphere or invisible magnetism, dissolving and embracing all, and not any special achievement of

passion, pride, metrical form, epigram, plot, thought, or what is called beauty. The bud of the rose or the half-blown flower is beautiful, of course, but only the perfected bloom or apple or finished wheat-head is beyond the rest. Completed fruitage like this comes (in my opinion) to a grand age, in man or woman, through an essentially sound continuated physiology and psychology (both important) and is the culminating glorious aureole of all and several preceding. Like the tree or vine just mentioned, it stands at last in a beauty, power and productiveness of its own, above all others, and of a sort and style uniting all criticisms, proofs and adherences.

Let us diversify the matter a little by portraying some of the American poets from our own point of view.

Longfellow, reminiscent, polished, elegant, with the air of finest conventional library, picture-gallery or parlor, with ladies and gentlemen in them, and plush and rosewood, and ground-glass lamps, and mahogany and ebony furniture, and a silver inkstand and scented satin paper to write on.

Whittier stands for morality (not in any all-accepting philosophic or Hegelian sense, but) filtered through a Puritanical or Quaker filter—is incalculably valuable as a genuine utterance, (and the finest,)—with many local and Yankee and *genre* bits—all hued with anti-slavery coloring—(the *genre* and anti-slavery contributions all precious—all help). Whittier's is rather a grand figure, but pretty lean and ascetic—no Greek—not universal and composite enough (don't try—don't wish to be) for ideal Americanism. Ideal Americanism would take the Greek spirit and law, and democratize and scientize and (thence) truly Christianize them for the whole, the globe, all history, all ranks and lands, all facts, all good and bad. (Ah this *bad*—this nineteen-twentieths of us all! What a stumbling-block it remains for poets and metaphysicians—what a chance (the strange, clear-as-ever inscription on the old dug-up tablet) it offers yet for being translated—what can be its purpose in the God-scheme of this universe and all?)

Then William Cullen Bryant—meditative, serious, from first to last tending to threnodies—his genius mainly lyrical—when reading his pieces who could expect or ask for more magnificent ones than such as "The Battle-Field," and "A Forest Hymm"? Bryant, unrolling, prairie-like, nothwithstanding his mountains

and lakes—moral enough (yet worldly and conventional)—a naturalist, pedestrian, gardener and fruiter—well aware of books, but mixing to the last in cities and society. I am not sure but his name ought to lead the list of American bards. Years ago I thought Emerson preëminent (and as to the last polish and intellectual cuteness may-be I think so still)—but, for reasons, I have been gradually tending to give the file-leading place for American native poesy to W. C. B.

Of Emerson I have already to confirm my already avowed opinion regarding his highest bardic and personal attitude. Of the galaxy of the past—of Poe, Halleck, Mrs. Sigourney, Allston, Willis, Dana, John Pierpont, W. G. Simms, Robert Sands, Drake, Hillhouse, Theodore Fay, Margaret Fuller, Epes Sargent, Boker, Paul Hayne, Lanier, and others, I fitly in essaying such a theme as this, and reverence for their memories, may at least give a heart-benizon on the list of their names.

Time and New World humanity having the venerable resemblances more than anything else, and being "the same subject continued," just here in 1890, one gets a curious nourishment and lift (I do) from all those grand old veterans Bancroft, Kossuth, von Moltke—and such typical specimens as Sophocles and Goethe, genius, health, beauty of person, riches, rank, renown and length of days, all combining and centring in one case.

Above everything, what could humanity and literature do without the mellow, last-justifying, averaging, bringing-up of many, many years—a great old age amplified? Every really first-class production has likely to pass through the crucial tests of a generation, perhaps several generations. Lord Bacon says the first sight of any work really new and first-rate in beauty and originality always arouses something disagreeable and repulsive. Voltaire termed the Shakespearean works "a huge dunghill"; Hamlet he described (to the Academy, whose members listened with approbation) as "the dream of a drunken savage, with a few flashes of beautiful thoughts." And not the Ferney sage alone; the orthodox judges and law-givers of France, such as La Harpe, J. L. Geoffroy, and Chateaubriand, either joined in Voltaire's verdict, or went further. Indeed the classicists and regulars there still hold to it. The lesson is very significant in all departments. People resent anything new as a personal insult. When umbrellas were first used in England,

those who carried them were hooted and pelted so furiously that their lives were endangered. The same rage encountered the attempt in theatricals to perform women's parts by real women which was publicly considered disgusting and outrageous. Byron thought Pope's verse incomparably ahead of Homer and Shakespeare. One of the prevalent objections, in the days of Columbus was, the learned men boldly asserted that if a ship should reach India she would never get back again, because the rotundity of the globe would present a kind of mountain, up which it would be impossible to sail even with the most favorable wind.

"Modern poets," says a leading Boston journal, "enjoy longevity. Browning lived to be seventy-seven. Wordsworth, Bryant, Emerson, and Longfellow were old men. Whittier, Tennyson, and Walt Whitman still live." Started out by that item on Old Poets and Poetry for chyle to inner American sustenance—I have thus gossipped about it all, and treated it from my own point of view, taking the privilege of rambling wherever the talk carried me. Browning is lately dead; Bryant, Emerson and Longfellow have not long passed away; and yes, Whittier and Tennyson remain, over eighty years old—the latter having sent out not long since a fresh volume, which the English-speaking Old and New Worlds are yet reading. I have already put on record my notions of T. and his effusions: they are very attractive and flowery to me—but flowers, too, are at least as profound as anything; and by common consent T. is settled as the poetic cream-skimmer of our age's melody, *ennui* and polish—a verdict in which I agree, and should say that nobody (not even Shakespeare) goes deeper in those exquisitely touched and half-hidden hints and indirections left like faint perfumes in the crevices of his lines. Of Browning I don't know enough to say much; he must be studied deeply out, too, and quite certainly repays the trouble—but I am old and indolent, and cannot study (and never did).

Grand as to-day's accumulative fund of poetry is, there is certainly something unborn, not yet come forth, different from anything now formulated in any verse, or contributed by the past in any land—something waited for, craved, hitherto non-expressed. What it will be, and how, no one knows. It will probably have to prove itself by itself and its readers. One thing, it must run through entire humanity (this new word and meaning

Solidarity has arisen to us moderns) twining all lands like a divine thread, stringing all beads, pebbles or gold, from God and the soul, and like God's dynamics and sunshine illustrating all and having reference to all. From anything like a cosmical point of view, the entirety of imaginative literature's themes and results as we get them to-day seems painfully narrow. All that has been put in statement, tremendous as it is, what is it compared with the vast fields and values and varieties left unreaped? Of our own country, the splendid races North or South, and especially of the Western and Pacific regions, it sometimes seems to me their myriad noblest Homeric and Biblic elements are all untouched, left as if ashamed of, and only certain very minor occasional *delirium tremens* glints studiously sought and put in print, in short tales, "poetry" or books.

I give these speculations, or notions, in all their audacity, for the comfort of thousands—perhaps a majority of ardent minds, women's and young men's—who stand in awe and despair before the immensity of suns and stars already in the firmament. Even in the Iliad and Shakespeare there is (is there not?) a certain humiliation produced to us by the absorption of them, unless we sound in equality, or above them, the songs due our own democratic era and surroundings, and the full assertion of ourselves. And in vain (such is my opinion) will America seek successfully to tune any superb national song unless the heart-strings of the people start it from their own breasts—to be returned and echoed there again.

WALT WHITMAN.

THE LONDON POLICE.

BY JAMES MONRO, C. B., LATE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE OF THE METROPOLIS OF LONDON.

THE associations produced by locality in connection with administration are nowhere more noticeable than in the Metropolitan Police. For many years Bow Street was synonymous with the police force of London; in more recent times, and in every country, Scotland Yard has taken the place of Bow Street in representing to all the world the system of police organization in the metropolis. The close of the present year, therefore, which will probably witness a change in the headquarters of the force, may be said to mark a period in the history of its progress. The dingy collection of detached houses, thrust out of public view in Great Scotland Yard, which gave to the force a "local habitation and a name," is to be abandoned, and a spacious building on the Thames Embankment, "plain for all folks to see," will constitute the central office of the Metropolitan Police.

With the architectural merits or demerits of the new structure the police have not concerned themselves; they are sentimental enough, however, to feel pleased that the transfer of site does not involve a change in the name of their headquarters, and that at New Scotland Yard the metropolitan force will still be able to identify themselves with the local designation which has been so long and so intimately associated with their past history. For the first time since the creation of the force the Metropolitan Police will have a central office which is worthy of the name, and the extent of the accommodations which it has been found necessary to provide is significant of the growth of the administrative system which is required to meet the wants of the capital of the kingdom and of a population not far short of six millions. At this period of its history a few remarks as to the constitution and organization of the great force administered from New Scotland Yard may not be considered out of place.

Although some of the duties performed by the Metropolitan Police are imperial in their character, and extend far beyond the local limits of the metropolis, the force in its constitution is distinctively local, and the sphere of its ordinary operations is restricted to what is known as the Metropolitan Police District, embracing an area of about 700 square miles, within a radius of fifteen miles from Charing Cross.

In commenting on the origin and development of modern police, Mr. Pike, in his "History of Crime in England," published fourteen years ago, writes:

"Local traditions are not yet entirely extinct, and they have retained so much vitality, even in the capital, that the police of the 'City' of London is under the management of the corporation, while the police of the rest of the metropolis is under a separate control. Whether this apparent anomaly is due to the vitality of local traditions, or to the application of the principle of self-government *quâ* police, which may extend some day to the metropolitan force, the fact still remains that the police of the 'City' of London, surrounded as it is on all sides by the Metropolitan Police District, remains still under the control of the corporation of London, and is a separate force altogether from that which is known to the world as 'Scotland Yard.'"

Roughly speaking, the strength of the whole Metropolitan Police force, officers and men, may be put at 15,000, from which may be deducted about 2,000 men who are employed at Her Majesty's dockyards and military stations beyond Metropolitan Police limits, or on special protection posts at public offices or buildings. For the performance of ordinary police duties in the police district there remain, in round numbers, about 13,000 men of all ranks—a small force, truly, when we consider the enormous population concentrated within a limited area, and the immense value of property to be protected from the attacks of the most expert criminals of the country. We have not yet, in England, attained to that perfect state of society, referred to by an eminent French writer, in which "each one should always be his own constable, and end by not having any other"; and this ideal condition of affairs has hitherto not been reached, so far as I am aware, in any capital city or any country of the civilized world.

On the contrary, the advance of civilization seems generally to be attended by demands for an increase of police. The strength of the police force in the city of New York, with a population exceeding one and one-half millions, was in 1888 about 3,400 of all ranks, supplemented by "special police," and able, in times of emergency like the recent railway strikes, to call to their assistance hundreds of detectives from Pinkerton's agency;

so that London, with a population approaching six millions, is weaker, as regards the number of its constables, than the most populous city of the West. For years past the insufficiency of the strength of the metropolitan force to meet the growing wants of the capital has formed the subject of complaint on the part of the executive, and the same state of affairs appears to exist in New York. "An increase of the patrol force," write the New York Board in 1888, "is almost indispensably necessary. Many important and densely-populated sections of our city are inadequately protected, and frequent applications are made for police protection which the Board of Police are compelled to deny, while recognizing the necessity which prompts the several applications." The opinion of the Board of Police in New York, with a larger proportion of police to its inhabitants than London, has been that expressed by every Commissioner of Police of the metropolis for years past. The need for increased police to cope with the public demand for increased protection has been emphatically recognized by the press, and the opinion of the public has been humorously set forth by "Mr. Punch" in his cordial indorsement of the views of Policeman X., Junior:

"If double duties tax the force, the numbers, too, you'll have to double 'em.

. . . . . .

The Metropolitan Police has other duties—ah! a many,
Than them 'ere early Peelers had, and if we costs a pretty penny,
In times like these, so given to crimes, so Socialistic and Home-rulish,
A policy that's pennywise must be pertikerly poundfoolish."

The pressure of public opinion resulted, last year, in the augmentation of the force by 1,000 men, which will modify the demands for additional police for a time. But, even so, the police force is small, considering the duties required at its hands, and every foreign visitor to the capital is amazed when he is told that the protection of London is secured, by day and night, with such a comparatively weak force as can be placed upon the beats.

Weak in numbers as the force is, it would be found in practice altogether inadequate were it not strengthened, to an extent unknown, I believe, elsewhere, by the relations which exist between the police and the public, and by the thorough recognition on the part of the citizens at large of the police as their friends and protectors. The police touch all classes of the public at many points beyond the performance of their sterner duties as representatives of the law, and they touch them in a friendly way.

Few crossings in crowded thoroughfares can be got over by the nervous and the timid without an appeal for the courteous help of the policeman; no marriage party in the West End is complete without the attendance of Scotland Yard to quietly look after the safety of costly wedding gifts; the laborer in Whitechapel depends upon the early call of the man on beat to rouse him for his work; the police bands often cheer the spirits of unfashionable audiences in the East End, and the police minstrels are cordially welcomed at concerts for charitable purposes. Many a homeless wanderer has to thank the watchful patrol for guiding her to a "refuge" for the night, and it is no uncommon sight to see a little child, lost in the streets, trotting contentedly by the side of a burly guardian of the peace in a custody as kindly as it is secure.

"Well, how were you on Sunday"? said the philanthropist, Miss Octavia Hill, to an old woman, in a low neighborhood; "was it very rough"? "Oh!" she answered, "it was like Heaven, such a lot of police about!" The police, in short, are not the representatives of an arbitrary and despotic power, directed against the rights or obtrusively interfering with the pleasures of law-abiding citizens; they are simply a disciplined body of men, specially engaged in protecting "masses," as well as "classes," from any infringement of their rights on the part of those who are not law-abiding—a force which is felt to be only a terror to the evil-doer and "for the praise of them that do well."

It is not to be understood that the public always smiles on the policeman, or that he is above committing mistakes. Of criticism, indeed, the members of the force come in for a full share from a public which not unfrequently finds a relief for its feelings in decrying its own institutions. We all know how fond John Bull is of declaring that he has no army fit to take the field and no navy able to appear with credit on the sea, and yet, notwithstanding—perhaps in consequence of—such unfavorable criticism, our soldier and sailors, whenever there is work to be done, seem to come up to the mark, and none is prouder of them at bottom than the said J. B. So with our police. Criticism, often hasty, often ill-grounded, is poured out upon them without stint at seasons of excitement, and any one reading the public prints at such times might readily imagine that London had no police worthy of the name. But, as Longfellow says, "The strength of criticism lies only in the weakness of the thing criticised"; and the

record of the performance of their duties by the police constitutes a source of strength which, after all criticism and in spite of occasional fits of ill humor, the public fully and freely recognize.

The entire force is under the command of the Commissioner of Police of the metropolis, who, acting under the immediate authority of the Secretary of State for the Home Department, is responsible for the administration of the whole police system throughout the Metropolitan Police District. Under him are three assistant commissioners, two of whom deal with details of discipline and ordinary business, the third being specially intrusted with the control of the Criminal-Investigation Department.

For executive purposes the unit of police organization in London is the *division*. The whole of the Metropolitan Police District, including the River Thames, is marked off into twenty-two divisions ; some small, where population is very dense and traffic very large ; others of greater extent, in the suburbs and neighborhood of London. At the head of each of these divisions is an officer styled a superintendent, who is to the public the representative of police authority within divisional limits, and who is responsible to his superiors for the efficient direction and control of all matters relating to police administration in his jurisdiction. Under his command are several hundreds of men, distributed at various police stations throughout the division, and supervised by a chief inspector, inspectors, and sergeants, each rank of officer controlling others below him, till the divisional, or local, unit of the constable on beat is reached. It is obvious that the duties which are imposed on and required from an officer in the position of superintendent are very arduous and important. He is practically in the position of the colonel of a regiment which is always in active service, responsible for its efficiency and discipline, as well as for every detail of interior economy and administration connected with it. Let us hear what one of the superintendents, when examined before a recent committee, says as to the duties of his office :

625. How many hours on an average have you ?—I average 12 hours a day.
626. Night and day ?—Night and day.
627. Do you ever get a Saturday half-holiday ?—Never.
628. Do you have Sundays at home ?—Sometimes, but very seldom.
629. You have, in fact, constantly to be present and superintend anything that goes on in the division ?—Unquestionably.
630. Anything that affects the duties performed by about 700 men ?—Yes, the interior economy of the division and general supervision.

631. And you are held responsible for the efficient performance of every part of the duty by your subordinates?—That is so.

632. And for that you receive what pay?—My present pay is 350*l*. per annum; it commenced at 300*l*.

633. Have you to be possessed of a knowledge of law?—Yes.

634. For what purposes?—For the purposes of administration, and also for the purpose of giving directions to all my subordinates upon all kinds of questions in connection with their duties to the public.

635. You are held responsible for knowing the law, and being able to apply it—the police law, that is?—Yes, and to instruct others.

636. The whole action with reference to crime, for example, passes through your hands?—It does.

637. And it is your business to control and advise and put right the officers who are charged with the general administration of the division?—Yes.

(Evidence of Superintendent Huntley before Committee on Police Pensions.)

The position of superintendent is the chief prize of the service, to which any constable may look forward. Every one of these officers has passed through the ranks, and won his way to a superintendentship by specially good service; and the tact and efficiency with which the duties are performed by the superintendents entitle them to the confidence reposed in them by their superior officers and the public at large.

For administrative purposes, and, specially, for utilizing the combined services of the force at any time when required, the various divisions are formed into what may be termed four brigades, or police "districts," each one of such districts comprising several divisions, and being under the control of a superior officer, originally termed district superintendent, but now known as chief constable, who is responsible for the general administration of his district to the assistant commissioners, and through them to the commissioner.

The principle of organization, in short, is one of local decentralization, tempered by centralization for administrative purposes; the individual responsibility commencing with the constable on beat; from him extending through sergeants, inspectors, chief inspector, to the divisional superintendent, and the general responsibility of the last officer being continued, through chief constables and assistant commissioners, up to the commissioner himself. All divisions are in direct telegraphic communication with headquarters and with each other, and the American system of electric communication between fixed posts in the streets and police stations is being introduced in exterior districts. How far this can be utilized in the crowded streets of interior divisions is a doubtful question, for reasons into which I need not enter here.

So far as the experiment has hitherto gone, it has been attended with satisfactory results, and, where labor can be saved by such mechanical appliances, the Metropolitan Police will not be slow to profit by the experience of their Western brethren.

We turn now to the *personnel* of the force. From what ranks are the constables of the Metropolitan Police drawn? It is often supposed that the majority of the members of a force so highly disciplined are furnished by the army; but this is a mistake. The Metropolitan Police is not a military, but a civil, force. It forms no part of the garrison of London, and the proportion of soldiers who find a place in the ranks is, in reality, much smaller than is generally believed. The training of a soldier does not fit him for discharging many of the most important duties of a policeman, and the principle aimed at in the army with reference to military efficiency is diametrically opposed to that which must be followed in the ranks of the police. The whole teaching of a soldier is directed to suppressing his individuality—in the police such individuality is carefully developed; the sentry on his post remains blind to all that goes on around him, except as it concerns the limited range of the post, which he cannot leave—the constable on his beat has to keep his eyes open every moment, note what is passing, and interfere, in the interests of the public, at his discretion; military duty is necessarily unbending—police work is as necessarily elastic. In no place is it more necessarily elastic than in the crowded streets of London, and an army of military police would there be out of place.

From all ranks of civic life policemen are recruited; artisans, tradesmen, laborers, skilled and unskilled, yeomen's sons, farmers' sons, all find places in the ranks; for the Thames police sailors are required. The character of each candidate for admission into the force is carefully scrutinized, and his antecedents, so far as ascertainable within reasonable limits, inquired into. A moderate standard of educational acquirements is insisted on, and special regard is, of course, paid to the physical strength and constitution of each applicant. The medical examination which each man has to pass is probably stricter than in any other service in the country. The standard of height is 5 feet 9 inches, and every effort is made to secure "selected lives" for a service which involves constant risk to life and limb, and which wears out strong men in about twenty-three years.

The state of the labor market at various seasons of the year naturally influences the supply of candidates, but it may be said generally that in ordinary times there is not much difficulty in securing suitable recruits to fill the constantly recurring vacancies in the force. From one cause or another, about eight hundred to one thousand men, roughly speaking, enter the force every year; a list of candidates is kept at the central office, and as vacancies occur a sufficient number of applicants to fill them are summoned to go through their preparatory course of training. Until very recent times there was absolutely no provision made for the accommodation and supervision of these recruits. They were brought up to be drilled, and with the end of their hours of drill on the ground attached to one of the barracks of Her Majesty's Guards the interest of the police authorities in their prospective constables ceased. No quarters were provided for them; they were attached to no division; they were compelled to dispose of themselves in miserable lodgings in an expensive part of the town; the subsistence allowance paid to them barely provided them with the necessaries of life. All this, however, has been changed, and a comfortable section-house has been erected, where recruits are lodged and fed under the supervision of responsible officers, where they are made to feel, from the moment of their entering what is called the "preparatory class," that they are treated as members of the force, and where they learn practically that their interests are looked after even before they don the blue uniform and are sworn in as constables of the Metropolitan Police.

As a rule, three weeks' drill is sufficient to allow of a recruit being passed into the ranks as a constable, when his practical instruction in the ordinary duties of a policeman commences. He is regularly taught the elements of police practice by an inspector; he is sent out on the streets in company with an experienced constable; he attends at the police courts to learn the conduct of cases; and gradually he is trained to take up the full duties of an ordinary constable on beat. His pay is 24 shillings per week; after three years it rises to 27 shillings; after five years further to 30 shillings. Sergeants receive from £88 to £100 per annum; inspectors, £117 to £162; chief inspectors, £190; superintendents, £350 to £400. The salaries in the Detective Department are higher. These rates of pay are apparently

much smaller than the salaries attached to police duties in New York. Patrolmen in that city, I find, receive from $1,000 to $1,200—equal, roughly speaking, to £200 to £240 per annum; sergeants, about £400; captains, £550; inspectors, £700. Making every allowance for difference in cost of living, it seems clear that the claims of police workers to rank, to some extent at all events, as skilled laborers are, in the matter of remuneration, more liberally recognized in New York than in the metropolis of England.

The police "day" lasts from 6 A.M. to 10 P.M.; the "night" from 10 P.M. to 6 A.M., and the duration of "duty" varies according as it is performed by day or night. Day duty is performed in two tours of four hours each in interior divisions, while in exterior divisions, where the beats are longer, a constable remains on duty eight hours continuously. Similarly, duty at night is continuous for eight hours. Such night duty in winter is exceptionally severe, and every expedient has been resorted to for the purpose of diminishing the strain imposed by it on the men; but in practice it has been found less exhausting when performed even for eight hours continuously than in broken periods, as during the day. Still, the wear and tear produced by eight hours' night duty for a month at a time are very great, and nothing tells more severely upon the health and powers of endurance even of strong men.

It is needless to detail at length the various duties which are performed by the blue-coated guardians of the streets. The public peace is a wide word, and its maintenance involves a sphere of duty as extensive as the expression itself. To any one who has witnessed it the regulation of traffic in the crowded streets of London by the police is a matter for the highest admiration; and the security to life and property which is effected by their watchful care is, on the whole, marvellous. Prevention of crime in every shape is the highest duty of the uniformed police, but the results of prevention, being negative, cannot, unfortunately, be tabulated in figures. The public are ready to acknowledge police skill in a good arrest, or in the successful result of a complicated case, but they frequently fail to recognize the value of the quieter preventive measures which lead to no thrilling stories and no exciting incidents. The successful prosecution of dynamiters brought much credit to the police, who found the dynamite and who

tracked the criminals to conviction; but the most perfect specimens of police work in that campaign were preventive; of which the public could not hear, and which naturally they could not commend. None the less real, however, is the value of the preventive influence of the police under ordinary circumstances; it may not be fully appreciated by the public, but it is a reality to the criminal; and while the measured tread of the night patrol may now and then interfere with detection, in very many cases it confers a security from attack which would very soon be found wanting if the much-abused "regulation boot" gave way to noiseless shoes or similar devices of the amateur policeman.

The maintenance of the peace is not secured without grave risk of life and limb to the force engaged in repressing disturbance. The roughs of London have an unenviable reputation for resorting to violence, and their victims too often are the police. In the Whitechapel Division about one-fifth of the force are annually injured on duty, and the proportion of men throughout the service who are compelled to go on the sick-list from assaults or wounds amounts to no less than 9 per cent.—a proportion much larger than amongst even railway employees, whose vocations are justly reckoned peculiarly dangerous. Many an American visitor has expressed to me his astonishment at the frequency of savage assaults on the police, at the forbearance with which constables endure violence without retaliating in self-defence, and at the inadequate sentences which are deemed sufficient punishment for such offences. "Roughs who attack policemen and brutes who beat their wives," said one gentleman to me, "seem to be privileged persons in your country!" The marvel only is that such a state of things should be allowed to continue, and that the public are content to see 9 per cent. of their protectors seriously injured every year without insisting that their assailants should meet with severe punishment.

Any reform in this direction would do far more to protect the police than spasmodic suggestions to provide them with revolvers as a means of defending themselves from armed burglars. As a matter of fact, the armed burglar is a criminal seldom met with; firearms, as a rule, do not commend themselves to the burglar class, and the number of cases in which the revolver is used is insignificant. The use of the revolver *by police* would certainly, in the present state of English law as to self-defence, lead to complica-

tions which it is desirable to avoid; in ordinary circumstances the revolver is not nearly so useful for offensive or defensive purposes as the truncheon, and in a disturbance it might be quite as dangerous to the policeman as to his assailants. The opinion of the police themselves on this matter is the best indication of their lack of affection for the revolver. In every exterior division there is a store of revolvers kept at police stations, and any constable certified as fit to use the weapon is at liberty to have a revolver if he chooses; but the number of cases in which the permission is accepted is infinitesimally small. The metropolitan policeman prefers a truncheon in his pocket to a pistol at his belt, and takes his chances of danger from the armed burglar with comparative equanimity. The philanthropy, however, which has lately been active in agitating for milder sentences of habitual criminals might well make itself heard in protesting against inadequate punishment for crimes of violence against policemen.

While the prevention of offences against the law and the arrest of the offenders form the principal duty of every constable, a special agency exists for the detection of crime and the supervision of habitual or dangerous criminals; this is known as the Criminal-Investigation, or, more briefly, the Detective, Department. The presiding officer of this branch is one of the assistant commissioners, and for the efficient control and direction of its operations he is directly and specially responsible. Every day the reported crime of the entire Metropolitan Police District is laid before him, and he is thus enabled, at a glance, to ascertain the occurrences of the past twenty-four hours, and to direct attention to any quarter where special action is required. The principle of administration is, as in other matters, based on the divisional system: local crime is dealt with locally by a staff of detective officers under the superintendent of the division; special crime of an exceptional character, or extending beyond local limits, by a special number of selected officers, stationed at headquarters. The operations of the whole staff are controlled by the assistant commissioner, aided by the chief constable of the Criminal-Investigation Department and two special officers styled superintendents.

With the exception of the present chief constable and the assistant commissioner, every member of the detective staff, whether at divisions or headquarters, has served in the ranks and

passed several years in the uniformed branch of the force. Surprise has often been expressed that for the detective service, which requires special qualifications and highly-developed intelligence, recruits are not sought in other directions than simply within the ranks of the uniformed branch. Experience has, however, shown that such a system cannot be followed with advantage; it has been tried and found not to answer; and while I do not think that improvement of existing arrangements is impossible, I can safely say that, for all practical purposes, the present system has turned out a staff of detectives with which any police administrator has the fullest reason to be satisfied. Every efficient constable, whether in uniform or in plain clothes, is bound, from the nature of his duties, to develop some of the qualities which go to form a good detective. Acquisition of useful information, observation of character, quiet attention to little things, application of the results of observation, fertility of resource, all are qualities which a constable on the beat has, every day of his life, opportunities of displaying, and there is no better school than a policeman's life in the streets of London for acquiring and applying the knowledge of human nature which is specially developed in detective work.

The self-restraint and self-control which are nurtured by discipline form a valuable part of the training of a detective, and, with the opportunities for the display of aptitude for criminal work afforded in the performance of ordinary police duty, it is not difficult to select candidates who seem specially suited for a detective career. With a detective force, moreover, drawn from the ranks of the uniformed branch, the principle of unity in the force is most effectively maintained, and the jealousy which would be excited by the existence of a detective staff recruited from outside is avoided. Each branch of the force relies on the other for assistance, and all, whether in uniform or on the detective staff, feel themselves to be members of one service, interested in performing their common duties to the public and in maintaining the reputation of the Metropolitan Police as a whole.

I have often been asked to supply the rules of the Detective Department and of the system of criminal investigation. My answer has invariably been that there are no such rules. The object aimed at is to detect crime, and each officer, guided when necessary by advice from his superiors, is left to himself—to his own ingenuity and to the development of his trained common-

sense—to attain that object. The only restriction imposed upon him is that his operations must be strictly within the limits of the law; but detection "according to order" does not exist in the economy of Scotland Yard. In no department is the elasticity of police administration more required than in the detective branch; and in no work is the development of individuality more essential than in the performance of detective duties. On such individual development Scotland Yard relies for success in the detection of crime, and the results justify the policy. The popular idea of the detective of the Metropolitan Police is that he can never get rid of the signs of his individuality as a member of a semi-military force; that his military gait betrays him even to a casual eye; that, in spite of any disguise, the fatal "regulation boot" stamps him at once as a "passenger from Scotland Yard." It is almost a pity to dispel this illusion, which is certainly useful in diverting attention from many a detective; but the fact remains that the staff of the Criminal-Investigation Department, who have, probably for years, forgotten their acquaintance with the parade-ground, have no military gait; they do not wear any regulation boot at all; and they are able, apparently without exciting the attention of even interested observers, to adapt themselves, as regards outward appearance, to any society where their vocation leads them. Were it allowable to tell tales out of school, I could give many amusing instances in support of these remarks.

A specially important branch of the detective service at headquarters is to be found in the Convict-Supervision Office, which deals with the habitual criminal. Under the law, all convicts released on ticket-of-leave, or sentenced to police supervision in addition to imprisonment, are obliged to report themselves monthly to this office or to police stations. They are not allowed to leave the Metropolitan Police District without announcing their destination to headquarters, so that the police of the locality where they intend to reside may be communicated with; and on returning within the limits of the London district they are bound to acquaint the Metropolitan Police with the fact. Of the value of this supervision system there is not the slightest doubt; and, imperfect as it is in many respects, to its careful and efficient administration I attribute largely the check which, of late years, has been put upon organized crime. It is a system which might be

used oppressively to the prejudice of the criminal anxious to turn over a new leaf; and its working, therefore, is most carefully supervised, and intrusted to special officers. Every inquiry regarding supervisees is conducted with the greatest secrecy and consideration; every effort is made, in coöperation with Discharged-Prisoners' Aid Societies and employers of labor, to procure work for convicts who are willing to forsake their old course of crime; and every means is used, while effectively carrying out the provisions of the law, to avoid even the appearance of persecuting or hunting down the criminals who come under its operation. The societies for the relief of discharged prisoners have testified emphatically to the humanity of the police in carrying out this very necessary system of supervision; and from personal experience, I can testify that the number of complaints made, even by prisoners, of improper action on the part of the police is infinitesimal.

Such is a brief outline of the system adopted by the Metropolitan Police for preventing and detecting breaches of the law in London. Judged by results, it is not too much to say that the security of the public in the streets is achieved and public order maintained in a manner unsurpassed in any capital city of the world. The regulation of the vast traffic of the metropolis throughout the day, and up to a very late hour at night, is carried out in a quiet, unostentatious, and efficient manner, which calls forth the highest commendation of all foreign visitors, and life and property are protected, on the whole, in a manner which leaves no very serious ground for criticism. It is true that crimes of violence generally have diminished in modern times; but, making every allowance for this, it is still marvellous that organized crime of a really serious character should prevail to so small an extent in an enormous population like that of the Metropolitan Police District. Excluding the unique series of outrages in Whitechapel,—at the non-discovery of the perpetrators of which none grieved more than the Metropolitan Police,—I cannot call to mind half a dozen really serious cases of murder which, within the last five or six years, have remained undetected; and the number of such offences committed is really small. Serious crimes against property, such as burglary and housebreaking, occur to the extent of about four a day, roughly speaking, and as regards detective results of these cases there is decidedly room for improvement.

Still, judging by the criminal statistics of other countries, so far as these are available, and so far as the difference of classification of offences admits of comparison, there is less serious crime in London, proportionately, than in the capitals of other civilized countries. Crime in the Metropolitan Police District, on the whole, is kept well in hand, in the face of a more watchful criticism of police action than is anywhere to be encountered,—without the facilities for police investigation which exist in most other European countries,—and under a criminal procedure the defect of which, to quote M. Taine again, is that "it protects the individual at the expense of society, that it is too difficult to obtain legal proof, and that many guilty persons go unpunished." For the results attained few will deny that the public are largely indebted to the officers and men of Scotland Yard.

J. Monro.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

I.

THE RUTHLESS SEX.

IF THERE is one more characteristic difference than another between man and woman, it lies, as has often been noted, in the manner in which any adverse criticism directed against either sex is regarded by the members of the particular sex supposed to be aspersed. If it happens to be the feminine sex upon which the remarks have been made, our sisters arise as one woman to defend themselves. And why? Simply because each woman feels that *she* is individually attacked, that *she* is at fault, that the writer or speaker is aiming directly at *her*. On the other hand, if it is the masculine sex which is criticised, man as a rule pays little or no attention to the matter. Generalities, he has found by experience, hurt no one in particular. No man's individual vanity is wounded by what may be said in disparagement of his sex as a whole.

Passing from the sex to the individual, we find a different state of affairs. If in the intercourse of social life some woman is harshly criticised, do her sisters at once rally to her defence? Very seldom, it must be confessed. Instead, the word of disparagement is echoed, very faintly by a few women, very distinctly by many more, and with a delicate ingenuity in the prolongation of the note of dispraise worthy of admiration from a purely artistic point of view. Let a man be disparaged or harshly spoken against, do we find as a rule his brother-men, those who know him well, uniting to swell the chorus of adverse speech? I think not. I think it is a well-established fact that men in their intercourse with one another display a chivalrous regard for their fellows to a degree almost unknown among women. The loyalty to individuals which flourishes so vigorously amongst men seldom finds its counterpart among their sisters. It seems to me that it cannot be a hard matter to decide which is the loftier attribute of our nature—the feeling of personal loyalty to individuals of a sex which is due to a tolerant attitude of mind, or the fierce loyalty to one's sex which has its root in individual vanity and self-love. There are men who delight in stoning him who is down, as, on the other hand, there are women whose spirit of charity at such times is little short of angelic; but the sexes in the order named are not largely made up of such members. In spite, then, of some exceptions either way, the broad, distinctive fact remains that as a rule men are loyal to their fellows, however carelessly they may view any attack upon their sex, while women are disloyal to their sisters individually considered, but quickly resentful of any slight, real or supposed, which may be placed upon their sex.

One result of the persistency with which women make personal application of general assertions is a perpetual air of being on the defensive, which manifests itself often in the adoption of a pitiless code of judgment passed mentally or otherwise upon those about them. This of itself would not establish the truth of the assertion that women are more cruel than men, but it certainly has some force as an argument upon that side of the question.

It may seem a false putting of the case that such an assertion should be made when the many works of charity and mercy in which woman is engaged are remembered, but in spite of these labors of women the fact remains relatively true. Says Ruskin: "There is not a war in the world, no, nor an injustice, but you women are answerable for it; not in that you have provoked, but in that you have not hindered.

. . . There is no suffering, no injustice, no misery in the earth but the guilt of it lies with you."

Indifference, according to Mr. Ruskin, is the sin of which woman is most guilty —an indifference which arises from that narrow habit of mind which is exclusively occupied with the present moment, which refuses or is unwilling to grasp any other than the purely personal aspect of it. Her sympathies are quickly roused to what is immediately before her eyes, *to what no mental effort is required to perceive*,—as, for instance, a horse savagely beaten by its driver,—but it goes no further.

Suppose that we are riding upon a street-car and the horses are straining every nerve to pull the heavily-loaded car up some sharp rise of ground. A street corner is reached and a woman standing there signals the driver to stop his car for her convenience. Unless he has received positive orders not to stop going up hill, he obeys her (with considerable inward grumbling), and the horses, which have stood their ground with some difficulty during the delay, are forced to redouble their exertions in order to overcome the inertia resulting from the stopping of the car. That she could have signalled the car from the foot of the hill or from the top never occurs to the woman, who, desiring to get on at that especial point, has no thought of anything further, the pain and even suffering which she has occasioned the horses being a matter of no moment to her. Or supposing the car is not ascending an up-grade, but is moving along upon a level stretch of road when signalled to stop at a street corner. A few steps further on a woman stands waiting for the car to come exactly opposite to her. It does not seem worth her while for her to walk those few paces and get on the car at the point where it has stopped for the convenience of others, and thus save the horses which draw it the strain and discomfort of an extra stoppage. Here is an instance of her indifference resulting in cruelty. Such occurrences as these cited are not exceptional, as any person who has occasion to travel on street-cars knows, but are happening hourly on every horse-railway line. And the average woman never perceives that anything is wrong in her practice in this regard until some one else, usually a man, has told her of it. She acknowledges that she never thought of it before, and forgets all about it by the next time she gets on a car.

I might instance other examples of cruelty resulting from woman's indifference, but those already named show the general character of those I have in mind. I pass on now to speak of a more flagrant kind of cruelty, springing from another cause. Miss Helen Gray Cone, in her poem, "The Tender Heart," describes a young man, who is devoted to hunting, so wrought upon by the pathetic pleading of a girl, who quotes at length from the poets against the sin of killing the fowls of the air and the beasts of the field, that

> "At Emerson's 'Forbearance' he
> Began to feel his will benumbed;
> At Browning's 'Donald' utterly
> His soul surrendered and succumbed.
> 'O gentlest of all gentle girls,'
> He thought, 'beneath the blessed sun!'
> He saw her lashes hung with pearls,
> And swore to give away his gun.
> She smiled to find her point was gained,
> And went, with happy parting words
> (He subsequently ascertained),
> To trim her hat with humming-birds."

It is not very long ago since the cry went up that certain species of birds were in danger of speedy extinction from the wholesale warfare made upon them in the interest of milliners and their customers. A few women, be it said, had always by voice and example protested against a fashion which demanded such a sacrifice of animal life for its gratification; but it was not until men had almost unanimously exclaimed against it that any reform was accomplished. I fear there is very little reason to believe that, if fashion should again demand a sacrifice of birds, it would not be offered by a large majority of women till vigorous remonstrance on the part of the other sex induced another reform. But why should not women in general perceive the cruelty of such a fashion as quickly as men, and, not waiting to learn gentleness and mercy from the so-called rougher sex, exclaim against it

immediately? Is it not because vanity supplemented indifference, in this case, with cruelty of the most unnecessary, indefensible kind as its consequence?

To pass to wider aspects of the question. Women have endowed charities—that some man has founded. Nay, they have sometimes established hospitals themselves, but not until man had pointed out the way. All honor to the Elizabeth Frys and humble Sarah Martins, but it was John Howard who preceded them. The order of the Sisters of Charity was founded by a man!

It has happened not seldom in the history of the world that women have directly held the reins of empire. How does the record of their rule compare with that of monarchs of the other sex? Did Boadicea, Mary Tudor, Elizabeth, and Catharine of Russia display in their reigns any such marked qualities of gentleness and mercy as would be sufficient to distinguish them as preëminent for the possession of those qualities above their brother-sovereigns? Were those women who ruled by proxy, like Eudoxia, Catharine de Medici, and the brilliant and scandalous array of women who pleased the sensual fancies of the second English Charles and the fifteenth French Louis, renowned for their merciful attributes? These all held for a time the destinies of whole peoples in their hands, but we do not hear that they exercised any restraining influence over savage man, but in one most notable instance quite the contrary. And the queens of the ancient world—do they seem to have hated cruelty and loved mercy? Even when woman in past ages has not herself been swift to shed blood, has not she inspired man to deeds of cruelty, and then, like Thais,

> "led the way
> To light him to his prey"?

Is there not even a touch of cruelty in the nature of the otherwise gracious English Queen, which shows itself in her rigid insistence upon the rule which provides that, no matter what may be the state of the weather or the constitution of the individual, the ladies presented to her must exhibit uncovered shoulders in the sight of their sovereign?

The cruelty of man—for I am not asserting that man is not cruel—springs from a motive which in itself is not to be altogether contemned. Ambition to a certain extent is desirable, whether it manifests itself in a desire for power to be exercised for laudable ends or a resolution to obtain wealth to a reasonable amount. It is the excess of ambition in its many forms which provokes man's cruelty.

Feminine cruelty is the outcome of less noble promptings, and, so it would seem, arises from indifference, vanity, or jealousy, according to its degree,—sometimes from a fusing of all three,—and it is seldom held in check by reason.

I wish that I might end here, for if this were all there were to urge, and I bring forward nothing that is new in this connection, the title of this paper might with some reason be termed unjust and its implied assumption declared too sweeping to be true; but, O you women who cry out upon the cruelty and selfishness of men; you who are defended from the storms of this world by the care of these rough men, and you who proudly defend yourselves without such aid; you who dwell as the daughters of kings, and you who fare as those to whom toil is no stranger; O you women who are virtuous and honest, how are your hearts steeled against those sisters of yours who stumbled on ways that seemed smooth enough to you, who fell where you have walked upright!

Have you defended that sister of yours whose good name has been assailed as earnestly as you have rushed to the defence of your sex when you fancied it was slandered? Have you refused to believe evil of her against whom some stone has been cast? Have you refused to record your sentence against one accused till her guilt was absolutely sure? Have you, when this last was proved, declared that guilt unpardonable and thrust the offender out from your life and from your thought forever? Have you ever stooped to help one of those who was weak where you were strong, or who was tempted where you were not, or who fell because the way to her was rougher than you have ever dreamed? Have you done all these things?

The judgments which man passes upon his fellows are tolerant where woman's

are narrow, because, instead of the one aspect of the question which she perceives, he sees many; they are merciful where hers are cruel, because he recognizes more fully the stress of temptation and the complexity of motive which lead to transgression. There have been a few women who have helped their weaker sisters to rise when they had fallen, but they are indeed few. The majority of women have done what they could to keep those who are down still in that position. They have refused to believe in the possibility of reform; they have withdrawn from all contact with those who have once found temptation greater than they could bear; they have, by their inflexible attitude, made a return to virtue nearly impossible on the part of those who have once turned from it. Who should be tenderer toward a woman's sin than a virtuous woman, and who is harder? O you queens, who have with your virtuous hands thrust your weaker sisters still further in the mire; who have shown aversion where you might have shown mercy; who have hardened your hearts, that should have been soft with pity; who have turned coldly aside from those, your sisters, whom you might have saved, and gone your ways as though these were not; O you who have lifted from your heads the crown of gentleness and mercy that all your sex should wear, are you not "ruthless" indeed?

OSCAR FAY ADAMS.

II.

A FATAL SYNONYME.

A HUMOROUS traveller ascribes the bibulous habits of the southern Slavs to the circumstance that in the language of the modern Servians the word "ecstasy" has the additional meaning of "drunkenness"; but a still more mischievous synonyme is the English word "cold" as an equivalent of "catarrh." In North America and western Europe lung diseases have become almost as homicidal as all other disorders of the human organism taken together, and I am convinced that it would be no overestimate to say that, year after year, a million cases of premature death are caused by the delusion ascribing coughs and catarrhs to the influence of cold outdoor air rather than of foul indoor air.

Even from an *a-priori* stand-point of investigation, it ought to appear rather paradoxical that the human lungs, so similar in their construction to those of our dumb fellow-creatures, should be fatally affected by the same air which millions of different animals habitually breathe with perfect impunity. Birds, young lambs, conies playing on a moonlit mountain meadow, kittens making their *début* at a house-top serenade, newborn monkeys cradled in the treetops of the tropical forest, colts and kids on a highland pasture, all breathe without the least detrimental effect the same air against which the dupe of the deplorable synonyme carefully closes his bedroom windows. Is a "draught" of pure cool air more perilous than a larger dose? How shall we explain it that sailors, hammersmiths, and railway conductors thrive under its influence, or that a constant influx of night air fails to affect the roving miner and the trapper in their tenuous tents?

It is true that lung disorders become more frequent after the middle of November, but might that experience not be explained by the circumstance that winter is, *par excellence*, the season of indoor life? A conjecture of that sort seems, more than a century ago, to have dawned upon that shrewd observer, Benjamin Franklin. "I shall not attempt to explain," he says, "why damp clothes are more apt to cause colds than wet ones, because I doubt the fact. I suspect that the causes of 'colds' are totally independent of dampness, and even of cold."

That conclusion is strikingly confirmed by the sanitary statistics of northern Europe and eastern North America. Consumption, it appears, is most frequent near the centres of industry, and its prevalence is exactly proportioned to the prevalence of indoor occupations. It is less frequent and less fatal in pastoral north Scotland than in manufacturing south Scotland; less frequent (measured by the death-rate per thousand inhabitants) in icy Manitoba than in smoke-shrouded New England. Its most numerous victims are not blizzard-breathing hunters and herders, but dust-breathing weavers, spinners, and millers. Its strongholds are not the

draughty log sheds of the Canadian lumbermen, but the overcrowded, overheated, and underventilated tenements of night-air-dreading city dwellers. Its ravages are just as fatal in the factory cities of southern France as in the factory cities of north Britain ; nay, the hectic Scotch weaver, seeking salvation in a change of occupation, has a better chance of survival than his French fellow-sufferer, for frost is an antidote, and a consumptive, turning game-keeper in the Scotch Highlands, will recover sooner than if his means had enabled him to pass his winter in the sultry tropics. Frost is an antiseptic. In stormy winter nights its breath often purifies the indoor atmosphere of our city homes, in spite of all air-excluding contrivances, and we accordingly find that epidemic catarrhs are much less frequent in midwinter than in March, when the accumulated disease germs get their first fair chance of development. Experience has also demonstrated the still more suggestive fact that far-gone consumptives have recovered in a winter camp, exposed to the ringing frosts of the upper Adirondacks, while in Florida the percentage of deaths from tuberculosis is altogether too high to be wholly explained by the aggregation of incurable invalids.

In other words, the most effective cure of pulmonary disorders has for centuries been mistaken for their cause. The Frost-giant Hrymir of the Scandinavian Saga was dreaded as the chief adversary of the human race, and an echo of that tradition from the land of the Baresarks may still haunt the souls of their cotton-spinning descendants; but the general introduction of the word "catarrh" would do much to exorcise such ghosts of the dark ages, for the chief error of thousands of shortened lives could still be summed up in the epitaph, "Killed by a deceptive synonyme."

FELIX L. OSWALD.

III.

THE CLAMOR FOR "MORE MONEY."

THE most frantic clamor for an increased supply of currency since 1873, when Wall Street urged and persuaded Secretary Richardson to issue a part of the greenback "reserve," was raised in the early autumn of the present year. It is not to be denied that there was great stringency in the money market. There seemed to be but little loanable money, and what there was could be had only on terms that would have satisfied *Shylock*. Wall Street believed, in accordance with its usual habit of taking extreme views and of exaggerating every situation, that the country was suffering from a lack of currency; it laid the blame for this condition of affairs upon the government, and looked to the treasury as the only possible source of relief. Granting that more money was needed, Wall Street was right in its opinion that the treasury alone, at that moment, could alleviate the situation. The Secretary himself seems to have thought so, for he adopted measures that let out upon Wall Street a flood of money and put a speedy end to the stringency. In doing this, however, he was driven to such expedients that the natural flow of money out of the treasury will be diminished for a year to come, and the Secretary's ability to relieve the market, should the conditions recur that prevailed in September, will be greatly impaired. The prepayment of interest acts like a valve upon money going into the treasury. If more money was let out in September, less money will come out in the months to come; and thus funds will tend to accumulate in the vaults of that monument of Jacksonian recklessness and Yankee unteachableness, the independent treasury.

During the previous month of August a new law had gone into operation which was designed to make a regular monthly addition to the money in circulation ; and the idea that lay behind this legislation was that the thirty million dollars' annual increase that resulted from the operation of the Silver Act of 1878 was insufficient to meet the currency needs of the country.

Does the country need more money than it has? Did it need more in September? The answer to these questions must be a qualified one. Does the wheel of your ox-cart need a quart of oil to stop it from squeaking? That depends upon whether you are driving a clumsy Mexican cart, that is made expressly to squeak, or a well-finished American article. The demoralized victim of the opium habit cannot ex-

ist without his daily supply of the drug, and an extra dose for an occasion; but his neighbor, who has not debased his system, can get along better than he without any at all. So this country, accustomed to a wasteful use of money, to an antique system which makes that money now disappear and now reappear, without regard to the course of trade, and to the obtaining of such extra sums as are occasionally needed by every great commercial community, through the operation of artificial and not of natural means,—this country did really need more money so greatly that even some conservative thinkers were persuaded that the silver legislation of the late session of Congress was justified.

Yet every one who knows the laws of money is aware that whatever artificial addition is made to the currency to meet a sudden want remains after the necessity for it has passed. Then it is first felt as a glut of money; next it furnishes the temptation and the means of speculation, which, in turn, ends in stringency and a renewed clamor for money. As in the case of the victim of opium, indulgence leads to increased craving, and an interruption of indulgence causes violent distress.

The needlessness of the repeated demands for an increase of currency which mark the financial history of this country may be demonstrated if it can be made to appear that not an increase of population, nor an increase of business, nor a combination of both, necessarily calls for an augmentation of the circulation. Now, in the first place there is nothing unreasonable in the proposition just announced, for the instrumentalities by which modern commerce economizes the use of actual money are capable of greater and more speedy expansion than is commerce itself. The bank, the clearing-house, the railroad, the telegraph—each of these suggests the devices by which an ever-increasing amount of service is imposed upon and rendered by each dollar of the circulation. So admirable is this machinery for the purpose to which it is put that where full advantage of it is taken an amount of money adequate to the transaction of a given amount of business may easily be made to effect the exchanges when the volume of business has become twice or thrice as great.

An illustration of this truth—the only one that will be offered here, the only one that is needed—may be found in the recent commercial and monetary history of England. London is still the exchange centre of the world, and in all financial matter it is still the principal ganglion.

Let us first notice briefly these facts: that after the outbreak of the Civil War in America, and before the adoption of the gold standard by Germany, England might have had almost the whole gold product of the world for the asking. Then from 1873 until 1879 Germany was a great competitor for gold, since it was necessary to provide a full supply of coin for the new standard; and since 1872 it has actually coined more than $600,000,000 worth of gold. Meanwhile, since the preparation for the resumption of specie payment in the United States began, not only has the whole gold production of this country—the greatest producer of gold in the world—been withheld, but a large sum has been drawn from England and other markets. France also has ceased coining silver and has required gold. Thus England, which had no competitors in the gold market for a long series of years, has recently had them on every hand. Yet such is the financial strength of London that, if gold had been needed, England might have drawn it from any part of the world, wherever there was gold.

And now, how has England endured this severe competition? It has passed through the whole period without a single crisis, without seeing a moment when the rate of interest was excessive; and while the volume of business has gone on increasing steadily, it has been transacted easily and without friction upon a diminishing volume of currency. The fact of an increase of business requires no proof. The total receipts of British railways increased from 63 to 73 millions sterling between 1878 and 1888. The number of letters carried by the post increased 50 per cent. in the same time. The gross value of the foreign trade, which was £611,775,239 in 1879, was £740,242,564 in 1889. The London bank clearings were 4,855 millions sterling in the year ended May 31, 1879; they were 7,648 millions sterling in the calendar year 1889. Facts like these might be cited by the score to illustrate the growth of British commerce. A stupendous structure of business and credit is erected upon

the small but solid foundation of the English monetary system and the reserve in the Bank of England; and year after year the structure is built higher without peril to the stability of the whole.

Moreover, as has been said, it has been possible to remove a part of the foundation. During the eleven years from 1879 to 1889, inclusive, the gross importation of gold into Great Britain was £135,861,214; the exports, £140,572,084; the net export, £4,710,870. That is to say, taking no account of gold lost by abrasion and otherwise, and used in the arts, the stock of the metal which is the sole basis of British money was diminished by nearly five millons sterling. Nor does this tell the whole story; for whereas the notes of the Bank of England in circulation during January, 1879, were 33 million pounds, they had diminished in January, 1890, to less than 25 millions; and these notes constitute the only considerable and the only fluctuating class of paper money in use. Thus it appears that a greatly-enlarged volume of business was transacted easily with a volume of currency smaller by 13 million pounds, or $65,000,000.

And how about the United States? Prior to resumption in 1879 the country had entered upon an era of wonderful prosperity, for which the currency in circulation was quite inadequate. Yet the only money of the country was 350 million dollars in greenbacks, a slightly smaller amount of national bank-notes, and a sum estimated at 200 millions in gold, the greater part of which was locked up in the treasury. Certainly not more than 800 millions of all kinds of money were in the hands of the people. Since then, up to October, 1890, there have been coined 377 million silver dollars and 487 millions in gold—864 millions in all. The country has produced, according to Mr. Valentine's estimate, 365 millions' worth of gold; and it has made a net importation in the eleven years before June, 1890, of $165,004,126. (Imports, $413,213,288; exports, $248,209,162.) Meantime the issue of national bank-notes has decreased by about 170 millions, and the amount locked up in the treasury has increased, though not largely. It was estimated by the Treasury Department on October 1 that the amount of money in circulation was 1,498 millions; which sum, it will be observed, corresponds with reasonable exactness to 800 millions circulation in 1879, *plus* 864 millions coined, *minus* 170 millions of bank-notes withdrawn.

And yet, with an addition of 700 millions to the circulation, the slight clogging of a few millions in the treasury about the first of September came near causing a financial crisis! Make every allowance for the greater growth of the population of this country as compared with Great Britain, and its enormous internal commerce, and still it does not appear that the vast increase of currency was needed. Still less do the facts give a justification of the sharp stringency, and the peril of a financial convulsion which the prompt and vigorous intervention of the Treasury Department was needed to avert.

The explanation is to be sought deeper, and the remedy for a recurrence of the difficulty is elsewhere than in new coinage laws or in the action of the Secretary of the Treasury. This is no place, nor is the space at my command, to work out the problem; but one or two hints will indicate where a partial or total remedy may be found.

1. The sub-treasury system ought to be abolished forthwith. When business is active, the receipts of the government are large, but the outflow is not increased. At the very time when the use of money increases, the operation of an absurd treasury system causes it to disappear in vaults whose doors swing inward only, and to be lost to commerce. It is a very remarkable fact, if it be a fact, that in this country alone of all the world it is perilous to intrust the custody of the public money to a bank which can keep the public deposits as funds still available for commercial purposes.

2. The operations of the banks are conducted with a semi-privacy which results in a concealment of currency movements until the opportunity to take defensive measures has passed. It would be greatly to the advantage of the banks and the banking interest if every considerable transfer of money from one city to another were promptly notified to the clearing-house, so that the movements of currency should be known by all.

3. There should be a clearing-house of clearing-houses, for the purpose of effecting all the exchanges between the banks of the country in the promptest manner and with the least possible transfer of actual money.

These are but desultory hints, that may be worth much or little. But in either event the fact remains that through the use of the proper means the present supply of money may be more than sufficient not merely for present needs, but for twice the population and twice the commerce of the United States to-day. An excessive amount of currency is doubly to be deplored as an incentive to speculation and a sure cause of inflated prices, and as locking up property in an unproductive form. The obstreperous advocates of more money are the lineal descendants of the fiat-money Greenbackers, who once nearly succeeded in carrying their pernicious measures. The first thing to be learned is that legitimate business does not need an ever-increasing supply of money, but is injured rather than benefited by an excess of the currency. Then let us learn that, if commerce is left free of government interference with the monetary system, either by locking up funds or by letting them out to relieve a stringency, commerce can take care of itself. Then the only lesson remaining to be learned is the means of causing a dollar to do the utmost possible work in effecting the exchanges of the country. In short, we need more financial science and less senseless clamor for more money by men who do not know the first principles of the science.

EDWARD STANWOOD.

IV.

PREMONITIONS AND WARNINGS.

THE intimacy of my friends C. and L. was of the closest kind. Associated in business, sharing the same bachelor apartment, and having much in common, they were like brothers. When L. died, his death affected C. deeply, its suddenness adding greatly to the shock. About two years after it occurred C. married. Mrs. C. had known L. The honeymoon was to be spent in a trip to Niagara. The wedding took place on Thursday, and the newly-married couple were to start on the 10:30 A.M. train on Friday. They drove to the station and, as C. opened the carriage door, he saw, or thought he saw, L.'s figure standing in the station entrance. Mrs. C., following the gaze of her husband, saw it too. As C. alighted from the carriage the figure disappeared into the station, and though he searched among the throng of passengers, he could discover no trace of the apparition, if apparition it were. Now, C. is not a particularly superstitious man, but Mrs. C. has a certain amount of superstition in her nature; indeed, she had objected somewhat strongly to starting on Friday. So when C. returned from his search in the station, his wife could not be induced to take the 10:30 train for Niagara. They returned to the hotel at which they had been stopping, Mrs. C. fully convinced that the train would be wrecked or that something awful would occur. Saturday's papers were eagerly scanned for an account of the accident to the 10:30 train. Nothing was found. No accident had happened.

An analysis of this case leads to a solution of those numerous cases of premonitions and warnings that constantly mystify mankind. Of course C. and his wife did not see L., but they undoubtedly saw some one who closely resembled him. The Friday start and the discussion upon it probably aided in the deception. If an accident had occurred to the 10:30 train,—and the chances of it some statisticians could figure to a decimal,—C. would have been firmly convinced all his future life that he had seen L.'s ghost. The warning that Mrs. C. would have claimed to have had against starting on their honeymoon on a Friday would have been recorded as genuine; Friday would have received another black eye, and another supernatural, ghostly warning would have been added to the many "well-authenticated" ones already extant.

Now, this case of C. and his wife is not a unique one. It is as natural an occurrence as happens in every-day life. The human mind is so constituted as to fear injury and death. Fear is one of the most powerful of the mental emotions. It is

because of our intuitive recognition of this fact that courage is the human virtue most admired, for courage in man is the result of the will conquering fear.

Fear is the parent of superstition.

It may be taken as an axiom that no man enters upon any undertaking involving known danger without a premonition of disaster. The reaction of the free-born premonition upon its parent fear exaggerates the latter, and tends to distort mental impressions, not infrequently to such an extent as to produce an hallucination or a delusion.

This mental operation is, I believe, a very common one. Few men exist who have not at some time in their lives experienced it. The following rather remarkable example occurred to an acquaintance of mine, a reporter connected with a well-known news agency and a man of more than average intelligence: Late one night while returning to his home he was startled at seeing the cupola of a neighbor's house in flames. The fire appeared to have just broken out, and was curling out of a window, licking the cornice and roof. He listened for the alarm bell in a neighboring engine-house, and distinctly heard it ring and the noise caused by the engine horses as they rushed to their places. Some smoke borne on the wind from the fire entered his nostrils. All this took place in a few seconds of time. He hastened into his own house, found his wife awake, told her of the fire, exhorted her not to be afraid, and went to the window. The neighbor's house was in full view. No fire was there.

Here we have a man, apparently in perfect health, deceived by three of his senses. The train of thought that led to the deception was started in this way: the reporter had been recently engaged in reportorial work connected with several large fires, and had feared that a fire in his own neighborhood would seriously affect his wife, who was in delicate health.

I have frequently seen medical students suffering from delusive symptoms of a disease that they were studying.

How often are we startled by a coincidence? The coincidence is as common as it seems remarkable; in fact, the words remarkable and coincidence are almost inseparable. A coincidence may be defined to be a concurrence of related events. When we recollect that a man's life is composed of an infinite number of events, and that all these events are caused by factors taking different periods of time to effect their results, it does not seem strange that related events should frequently occur coincidentally.

Now, join one of these ordinary, "every-day" coincidences to a premonition or to an hallucination, and, presto! the result is as astonishing as the conjurer's production of ink from the combination of two white liquids.

The coincidence reveals the premonition and the warning. Unless the former happens, the latter is never told.

The genuine, authenticated cases of premonitions and warnings are fathered by fear and mothered by coincidence.

CYRUS EDSON, M. D.

V.

THE ARMY OF MERCENARIES.

THROUGH the persistent efforts of certain real and pretended veterans of the Civil War, the people of this country are in danger of revising some old ideas and learning some new definitions. It seems that the word "patriot" means "one who works for pay." Patriotism represents a cash bargain. The old Latin phrase is to be amended so as to read "*Dulce et decorum est pro pecuniâ mori.*" The boy who is taught "that a country's a thing men should die for at need" will also be taught that no man should take the risk of dying until he has "dickered" with the country and exacted the promise of money enough to cover the risk. And on the coin of the country the motto ought not to be, "In God we trust," but "How much am I offered?" He who for pay fights for some country other than his own is a mercenary, and deserves but little consideration from honorable men. He who for pay fights for his own country is a patriot, and may dun his government to the end of time. If a man for a pecuni-

ary consideration saves a stranger from death, he may pocket his reward and know that the matter is at an end. If a man for a pecuniary consideration saves his mother from death, he is a very noble character and should constantly remind her of the service he has rendered and demand an annuity from her for the rest of his life.

It will be understood that I do not refer to those who, having served bravely and well, went quietly to their homes when the end came, at peace with their own consciences and seeking nothing more. These will not be found in the ranks of the unscarred army that is now fighting for more cash. I am speaking of those survivors of the war who resemble the cherubim and seraphim only in the fact that they "continually do cry," and who regard the public treasury as a grab-bag from which any one who can insert his hand under color of law may take whatever he can grasp. If this be patriotism, there are many persons, neither dishonorable nor unintelligent, who not only never feel the sentiment, but pray that they may be delivered from it.

Worse things may happen to a country than to fail in an effort to preserve its unity. The loss of honor is more than the loss of territory. If the idea that service to the country should rest on a cash basis is the outcome of the Civil War, it is beyond question that the Union was saved at too great a price. It would be better that the Southern Confederacy should have taken its place among nations than that in the restored Union there should come to be a feeling that a man's loyalty is to measure itself by the amount of money which he can extract from the nation's pocket.

No people have ever given such practical effect to admiration for heroic deeds as the people of the United States. No country has ever been so lavishly generous to its defenders as this. Provision has been made for the families of dead soldiers. Pensions have been showered upon almost all cripples who ever heard of the war. For the injured and indigent veterans homes have been provided. In nearly all of the offices within the gift of the United States and the several States veterans have the preference for appointments. All this for men who, if they fought for others, fought also for themselves. It was their own country that was in danger. Yet dishonorable veterans and alleged veterans, finding that robbery of the treasury is not difficult, eagerly pursue the vocation of highwaymen, and swing the threat of their votes over the head of a timid Congress.

If we yield to the noisy demands of the orators of the rights of veterans and consider the question simply as one of debt, what do we find? That the Southern planter of a half-century ago had no such power over his slaves as the State has over its citizens. Every one is familiar with the exercise by the State of the right of eminent domain, and nearly every one knows the meaning of it—that the State has a right to the property of the citizen paramount to the right of the citizen. Every one is familiar with a draft made by the State in time of war; but I am inclined to think that very few people know the meaning of it. Yet it rests upon the same basis as eminent domain; in fact, it is another form of eminent domain. The State has a right to the life of a citizen paramount to the citizen's own right to his life. To him who carefully studies the meaning of a draft it explains everything and leaves nothing to be said. That the State should take an innocent and peaceable citizen, force him into the army, place a weapon in his hands, and stand him up before the enemy to kill or be killed,—nay, itself put an end to him if that be advisable—there is surely no more interesting commentary than this on the doctrine that the State is placed under a heavy debt to those who fight for it. There is no more question of contract between a citizen and the State than between a house and its owner or a chair and its owner. The citizen and all his belongings are owned by the State, to be "handled with care" undoubtedly, but to be used, when the occasion demands, by right of ownership. And if a man does not feel in his inmost soul that he belongs to his country, and that sacrifice for her is its own compensation, then let him know this fact, stated without sentiment and coldly: that he belongs to her as property, to be rewarded or not, as she sees fit; to be put to death or not, as she sees fit.

Twenty-five years ago, had one flung at us the scornful question of Charles

Dickens, "What is a flag to them?" we should have pointed to the Civil War and let that speak for us. The time seems to be approaching when we must try to think of some other answer. Of all the sorrowful things that have happened in this country this is not far from the sorrowfulest: that there should be growing in the minds of the younger generation a feeling of something like contempt for those who have perilled their lives in a noble cause in the greatest war of history. And such a feeling *is* growing, in spite of the fact that just now the veteran seems to have it all his own way. For this the veteran has only himself to thank. He has permitted himself to be represented as a mercenary instead of a patriot; he has not protested when the most disreputable beggars have assumed to act as his spokesmen; he has allowed blatant demagogues to gain control of and render odious the Grand Army of the Republic; he has viewed without disapproval the plunder of the treasury carried on under pretence of collecting a debt. It is not in this way that he can win the respect of succeeding generations. Let him, rather, repudiate the idea that the country owes him anything for his service to her. Let him deserve the name of patriot by asserting that a man owes to his country, at need, property, liberty, and life, and that when he parts with any of these in her service he simply pays a debt.

Peace hath her victories as well as war; and often even more than war peace tries a man of what metal he is made. Far too many believe that to the victors belong the spoils; and not this alone, but that no one need feel called upon to enter the contest unless the spoils are guaranteed to the victors. This founding of service to the country, not upon the simple dictate of duty, but upon the inducement of some pecuniary consideration, is one of the evil tendencies of the time. To every one, as though for a final test of what life means to him, there comes, sooner or later, the question with which Flannigan of Flannigan's Mills achieved notoriety: "What are we here for if not for the offices?" Let no one deem that country prosperous, however busy may be its factories and productive its fields, whose citizens have no answer for that question.

JOHN H. HOPKINS.

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December, 1890.

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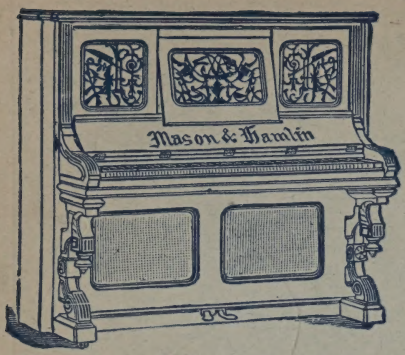

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCCCIX.

DECEMBER, 1890.

THE RECENT ELECTION.

BY THE HON. JOHN G. CARLISLE, UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM KENTUCKY.

When the present House of Representatives assembled in December last, the Republicans had a majority of seven, including the five members from the recently-admitted States, but when it adjourned, although there had been no new elections by the people, the majority had increased to twenty-four. A majority of seven only in a body consisting of three hundred and thirty members, representing widely-separated and diverse local interests, was not sufficiently reliable to enable the party leaders to inaugurate with confidence the radical and extravagant policy which they had determined to adopt, and therefore nine Democratic members, who had been lawfully elected by the people of their respective districts, were ejected from their seats, and in eight of the cases Republicans were put in their places. In the other case the contestant was dead and the seat was declared vacant. These nine ejected members returned to their constituents, and all of them except one became candidates for reëlection. Of the eight who became candidates seven have been returned to the next House by decisive majorities, and in the district where the ejected member did not run a Democrat has been elected to succeed him. This is the result of the appeal to the people from the partisan judgments of

the House of Representatives; and it is no exaggeration to say that it is a full and complete vindication of the course pursued by the Democrats in resisting by every means in their power the perpetration of these outrages upon the right of representation.

The returns of the recent election, so far as known at the time this paper is prepared, indicate that the Democrats will have a majority in the next House of at least one hundred and thirty over the straight Republicans and the Farmers'-Alliance members who have heretofore affiliated with the Republican party. So great a political revolution as this cannot be accounted for by the stereotyped statements that it was an "off year" and a full vote was not polled, or that local divisions and dissensions diverted the attention of the people from the public questions involved. Nor can it be satisfactorily explained from a Republican stand-point by a reference to the part taken in the contest by the Farmers' Alliance in a few of the Northern States, because that organization is itself a protest against the principles and measures of the dominant and responsible party, and if this part of the opposition had not taken that form, it would have taken some other equally or more effective. The Republicans who have joined the Alliance in Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota, and elsewhere, are simply pursuing the usual course of men who have determined to abandon their old political associates, but have not yet fully determined to unite with their old political opponents. They are on the direct road to the Democratic fold, and they cannot retrace their steps without a complete abandonment of every position they have taken on public questions.

There has scarcely, if ever, been a Congressional campaign in this country in which purely local questions were so little discussed, or in which local party or personal dissensions had so little influence, as in the one just closed. It is true that members of the same political party have been divided, but they have been divided on general, not local, questions. In every part of the country the tariff, the proposed Federal Election Law, subsidies to steamship companies, bounties to the manufacturers of sugar, extravagant appropriations of the public money, partisan decisions in contested-election cases, the arbitrary proceedings of the majority in the House of Representatives, and the general radical and revolutionary policy inaugurated by the Republican party as soon as it found itself in complete control of the government, have

been discussed with unusual earnestness and ability, and the arguments on both sides have been listened to with unusual patience and attention. As soon as the extraordinary course of the present Congress was entered upon, it attracted the anxious attention of the people, and they watched it and studied it in all its aspects with the most intense interest. It was the most dramatic and exciting session held since the war, except, perhaps, the last session of the Forty-fourth Congress, which decided the Presidential election of 1876. It dealt to a great extent with large questions which affected many of the most important interests in the country, and, in one branch at least, it disposed of them in the most summary and imperious manner, devoting, in many instances, but a few hours to the consideration of subjects which ought to have received a most patient and thorough investigation before final action.

Such proceedings cannot pass unnoticed in a country like this, and it is not surprising that when the recent campaign opened the masses of the people were much more familiar than is usually the case not only with the merits of the different measures passed by Congress, but with the manner in which they had been passed. As a general rule, the voter of average intelligence had already formed a very positive opinion upon all the questions at issue, and no appeals to party allegiance or personal friendship could change him. The just expectations of the country had been sorely disappointed, and the wavering and doubtful voter had substantially disappeared. With perhaps a very few exceptions, the use of money for the purpose of corruption had little or no influence upon the result, and it may therefore be properly accepted as the deliberate judgment of a large majority of the people upon the questions submitted to them.

Whatever may have been the secret purposes of the political leaders and of the classes who are pecuniarily benefited by the so-called protective system, the people of all parties generally understood during the campaign of 1888 that, no matter which candidate might be successful, the tariff was to be so revised as to insure greater industrial and commercial freedom; and that there was to be an actual and material reduction of taxation, and not a mere diversion of the revenue from the public treasury to the pockets of private individuals and corporations. The contention of the Republican party was that this revision and reduction should

be made by the friends of the protective system, and not by its enemies; but, so far as now remembered, no conspicuous member of that party was so bold or so indiscreet as to advocate even the slightest increase of taxation upon any of the necessaries of life. If such a purpose had been avowed, or if the people had understood that it was seriously entertained, the result of the election in 1888 would have been as disastrous to the Republican party as has been that in 1890.

For a great many years the burden of taxation has been far greater than the necessities of the government required, and men of all parties who had no selfish interests to subserve at the expense of their fellow-citizens have recognized the fact and looked hopefully to one or the other political party to give them relief. For thirty years the Democratic party has not had full possession of the law-making power, and therefore could give no relief except in such form and to such extent as a Republican Senate or a Republican President would approve. It made an honest effort to reduce taxation in 1888, and passed a bill through the House for that purpose, but it was defeated in the Senate; and, by way of apology, the country was told that the Democratic party was an obstacle in the way of reform, and should be removed. It was removed entirely for the time being by the election of a Republican President and House of Representatives, and the result is that the country has fastened upon it, perhaps for many years to come, the most illiberal and barbarous commercial policy that exists in the civilized world, and that a large part of the future earnings of the people is dedicated by law to the establishment of new speculative enterprises and to the further support of old industries which their forced contributions have heretofore maintained. The voters of the country have condemned this new departure made by the Republican party in violation of its own pledges, as popularly interpreted, and they will demand, not merely that this extreme policy shall be pursued no further, but that a genuine and substantial reform of our tax laws and commercial regulations shall be effected at the earliest possible day. If the Senate defies the popular will and refuses to coöperate with the representatives chosen directly by the people, then the political complexion of that body will be changed as rapidly as the Constitution and laws will permit.

The force and significance of this popular rebuke cannot be

weakened by the claim set up since the election that the Tariff Act has been misrepresented and its injurious effect upon the people exaggerated by the arguments of its opponents and by the action of merchants and others in taking immediate advantage of the prospective increase in prices. The purpose of the law, even if it had not been avowed by its authors and supporters, is perfectly plain, and its effect upon the cost of living and upon the markets in which our principal surplus products are sold can be foreseen with almost absolute certainty. The act was condemned by the people because they fully understood it, and not because they were deceived in regard to it. The great mass of producers in this country are in no way benefited by a tariff, and they do not believe they ought to be taxed merely for the purpose of starting some new private enterprise, or for the purpose of increasing the profits of old ones; nor do they think it wise or just to cut their products off from the great markets of the world in order to give somebody else exclusive control of their markets at home.

But the tariff schedules were only parts of the scheme to tax the whole people for the benefit of a few. Public money, raised by taxation, is to be gratuitously distributed in the form of bounties and subsidies to the manufacturers of domestic sugar and to the individuals and corporations owning steamships engaged in the foreign trade, while the people who are engaged in other pursuits, equally useful and meritorious, are to struggle on as best they can, without aid of any kind from the government. To say nothing of the injustice of the proceeding, to impose taxes for the purpose of restricting foreign trade, and at the same time to impose taxes for the purpose of paying subsidies to encourage foreign trade, involves such a palpable inconsistency that the popular mind at once refused to accept it as evidence of enlightened or honest statesmanship. To abolish protective duties on sugar, upon the distinct ground that after a thorough trial they had wholly failed to develop the industry in this country, and at the same time to impose taxes for the purpose of paying bounties to the manufacturers of that article, upon the ground that protection will develop the industry to the full extent of the domestic demand, was another inconsistency which plain people could not account for without impeaching either the judgment or the motives of the majority in Congress.

These gross abuses of the power of taxation very naturally alarmed the country, for the most careless observer of the tendencies of the Republican party could easily see that, if such measures should be sustained, the selfish demands of the favored classes upon the treasury and the people would be limited hereafter only by their own estimate of the public capacity to comply with them. If the result of an election in this country means anything, if the people by their votes actually pronounce judgment upon the public questions submitted to them, the result of the recent one is undoubtedly an emphatic and conclusive condemnation of the late Tariff Act and its kindred measures granting bounties and subsidies to private enterprises.

The proposed Federal Election Law was another measure which the people did not expect and for which the country was not prepared. There was nothing in the situation to justify it, and it was properly regarded as a purely partisan attempt to perpetuate the power of the Republican party at the expense of the peace and prosperity of a large and rapidly-developing section of the Union. There was from the first a strong public sentiment opposed, for political reasons, to the re-agitation of sectional questions in any form, and there was a still stronger feeling of opposition among business men of all parties to any form of agitation that would interfere with the industrial and commercial progress of the South. The Force Bill was better calculated than any other measure that could have been devised to demoralize labor and destroy the value of investments in that part of the country; and this, in fact, would be about the only practical effect of its passage, because no statute can permanently control the political action of the people in this country. As long as political parties are divided upon the present issues, the South will be Democratic, no matter what repressive laws may be enacted or how arbitrarily they may be executed.

But while the politics of the South cannot be changed by law, its business may be ruined by the agitations and disturbances which would almost certainly result from the enforcement of such a statute as the one proposed. Under its provisions the duties of the State and Federal officials are so intermingled and confounded that disagreements and conflicts of authority must inevitably occur, no matter how honestly and

fairly each set of officials may endeavor to conduct the election; and this would be the case in the North as well as in the South, but the situation would be greatly aggravated in the latter section by the fact that a large part of the United States officials would necessarily be ignorant and inexperienced negroes, without any qualifications whatever for their positions except their politics, for two of the three supervisors at each precinct must be Republicans if the law is to accomplish the purpose for which it is intended. It is evident that the country does not want such a law, and the Senate will probably allow it to die on the calendar and be buried with other rubbish at the end of the session.

There has never been in our history a more extravagant Congress than the present one. It is doubtful whether its prodigality in the expenditure of the public money has ever been equalled by any body of legislators, except the itinerant statesmen who infested some of the capitals in the Southern States during the period of reconstruction. For a while appropriations were made upon a scale and for purposes which indicated that in the opinion of the majority the treasury was inexhaustible and the capacity of the people to bear the burdens of taxation illimitable; but toward the close of the session, as the time for the election was approaching, a few of the leaders became alarmed at the magnitude of the sums already disposed of, and some effort was made to check the tide of extravagance. It was too late, however, and the party was compelled to go before the country with a record showing that it had appropriated for the expenses of a single fiscal year more than $425,500,000, and with the public admission that at least $46,500,000 more would have to be appropriated for the same purpose at the next session, making in the aggregate $472,000,000. This was attributable, to some extent, to the radical changes made in the rules of the House, by which the voice of the minority was virtually suppressed and its power to resist obnoxious measures substantially destroyed. But it was due principally to the feeling of indifference with which the Republican party has always regarded the expenditure of the public money, and to its inability to appreciate the weight of the burden which extravagant appropriations impose upon the people. Besides, large expenditures afford an excuse for heavy taxation, and therefore economy in the administration of public affairs is regarded by many Protectionists

as inconsistent with the fiscal policy of the party, and is condemned for that reason.

The rules of the present House were so framed, and the authority of the Speaker and the Committee on Rules has been so exercised, as to enable the majority in that body at any time to put an end to all opposition to its measures and pass them in any form it may choose. If the rules, unjust as they are to the minority, had been strictly adhered to in the transaction of business, there would have been at least a limited opportunity for debate and amendment, and no important measure could have been passed without something like proper consideration. But notwithstanding the unfair advantage held by the majority under this severe and unprecedented code of rules, it was not satisfied with the almost absolute power conferred upon it and upon its presiding officer. Fixed and settled rules, binding upon the majority as well as the minority, were inconsistent with the radical and revolutionary purposes of the leaders, and consequently the power to dictate what measures should be considered, when they should be considered, and how they should be considered, was, early in the session, surrendered to the Committee on Rules, of which the Speaker is chairman. That committee exercised a general supervision and control over the entire business of the House, and from time to time brought in resolutions designating the bills to be considered, prescribing the time during which they might be debated, and frequently limiting the number of amendments that might be offered. The bills, when taken up, were not considered under the regular rules or standing orders of the House, or under any previously-defined system of parliamentary law, but every step in the proceedings was, in most cases, arbitrarily prescribed in the special resolution passed for the occasion. In some instances the minority was not permitted to offer a single amendment, and in no case was there allowed adequate time for debate. The most important bills, affecting large interests in all parts of the country, were rushed through the House in the midst of excitement and confusion, against the protests of the minority, and often when no quorum voted. Contested-election cases involving difficult questions of law and fact were disposed of in a few hours, and in one case the whole proceedings in the House did not occupy more than five minutes. The country looked on these proceedings with amaze-

ment and indignation, and when the extremists had succeeded in putting down all effective opposition and the boast came that the popular branch of the legislative department was no longer a deliberative body, the public patience was completely exhausted.

Of course, when many questions are before the people for consideration at the same time, it is difficult to say what effect any particular one has upon the result of their vote; but the character of the discussions during the late contest and the manifestation of public interest in the subjects presented justify the conclusion that the Tariff Act and the bounty and subsidy measures, which together constitute a single system or policy, would have defeated the Republican party if all other matters of controversy had been eliminated. Aside, however, from the merits or demerits of any particular measure, it was the general judgment of the country that the policy of the dominant party, taken as a whole, was too radical, and the spirit of its leaders in Congress too illiberal and intolerant, and that, if continued in power, it would ultimately go to such extremes as to seriously endanger the peace and prosperity of the people. It is never safe to assume that the most radical and noisy element in a political party is the strongest and ought, therefore, to be permitted to dictate its policy. Except in times of great popular excitement this element is generally the weakest, and if allowed to control in the party councils, disaster is almost sure to follow. There is a great body of conservative voters in this country about equally divided between the two political parties, but not blind followers of either, and it is they who actually hold the balance of power and decide the close contests. While neither party can afford to abandon its principles for the purpose of securing this vote, yet neither can afford to drive it away by the advocacy of harsh or extreme measures. But the loss of this vote alone by the Republican party at the recent election will not account for the overwhelming defeat it has suffered. It is evident that thousands of others who have heretofore consistently voted with that party have either determined to do so no more, or to enter at least one effective protest against its abuse of the power intrusted to it, and await future developments before deciding finally upon their permanent political connections.

J. G. CARLISLE.

VICTOR HUGO: EN VOYAGE.

BY ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE.

It is a fact not less singular than significant that the volume containing Victor Hugo's personal reminiscences of men and events should have had more than twice the sale of any other among his posthumous works. Full of interest, personal and historical, as is the many-colored record of "Choses Vues," its crowning interest consists in the fact that the experiences recorded in that book are the experiences of the greatest writer born in the nineteenth century: the value of his other posthumous works consists in the fact that, if no other legacy had been bequeathed by him to time, they would have sufficed to prove him the greatest poet of an age which has been glorified by the advent of Tennyson, Browning, and Leconte de Lisle. The account of his excursions among the Alps at the age of thirty-seven, which occupies less than a quarter of the volume last issued, might perhaps have been conjectured, by a careful and thoughtful student of the man and his work, to belong to the same date as the second series of letters from the Rhine; of which, as the prefatory note informs us, it is simply the sequel.

Most readers will probably agree that the most interesting and important episode in this epistolary journal is the one which has been extracted from a letter to the artist who had the honor of receiving the previous letters from the Rhine. The six letters addressed to the wife of the writer are full to overflowing of evidence to the wonderfully swift, keen, and joyful observation of nature, the amazing quickness of notice, and the astonishing vivacity of recollection, which make it hard for a duller eye and a slower brain to follow the mere transcript of his experiences and impressions. But the story of the mountebanks at Berne, a truncated and incoherent tragedy, could have been written as it is

here written by no man that ever lived but the author of "Notre Dame de Paris"; and it is impossible to imagine—though he has vouchsafed no hint to that effect—that the creator of Esmeralda was not reminded of his creation by the sorrowful sight which he has registered for all time in that letter.

The description of Mount Pilatus at the opening of this volume would suffice to show that no such guide-book has ever been written, or ever possibly will be, as Victor Hugo might have given us if he had undertaken the task of anticipating the labors commissioned by Messrs. Murray and Baedeker. But before we come to this nobly vivid and memorable bit of landscape we meet once again with an instance of the artist's ever ready and tender sympathy with all that is beautiful and with all that is sorrowful in the nature and the surroundings of man.

No reader could fail to recognize the hand that traced the lines which follow:

"Une madone est sur l'autel [of a chapel erected on the legendary site of the slaying of Gessler]; devant cette madone est ouvert un livre où les passants peuvent enregistrer leurs noms. Le dernier voyageur entré dans la chapelle y avait écrit ces deux lignes qui m'ont plus touché que toutes les déclarations de guerre aux tyrans dont le livre est rempli: 'Je prie humblement notre sainte mère de Dieu de daigner, par son intercession, faire recouvrer un peu de vue à ma pauvre femme.' Je n'ai rien écrit sur le livre, pas même mon nom. Au-dessous de cette douce prière la page était blanche. Je l'ai laissée blanche."

To those who would compare—not in the vain and foolish hope to arrange the order of precedence or determine the rank of merit, but with the rational and scholarly desire to appreciate the special quality of each—the pictorial power of Hugo with that of such contemporaries as Tennyson and Ruskin, Browning and Carlyle, I would commend the study of such passages as the rapid sketch of the cloud on the summit of Mount Pilatus, and the yet more vivid study of the reflections in the lake of Lucerne. To me they seem to have more in common with the style of the great writer who last entered the Pantheon of England than with that of any other great man.

In the second letter, which deals with Berne and the Righi, there is nothing more striking—as there could be nothing more characteristic—than the picture of the splendid noonday landscape and the hideous idiot who was the only visible spectator of its glories. "A quoi bon cette ironie dans une solitude? Dois-je croire que le paysage était destiné à lui crétin, et l'ironie à moi passant?" But the third letter is of special and incomparable

interest. The spectacle seen by the writer when at breakfast—"reading while eating," and reading the leaf which accident laid before him of the tragi-comic bible of life—is now as immortal, though merely a record of actual fact, as though it had been a creation of the spectator's fancy; the glance, the touch, the sympathy of genius have made reality for once as real as fiction at its best. If any artist in letters could ever match or beat Jacques Callot on his own line,—I do not say that I think this possible (or impossible),—it must certainly be allowed that this master of grotesque and realistic tragedy was the painter of the terrible vagabond who is henceforward as sure of immortality as Clopin Trouillefou himself—even though Clopin be the creation of a poet, and his kinsman be only the creature of reality. But Callot, as far as I know his work, could not have drawn in any way comparable with Hugo's the beautiful and singular figure of the girl who was keeping watch beside this slumbering Caliban of the highways. I cannot venture to attempt a translation of the following lines:

"J'ai vu, sur cette place publique, une fille de seize ans, nette et jolie comme un caillou mouillé, baiser de minute en minute, avec une sorte d'admiration passionnée, les cheveux gras et les mains noires d'un affreux homme endormi qui ne sentait même pas ces douces caresses; je l'ai vue épousseter avec ses doigts roses l'habit de saltimbanque dont ses gracieuses chiquenaudes faisaient sortir de petites nuées de poussière; je l'ai vue chasser les mouches qui importunaient cet immonde dormeur, se pencher sur lui, écouter le bruit de son haleine et contempler tendrement ses bottes éculées; et maintenant je suis tout prêt à applaudir l'écrivain quelconque qui voudra faire un roman intime intitulé: *Histoire mélancolique des amours d'une colombe et d'un pourceau.*"

But the sordid and dismal little tragedy in which these singular actors played their unconscious parts in dumb show before the greatest of tragic dramatists whom the world has seen since Shakespeare is less impressive in its action than in its epilogue, when the fearful old gypsy who had betrayed her rival to the police turns round upon the biggest of the boys hooting and yelling at her, with her arm stretched out, and the voice of a screech-owl, crying, "There's your gallows." The whole grim, pathetic, grotesque, and lamentable story finds a fitting close in this quaint and ferocious touch of humor.

On the way to Aix-les-Bains Victor Hugo was apparently struck by a rather mediæval or Catholic fancy as to the hieroglyphic significance of letters—Latin letters, of course. The admirable French poet whom his countrymen seem to ignore, and

whom Archbishop Trench long since made familiar and dear to all English lovers of mediæval Latin verse at its loveliest and quaintest, might have rejoiced to exchange fancies with his more illustrious countryman as to the significance of the alphabet: the fantastic elaboration of fancy, devout and inventive, is not more characteristic of Victor Hugo than of Adam de Saint-Victor.

The short letter on Geneva is as trenchant and curt in its sarcastic expression of disgust as Swift or Carlyle could have made it; whether just or unjust, rational or whimsical, a stranger to that city cannot judge. But I want words to say how grievously I am disappointed by this cruel and libellous description of a city where the sea and the sun would seem to have united their beauties and their forces in an attempt—I do not say a successful attempt—to rival the triumphant and incomparable charm of Venice: "Marseille est un amas de maisons sous un beau ciel, voilà tout." Can the writer of this sentence have ever walked up and down the Cannebière? The glory of color, the splendor of sunshine, the fantastic charm of the stalls and shops opening on the rim of the radiant water, the wonderful multiplicity of many-colored odds and ends basking and burning in the lazy but imperious light, the infinite interest and amusement excited and supplied by a stroll along that most enchanting of seaside streets, could only have been done into words by Victor Hugo; and all he has to say of it all is this. The only explanation I can conjecture is supplied by the remark of his old friend Nodier fourteen years before: "Mon cher, vous êtes possédé par le démon Ogive." And not a word about the island or the castle of If! It is lamentable. However, the admirable contrast drawn between the waves of the Mediterranean and the real waves of the real sea is most happily accurate and appreciative.

"Ce n'etaient pas les larges lames de l'Océan qui vont devant elles et qui se déroulent royalement dans l'immensité; c'étaient des houles courtes, brusques, furieuses. L'Océan est à son aise, il tourne autour du monde; la Méditerranée est dans un vase et le vent la secoue, c'est ce qui lui donne cette vague haletante, brève et trapue. [What perfect choice of words, and what exquisite truth of eye!] Le flot se ramasse et lutte. Il a autant de colère que le flot de l'Océan et moins d'espace."

But the transcription of extracts from this book is a temptation to be eschewed. Otherwise the whole account of the double ravine of Ollioules would have to be cited in evidence of the matchless literary power which could make the mere description of a scene unknown to the reader as enthralling in interest as the

most passionate scenes of a story or a play. Yet I suppose that to most readers there must be more interest in the record of a visit to scenes they know and love than in the record of a journey among scenes unfamiliar or undelightful to them; at all events, I must avow that the second and larger division of this book is to me yet more fascinating than the first part. The style, if I may venture an opinion, is terser, keener, more trenchant, and more vivid: the humor is riper and readier than before. Victor Hugo's dislike of what an eminent English poet of a later generation has called "the happy poplar land" may have made him unjust to the capabilities of poplars for exceptional beauty of form and vivacity of expansion under exceptionally happy circumstances; but before I could say that "I know a bank" on which they tower and glitter in such majestic freedom and variety of harmonious form as to rival any growth imaginable, I should certainly have agreed that

"le peuplier est le seul arbre qui soit bête. . . . Il y a pour mon esprit, je ne sais quel rapport intime, je ne sais quelle ineffable ressemblance entre un paysage composé de peupliers et une tragédie écrite en vers alexandrins. Le peuplier est, comme l'alexandrin, une des formes classiques de l'ennui."

At Bordeaux the writer of the famous pamphlet headed "Guerre aux Démolisseurs" was moved to utter a protest and a warning as eloquent and as earnest as anything in his two essays on the same subject which were written respectively eighteen and eleven years earlier.

"Rien de plus funeste et de plus amoindrissant que les grandes démolitions. Qui démolit sa maison, démolit sa famille; qui démolit sa ville, démolit sa patrie; qui détruit sa demeure, détruit son nom. C'est le vieil honneur qui est dans ces vieilles pierres."

The whole of this letter from Bordeaux should be studied and appreciated by all who feel—and by all who need to learn—how close and how inextricable must be the connection of all serious and serviceable hope for the future with sincere and earnest reverence for the past. This, the key-note of Mazzini's political doctrine, was the watchword of Hugo's æsthetic doctrine long before he had been gradually and naturally led to embrace the Republican faith to which, like Shakespeare's Brutus, he devoted his life and his work "only in a general honest thought, and common good to all." "Toutes ces masures dédaignées," he continues, "sont des masures illustres; elles parlent, elles ont une voix; elles attestent ce que vos pères ont fait."

The description of the ruined cloister could only have been matched in verse by Shelley or in prose by Ruskin; and for English readers this can hardly but suffice by way of comment or of commendation. In the next letter the journey from Bordeaux to Bayonne is rendered into words of such living simplicity and effect that we hear the sounds and smell the flowers of a summer day now dead these forty-seven years since. The tender childish recollections evoked on entering Bayonne have all the matchless and unfailing charm with which Hugo could always touch and invest, by a natural and sacred magic, the morning lights and shadows of the unforgotten and thenceforward imperishable past. But the charnel-house of St. Michael's at Bordeaux will now be forever remembered by all students of his work as the subject of a realistic and tragic poem in prose which may be ranked among the greatest and most terrible triumphs of his imaginative and descriptive genius.

"I shall never forget what I saw then. The bell-ringer, silent and motionless, was standing upright in the middle of the crypt, leaning against a post imbedded in the flooring, and with his left hand he was lifting the lamp above his head. I looked round. A misty and scattered light vaguely lit up the crypt: I made out its ogee roof.

"Suddenly, fixing my eyes on the wall, I saw that we were not alone.

"Strange figures, standing upright with their backs to the wall, surrounded us on all sides. By the light of the lamp I got a confused glimpse of them across the fog which fills low and gloomy vaults.

"Imagine a circle of terrifying faces, in the centre of which I was standing. The blackish and naked bodies were sunken and lost in the darkness; but I saw distinctly, starting out of the shadow, and leaning, as it were, somehow towards me, crowding one against another, a multitude of dismal or dreadful heads, which seemed to call on me with mouths wide open, but voiceless, and gazed on me from eyeless sockets.

"What were these figures? Statues, of course. I took the lamp from the ringer's hands and drew near. They were corpses."

The vampire mob of the Revolution had desecrated the popular cemetery of Bordeaux and the royal cemetery of Saint-Denis at the same infamous instant.

"They tore the coffins from the soil; they flung all that dust to the winds. When the pickaxe came near the foundations of the tower, they were surprised to find no more rotten biers or broken vertebræ, but complete bodies, dried and preserved by the clay which had covered them during so many years. This inspired the creation of a charnel-house museum. The idea was suitable to the period.

"The little children of Montfaucon street and the road to Bègles were playing at knuckle-down with the scattered fragments of the cemetery. They were taken out of their hands; all that could be found were collected, and these bones were installed in the lower crypt of the bell-tower of St. Michael's. They made a pile seventeen feet deep, over which a flooring with a balustrade was adjusted. They crowned the whole with the corpses—so strangely intact—which had just been un-

earthed. There were seventy of them. They were set upright against the wall in the circular space reserved between the wall and the balustrade. This flooring it was that rang under my feet; over these bone heaps I was walking; those corpses were looking at me."

But something of grimness was yet wanting to this grim show. The plump, comfortable, red-cheeked bell-ringer began to play the part of showman.

"Look at this fellow, sir; he's number one. He's got all his teeth.—See how well preserved number two is; and yet he's nearly four hundred years old.—As for number three, one would say he was alive and could hear us. No wonder; he has only been sixty years dead. He's one of the youngest inhabitants. I know people in the town who knew him."

If, as some thinkers or dreamers might venture to hope, those two great poets of the grave, John Webster and Victor Hugo, have now met in a world beyond the grave, they must surely have compared notes as to the impression left on such minds as theirs by such experiences as these.

The meditation which follows will remind all readers of one among the greatest poems of the greatest poet born in our century—"Pleurs dans la Nuit." The deep and poignant sense of the apparent horror, the seeming dreadfulness and hopelessness of death, the fierce derision and the bitter mockery of its aspect, —"cette figure désespérée et redoutable,"—are not more intensely expressed or more triumphantly subdued by the fervent contemplation of faith and the steadfast exaltation of hope in the poem which was given us thirty-four years ago than in the pages written eleven years before the date of its production and thirteen years before the date of its publication.

Two points in the letter from Biarritz were to me, on a first reading, the dominant points of interest. By far the more interesting of the two—and in all this magnificent volume there is nothing of more interest—is this:

"The second day I went to Biarritz. As I was walking at low tide in among the grots, looking for shells and terrifying the crabs that ran off sideways and buried themselves in the sand, I heard a voice rising from behind a rock and singing the following stanza with something of a country accent, but not enough to prevent me from distinguishing the words:

"'Gastibelza, l'homme à la carabine,
Chantait ainsi:
Quelqu'un a-t-il connu doña Sabine,
Quelqu'un d'ici?
Dansez, chantez, villageois, la nuit gagne
Le mont Falou.
Le vent qui vient à travers la montagne
Me rendra fou.'

It was a woman's voice. I went round the rock. The singer was bathing. A handsome girl, who was swimming, clothed with a white shift and a short petticoat, in a

little creek shut in by two reefs at the opening of a grot. Her clothes—a peasant girl's—were lying on the sand at the inner end of the grot. When she saw me, she rose half out of the water and began singing her second stanza, and, seeing that I was standing motionless on the rock listening to her, she said to me, smiling, in a jargon of mixed French and Spanish:

"'Señor estrangero, does your honor know this song?'

"'I think so,' I answered. 'A little.'"

That the song of songs, which is Hugo's,—the one lyric tragedy of passion which will always remain as incomparable and unapproachable as the supreme dramatic tragedy of passion, "Othello,"—should have been the poem chosen by chance for the singer to overhear after such a fashion as this seems almost too delightful—too comfortable and satisfactory—to believe. The reader may remember, though he may be unable to count or to conjecture, how often he has chanted or shouted or otherwise declaimed it to himself, on horseback at full gallop or when swimming at his best, as a boy in holiday time; how often the matchless music, the matchless ardor, the matchless pathos of it have reduced his own ambition to a sort of rapturous and adoring despair; and how, supposing him not to be a cur, the sense of its unequalled and unapproachable beauty has requickened his old delight in it with a new delight in the sense that he will always have this to rejoice in, to adore, and to recognize as something beyond reach of man; that, whatever he may achieve, he can never feel himself bereft of a superior, a master, a poet beyond all thought of emulation; that for any one born in this century who dreams of being a lyrist or a dramatist there is always Victor Hugo, living or dead, to look up to and bow down to. And that our master should have had the pleasure of this experience—he did not condescend to express his pleasure, but to me his reticence seems hardly to conceal it—must surely be pleasant for all who honor him to remember.

We will not dwell on his shrinking anticipation that Biarritz might some day possibly become fashionable and be ruined; but the story of his fly could only have been told by Thackeray with such quiet and serious humor. There is nothing funnier in "The Irish Sketch-Book"; and there certainly is nothing so ingenious or so rascally recorded of an Irish conductor in that kindly and delightful volume. A penny to go, ten shillings to return, make up a tariff worthy of commemoration even by such a passenger as the one who found himself swindled on this occasion; and Sterne could not have registered the experience with more

delightful good-humor and more kindly realism. The fatality which befel everybody present at the first Bonaparte's imperial display or puppet-show would be hardly interesting at this date to any reader if he were not roused and shocked by the statement that "the captain who had given the empress his hand," to help her out of the water into which she had stumbled, was afterwards condemned to death, and shot, for having done so. If this be true, it proves—and it is hard to understand how Victor Hugo should not have seen—that France was then at least, whether she is or is not now, so far behind all other barbarous nations as to be fit for alliance with none but Russia, Dahomey, or United Ireland.

The incident of the little old Spanish wagon drawn by oxen, which reminded Hugo of his childhood, will remind all readers of his unequalled power in evoking, his incomparable tact in expressing, those early recollections and associations which so few men of genius have been able to record gracefully or worthily of themselves. Walter Scott, Alexandre Dumas, and Victor Hugo could do this; but I hardly remember another who could. From Bayonne to St. Sebastian the most amusingly memorable record set down by Victor Hugo is the anecdote of a porter, Oyarbide by name. The letter from St. Sebastian leaves the reader bewildered and compassionate at the thought of so many fruitless revolutions, in which so much noble devotion and courage and chivalry were wasted; but the shining instance of royal gratitude on the part of Don Carlos and the noble incident of loyal comradeship on the part of General Elio serve excellently well to set off each other.

The letter describing the strange, enchanted, and enchanting old town of Pasages is so delightfully full of life and light and color that no commentary can convey or can suggest a sense of its charm. The rival clamors of the boatwomen, which startled the writer from meditation on an insect and a flower; the singularly flattering disappointment of the girl whom Hugo paid for a task on which he did not employ her; the conversation with the admirer of the incomparable rope-walk (Flaubert could not have recorded it with more calm severity and precision of touch); the dazzling and many-colored prospect of a "humble corner of earth and water which would be admired if it were in Switzerland and famous if it were in Italy, and is unknown because it is in Guipuzcoa," compose an inimitable prologue to the

extraordinary scene which follows. But I shall not attempt to indicate or to select any special passages or salient points in the two letters which give an account of this wonderful town of contrasts and its almost more wonderful surroundings. Let it suffice to say that they would suffice for the fame of a great writer.

The visit after sunset to the wasted village of Leso is told in words which recall and emulate Callot's study of the ravages of war. The grim church, with its ghastly past of sainted inquisitors and its ghastly present of scoffing children, is far more terrible to read of than the devil-haunted ruin on the mountain adjoining.

Pamplona, which the poet had so grandly celebrated fifteen years earlier, inspired on this occasion the longest and one of the most interesting of his letters. The noble, pathetic, and manly meditation on the mysterious sufferings of misused animals should remind us of a passage dealing with the same sorrowful and shameful subject in a poem ("Melancholia") belonging to the third book of the "Contemplations." The brilliant and grotesque description of the strange conveyance and its stranger conductors which introduces this discourse on the duty of pity is in its way as perfect as the sublimely characteristic and fantastic sketch of sunrise, touched and colored by the dream or vision of a suggested sense in awakening nature of pain ineffable and pity inexpressible for the poor tormented and terrified and bewildered beasts of burden or of draught—"those forsaken and miserable animals who are her children as we are, and live nearer to her than we do."

The summary of Spanish eccentricities and incongruities in which the poet has condensed his impressions of the country he was revisiting—"pays unique où l'incompatible se marie à tout moment, à tout bout de champ, à tout coin de rue"—is one of the brightest and wittiest in illustration that he ever wrote. The gorge of Tolosa, on the other hand, gives occasion for some of the gravest and loftiest writing in this volume. The savage splendor of cliff and forest, the "broad sheets of live rock coming down from the highest summits, all sown with almost inexplicable great oaks"; the reapers of the size of ants "reaping their wheat in the abyss"; the hairbreadth escape of the coach with all its charge, preserved at the edge of the precipice by a decrepit old beggar with a stone kicked under the wheel; the city of Pamplona with its partially-defaced cathedral, its quaint or noble incidents of street archi-

tecture, the cloister garden and the boudoir sacristy, the battle sculptured in marble on a tomb and the humble bier hard by it; the landscape transfigured by moonrise; the wrinkled and gleaming river that slid among the trees like a silver snake; the outbreak of life and music that brightens the sleepy old city from sunset to midnight; all this, and more, lives and vibrates on the written page as it might in the memory of a witness.

The little adventure recorded in the next letter is told in the illustrious traveller's lightest and brightest style of narrative; and by the help of the plan marking out the various divisions of his night's lodging we can almost see, and for that matter we can almost smell it: the sweet hay and the resinous flame, as well as "that dull sugary smell exhaled from all Spanish bothies"; the huge fireplace with its dragon-like dogs, the one window, the one bed, the "stable" with poultry and a calf in it just opposite, the "cellar," the "arsenal," the huge sloping block of granite with trusses of straw spread in front of it by way of accommodation for sleepers in the "guest-chamber," the gnome-like ape of a child, the streamlet running down a hollow bole sunk in the ground from one gap in the wall to another: a perfect and memorable picture in its grotesque and homely way.

To the letter from Cauterets the lovers of that sublimely lovely valley will naturally be tempted to turn on first opening this volume; and it will be with a shock of disappointed amazement that they will find no mention of its crowning glory. Of all great poets that ever lived, with the one possible and doubtful exception of Dante, Victor Hugo is the one who would have seemed most fit to describe and most capable of describing the lake of Gaube; and he, of all men and all tourists, was the one to turn back down the half-ascended valley, and leave it unvisited. The description of the mountain landscape before dawn is noble and lifelike, touched with earnest thought and colored by living fancy; but I for one had hoped to find some notice of the flora and fauna which combine to give this high borderland its peculiar charm of brilliant and fervent life. The fiery exuberance of flowers among which the salamanders glide like creeping flames radiant and vivid up to the very skirt of the tragic little pine wood at whose heart the fathomless little lake lies silent, with a dark dull gleam on it as of half-tarnished steel; the deliciously keen and

exquisite shock of a first plunge under its tempting and threatening surface, more icy cold in spring than the sea in winter; the ineffable and breathless purity of the clasping water in which it seems to savor of intrusive and profane daring that a swimmer should take his pleasure till warned back by fear of cramp when but halfway across the length of it, and doubtful whether his stock of warmth would hold out for a return from the far edge opposite, to which no favoring magic can be expected to transport the clothes left behind him on the bank off which he dived; the sport of catching and taming a salamander till it became the pleasantest as well as the quaintest of dumb four-footed friends; the beauty of its purple-black coat of scaled armor inlaid with patches of dead-leaf gold, its shining eyes and its flashing tongue,—these things, of which a humbler hand could write at greater length than this, would require such a hand as Hugo's to do them any part of justice.

The account of Gavarnie, "nature's Colosseum," may be matched against any of this great artist's studies for terse and vigorous precision of imaginative outline. The brief notice of Luz gives a last touch of brightness to a book which then closes in gloom as deep as death. In the isle of Oléron, a ghastly and hardly-accessible wilderness of salt marshes, with interludes of sterile meadow and unprofitable vineyard, manured with seaweed and yielding an oily and bitter wine; with foul gray fog rising in heavy reek from the marshlands, a shore of mud, a desolate horizon, a lean and fever-stricken population, a prison for some hundreds of military convicts; a heaviness like death, he tells us, fell upon the visitor.

"Not a sound to seaward, not a sail, not a bird. At the bottom of the sky, to westward, appeared a huge round moon which seemed in those livid mists the reddened imprint of the moon with its gilding rubbed off. . . . Perhaps on another day, at another hour, I should have had another impression. But for me that evening everything was funereal and melancholy. It seemed to me that this island was a great coffin lying in the sea, and this moon the torch to light it."

Next day the writer of these words came by chance on the tidings—in a newspaper taken up in a coffee-house—that just five days earlier his eldest daughter and her six-months' husband had been drowned in a boating excursion on the Seine.

It was not till three years later that the first was written of those matchless poems of mourning which keep fresh forever the record of his crowning sorrow.

ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE.

PARTISANSHIP AND THE CENSUS.

BY THE HON. ROBERT P. PORTER, SUPERINTENDENT OF THE ELEVENTH CENSUS.

IN ACCEPTING the invitation of the editor of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW to write an article on the census, it was my original intention to make the paper entirely statistical. The general and current interest just now exhibited in the census is sufficient reason for considering the subject from a different stand-point. An off year in politics and the dull season following the adjournment of Congress have been somewhat enlivened by the frenzical attacks on the Eleventh Census. The batteries of some of our leading journals have poured forth broadside after broadside of invective upon those responsible for the work. In fact, the leaders of this wild crusade have resorted to every ingenious partisan trick to work up public sentiment against the census, and apparently for no cause save the fact that the population of the country did not reach the expected total and the count in two or three large cities was disappointing. The variegated resources of sensational journalism have been strained during the last two months in the discovery of new plots, in the unearthing of deep-laid conspiracies, and in the patching together of some hideous monstrosity to alarm the people and stir up partisan prejudice against the results of the census.

This decennial census epidemic—for it usually follows an enumeration of the people—first appeared in St. Paul and Minneapolis, and had its origin in the bitter rivalry between these two ambitious cities. It assumed State proportions in Oregon after the official returns from the neighboring State of Washington had been made public. Checked by the exposure by the Census Office of the frauds and padding in the twin cities of the Northwest, the refusal of a recount for Oregon, and the demonstration of the substantial accuracy of the counts in a score of important cities, North and

South, it finally broke out with redoubled partisan fury in New York city. The official count of the population of the metropolis as it now stands was made public by the Census Office on July 17, and yet no complaint was made until September, when the Board of Aldermen passed resolutions declaring the census of June "inadequate" and demanding a recount, but offering no proof whatever of the omission of names.

The value of the census as an issue in the pending municipal campaign was at once recognized by politicians, and the mayor ordered an October census, designating the police as enumerators. In a city like New York a census taken in October would naturally show an increase over a census taken in June of the same year. The later period would have the advantage of including thousands of families, with their domestic help, who are absent in the summer. The difference in the hotel population alone would also favor the October count. In the lower quarters of the city thousands of wage-earners annually seek employment in the country, on the lakes and rivers, in brickyards, and as waiters or other help in the large hotels at mountain and seaside resorts, where New-Yorkers literally swarm during the summer months. Nor is this the only advantage. June, July, August, and September are heavy immigration months, and it is a demonstrable fact that in some districts of the city the increase found by the police in October is largely traceable to this influx of immigrants remaining in New York. During these months at least 125,000 immigrants arrived at this port.

At the time of the June enumeration the current of public opinion in this particular was running against the Federal enumerators, as the very journals now bitterly complaining of omissions were declaring the questions required by the Census Act inquisitorial, and urging citizens to refuse to answer them. The police, on the other hand, were hampered by no disagreeable questions relating to mortgage indebtedness or physical disability, handicapped by no instructions except a general desire on the part of those directing the work to secure all the names possible, and backed by the newspaper press. That they should be able to obtain a more formidable list of names is no more a matter of surprise to those who know anything about census methods than is the fact that the honorable mayor of New York finally refused to submit that list to the Federal authorities for comparison and

verification. A list of names thus taken is utterly worthless as a census, but would be of value in checking the June enumeration. As the case now stands, there is no more reason to believe that the alleged difference, after taking into consideration the conditions under which the two enumerations were made, is due to the omissions of June than to the additions and duplications of October. The presumption, however, is strongly in favor of the Federal census, for that is a matter of permanent public record; but the mayor has thus far failed to turn his schedules over to the proper authorities at Washington for examination.

While the dissatisfaction with the total population of New York city has been "worked for all it is worth" for political purposes, the fact that the population of the country, all told, is not likely to reach quite 63,000,000 is also being used to give importance to the groundless and absurd cry of a partisan census. The editor of one leading New York paper actually argues that, because the country increased 59.51 per cent. in twenty years, from 1860 to 1880, therefore the country should increase one-half as much, or 29.75 per cent., in ten years, from 1880 to 1890, and then, because the actual rate of increase according to the census does not reach this figure, proceeds to demonstrate that it is a "partisan census." A very elementary knowledge of arithmetic only is necessary to show that the percentage of increase of a country in ten years is not one-half the percentage of increase for twenty years, but something very different; so that if the able editor of this somewhat pretentious Mugwump journal had properly made his comparison, he would have seen that the percentage of increase for ten years as based upon the increase of the country from 1860 to 1880 was 26.03 per cent., with which the actual increase from 1880 to 1890—24.57 per cent.—compares very favorably.

No fair-minded man who has taken the trouble to acquaint himself with the organization known as the Census Bureau could possibly be brought to believe the charge of a "partisan census," for the simple reason that a partisan census is an impossibility—unless it be possible to corrupt an army of nearly 50,000 enumerators, who have been marshalled and commanded and supervised by scientific men and experts of all political parties, and whose returns have been handled, computed, tabulated, and worked into results by men and women

representing all shades of political opinion. The only partisanship about the census has been the partisan attacks upon it, and those have been largely based on ignorance or indifference in respect of facts. Precisely the same thing, however, occurred in 1880. No sooner were results declared than partisan newspapers poured forth volley upon volley of vituperation against the Census Office because of alleged frauds in the Southern States. At that time the following table of percentages of growth formed the specific target for party malice, prejudice, and ignorance, supported, as at present, by a vigorous and somewhat inharmonious chorus of disappointed municipalities with police censuses and demands for recounts:

States.	Per cent. of increase. 1860 to 1870.	1870 to 1880.
Virginia	*a* 4.4	23.4
North Carolina	7.9	30.6
South Carolina	0.2	41.0
Georgia	11.9	30.2
Alabama	3.4	26.6
Mississippi	4.6	36.6
Louisiana	2.6	29.3
Kentucky	14.3	24.8
Tennessee	13.4	22.5

a Of Virginia and West Virginia together.

It was widely charged that nothing short of an infamous and deeply-laid plot could have produced such a sudden and extraordinary change as the above. Accustomed to surprises as statisticians are, General Francis A. Walker, Superintendent of both the Ninth and Tenth Censuses, was not satisfied with the results, and an investigation was ordered and a recount made in the State of South Carolina, where the increase had been most astonishing. This inquiry established the accuracy of the Tenth Census to the satisfaction of all reasonable persons, but for long after that we heard the cry of a padded census in the Southern States. These charges were vigorously combated by Superintendent Walker, who said in one of his reports:

"The entire ground for impeaching the integrity of the recent census was found in the reported gain of population between 1870 and 1880. The results of the investigation hereinbefore detailed place, beyond possible question by any fair-minded man, the entire fault upon the census of 1870."

The fact was demonstrated that, under the census law which intrusted the United States marshals with taking the census, the census of 1870 was grossly deficient in the Southern States. A study of these facts at once disposed of the wild and partisan charge upon the ten thousand officers employed in the service throughout the Southern States that they were engaged in the

perpetration of "a monstrous political crime" through "a gigantic conspiracy to falsify the census."

What was true in 1880 applies with equal force in 1890. The law under which the Eleventh Census was taken is practically the same as that under which General Walker took the Tenth Census. A few questions, such as those relating to the veterans of the war, to mortgage indebtedness, and to the separation of negroes into black, mulatto, quadroon, and octoroon, were added by Congress. As far as possible, the organization of the Census Office is the same. In no case have chiefs or experts been selected because of their political faith, but in every case in consequence of statistical training, special knowledge, or service in the Tenth Census. The Census Office is divided into twenty-five important divisions. Sixteen of these divisions are in charge of men chosen in 1880 for the same work by my predecessor, General Walker. There are among them Democrats, Republicans, Mugwumps, Free-Traders, and Protectionists. The population division is in charge of a statistician who received his training from Colonel Carroll D. Wright, and was recommended to me by that gentleman as the best-equipped man for the place in the country, and the man he would have selected if Superintendent of Census. The remaining divisions—those of church statistics; wealth, debt, and taxation; national and State finance; farms, homes, and mortgages; agriculture; mines and mining; statistics of Indians; and supervisors' correspondence—are in charge of eminent and capable experts, with national and foreign reputations in their several lines of statistical work. Besides those having charge of divisions, there are from twenty to thirty expert special agents making special investigations, three-fourths of whom were employed in the Tenth Census, and not one of whom was appointed for political reasons. To invalidate the Eleventh Census, therefore, is to attack the integrity of nearly every man who took part in the Tenth Census. To question the fitness of the appointments is to discount the judgment of the first census expert in the United States, perhaps in the world, General Walker, for he has pronounced them as a whole "almost perfect."

With every avenue through which "monstrous political crime" and "vile conspiracy" could stalk guarded by men whose characters are unquestioned, whose integrity cannot be impeached, whose ability is known, and whose standing is recognized in scien-

tific and statistical circles throughout the country, how is it possible to falsify the census for political purposes? By the aid of the supervisors? Let us see. The supervisors were appointed, on the recommendation of the Secretary of the Interior, by the President of the United States. Their claims, however, were in every case carefully examined by the department. Those gentlemen were not selected from one political party. In many States their appointments were not regarded by the honorable Secretary as political, and on the credentials of not a few of those in the Southern States may be found the names of some of the most powerful of Democratic Senators and Representatives, testifying to their qualifications. In the selection of enumerators the office had to depend largely upon the judgment of the supervisors, though all applications were examined impartially at the Census Office, alike by Democratic and Republican experts, and in no instance was an appointment refused to a competent man for political reasons. Complaints came in from local leaders that Democratic enumerators were being appointed throughout the South. The answer was, Are they competent?—incompetency alone being cause for removal.

The office force in Washington has been made up in precisely the same way, and ability to do the work has been the only test. All applicants for minor clerkships have been compelled to pass a more thorough examination than that required for the same grade by the Civil-Service Commission, and without such examination only those who have passed the full clerkship examination of the commission have been accepted by the Census Office. Among those recommending these bright and efficient young men and women may be found the names of the most prominent and influential Democrats in the United States, most of them, no doubt, glad and proud to help worthy and capable applicants from their districts to secure employment. The charge that there was any politics in a majority of these appointments I deny, and in this denial I will be sustained by the Secretary of the Interior, who makes them, and by honest Senators and Representatives of both political parties. The census clerks thus appointed and trained by the fully-equipped corps of chiefs and assistants who did effective service in the Tenth Census cannot be excelled by any similar number of clerks in any other department of the government. How the Democrats would have used this vast Federal patronage

I know not; but I do know, and can fearlessly state, that it is my belief that the great masses of Republicans would never consent to let the Census Office be converted into a political machine, and, acting in that belief, the work in every branch is open to the closest inspection.

The charges, therefore, of partisanship in the management of the Census Office cannot for a moment be sustained, while the results already published, when analyzed, as effectively stamp out the false allegations of a partisan census as would the production of the alleged "corpse" in good health by the defence in a trial for murder.

Attention is invited to the following table showing the numerical increase in the population of the United States in each decade from 1790, together with the percentage of increase:

Population.	Population.	Increase.	Per cent. of increase.
(1790) 3,929,214	(1800) 5,308,483	1,379,269	35.10
(1800) 5,308,483	(1810) 7,239,881	1,931,398	36.38
(1810) 7,239,881	(1820) 9,633,822	2,393,941	33.07
(1820) 9,633,822	(1830) 12,866,020	3,232,198	33.55
(1830) 12,866,020	(1840) 17,069,453	4,203,433	32.67
(1840) 17,069,453	(1850) 23,191,876	6,122,423	35.87
(1850) 23,191,876	(1860) 31,443,321	8,251,445	35.58
(1860) 31,443,321	(1870) 38,558,371	7,115,050	22.63
(1870) 38,558,371	(1880) 50,155,783	11,597,412	30.08
(1880) 50,155,783	(1890) 62,480,540	12,324,757	24.57

A glance at the foregoing table shows that the numerical increase of the population in decennial periods has steadily increased, the greatest increase being for the last decade. To the variations in the percentage of increase the attacks are therefore directed. Thus one angry editor in Massachusetts exclaims: "The total given in this census is so absurd that criticism stands amazed at the idiotic exhibition." Another paper says editorially: "Granting the census of 1870 was grossly defective in the Southern States, this theory does not explain away the 35.5 per cent. rate of increase made

between 1850 and 1860; and the 35.8 per cent. made in 1840–1850; and the 32.6 per cent. made in 1830–1840; and the 33.5 per cent. made in 1820–1830; and so on."

The Census Office does not deal in theories, and has no theory to offer in explanation of the stubborn facts which a careful enumeration of the people brings to light. The inaccuracy of the Ninth Census in the Southern States has been demonstrated by extensive investigation and publicly admitted by the officer who took it. Moreover, the evidence of those omissions has been accepted as the reason for the apparently-abnormal growth in the States referred to above between 1870 and 1880, and it must be accepted as the reason for the normal and satisfactory growth which the Eleventh Census shows to have taken place in these same States between 1880 and 1890. What is capable of absolute proof must be accepted. The idea that, if the percentage of increase in the population of a State or nation shows a falling-off, such falling-off is an indication of incomplete enumeration is fallacious and, if carried to excess, grotesque. Nothing, in short, could be further from scientific truth. Unless the gain in a State or country is abnormally large, a decrease in the percentage of increase will always be manifest. To show that there are other census results which have been accepted as substantially correct, but which display greater vagaries than do the United States census returns, the following table has been prepared:

POPULATION OF MASSACHUSETTS—1765 TO 1885.

Census periods.	Years comprehended in each period.	Percentage of increase in period.	Percentage of increase for United States.
1765–1775	11	23.88	.....
1776–1790	14	28.37	.....
1790–1800	10	11.63	35.10
1800–1810	10	11.63	36.38
1810–1820	10	10.85	33.07
1820–1830	10	16.64	33.55
1830–1840	10	20.85	32.67
1840–1850	10	34.81	35.87
1850–1860	10	23.79	35.58
1855–1865	10	11.89	(1860–70) 22.63
1865–1875	10	30.38	(1870–80) 30.08
1875–1885	10	17.57	(1880–90) 24.57

In his analysis of the population returns for 1885 Colonel Wright, Commissioner of Labor, who was in charge of the census, said:

"The gain, therefore, in the last decade (1875–1885) is 290,229, or 17.57 per cent. From 1865 to 1875 the State gained 384,881, or 30.38 per cent., a much larger gain than during the decade from 1875 to 1885. *As the State grows older the percentage of gain from decade to decade will decrease.*"

If we proceed upon the assumption that the State, having shown

a gain of 30.38 per cent. from 1865 to 1875, should show the same gain from 1875 to 1885, we should have had a population in Massachusetts of 2,153,762 in 1885, instead of 1,942,141, as enumerated. On the same basis the population in 1890 should be 2,480,918, instead of 2,233,407, as enumerated. The gain from 1885 to 1890 (five years) was 291,266, or very nearly 15 per cent. Who can explain why the State gained 15 per cent. in five years (1885–1890) and only 17.57 per cent. in ten years (1875–1885)? Who can explain a variation of 23.96 per cent. between the increase from 1810 to 1820 (10.85 per cent.) and that from 1840 to 1850 (34.81 per cent.)?

The widest variation in these United States figures is but 13.75 per cent., being between 36.38 per cent. (1800–1810) and 22.63 per cent. (1860–1870). Why should certain variations in percentages in the United States figures be taken as presumptive evidence of fraud or incomplete enumeration, when larger variations in the Massachusetts figures have never been assailed by the same critics?

The fact is as stated: unless the growth is abnormal, the percentage of increase in population grows smaller as the country grows larger, for the numerical increase becomes a percentage of a constantly-increasing number. To argue against this is to argue against all the past experience of nations. It is not likely that the percentage of increase of population in this country will ever again be lifted to a height that will satisfy the boundless enthusiasm of those who calmly denounce a gain of nearly twelve millions and a half in ten years as an "idiotic exhibition."

It has been shown already that the astonishing increase in the population of certain Southern States in 1880 led to an investigation, and finally to the conclusion that there were serious defects in the Ninth Census in those States. If the census of 1880 had exhibited the same percentage of increase in these States as shown in the Eleventh Census, our Southern friends would have been well satisfied with the progress of their respective States. As it was, however, they were as much astonished at the facts shown in 1880 as were the people of the North. The increase of the percentage of increase in South Carolina from $\frac{3}{10}$ of 1 per cent. in 1870 to 41.1 per cent. in 1880 was pronounced by the critics of 1880 "partisan fraud." But the facts stood, and they are verified by the count of 1890, as will be seen in the following

table showing the rates of increase during the last three decades in these States, and illustrating the imperfections of the census of 1870 in a somewhat startling manner:

States.	Per cent. of increase, 1860 to 1870.	1870 to 1880.	1880 to 1890.
Virginia	*a* 4.4	23.4	9.0
North Carolina	7.9	30.6	15.5
South Carolina	0.2	41.0	15.2
Georgia	11.9	30.2	18.9
Alabama	3.4	26.6	19.4
Mississippi	4.6	36.6	13 5
Louisiana	2.6	29.3	18.8
Kentucky	14.3	24.8	12.5
Tennessee	13.4	22.5	14.4

a Of Virginia and West Virginia together.

Taking what is popularly called the "Solid South," together with the District of Columbia, the following table shows the relation that the population of these States bears to the whole population of the country at each census since 1790:

1790	49.91	1850	41.24
1800	49.39	1860	39.16
1810	48.08	1870	36.33
1820	46.56	1880	37.25
1830	45.46	1890	35.95
1840	42.97		

This table shows that the proportion has constantly decreased, except in the single decade from 1870 to 1880, thus adding force to the argument that the enumeration of 1870 was defective, giving rise to an apparently-abnormal increase in 1880.

From 1790 to 1880 the proportion decreased from 49.91 to 37.25 per cent.—an average decrease of 1.41 in each of the nine decades. The census of 1880 is not questioned. Subtracting, therefore, from 37.25, the percentage for 1880, 1.41, the proportionate decrease to be expected, leaves 35.84, the mathematical probability for 1890. The census of 1890 actually gives, however, 35.95—a result differing by only .11 from what was to be expected (35.84), and by so much larger than the law of averages requires.

It may be said, however, that the war period has been included in making the average, and that it is therefore too small. The truth is just the opposite. From 1790 to 1860 the decrease was from 49.91 to 39.16 per cent.—an average decrease of 1.54 per cent. Subtracting this from 37.25, the percentage for 1880, leaves 35.71 as the percentage to be expected in 1890 on that basis. Once more, from 1830 to 1860—a period when the South was practically supreme in the nation—the decrease averaged 2.10 per cent. in each decade. Subtracting this from the percentage for

1880 (37.25) leaves 35.15 to be expected in 1890 on that basis. In each case the theoretical result is decidedly less than the one actually reported. The 1790–1880 average is the best one for use, however, because it is the one based on the largest number of data; and this is the one which is in close agreement with the census report, what difference there is being in this, as in all cases, in favor of the census. Summing up these comparisons, the relative importance of the Southern States in point of population in 1890 would be, according to rate of change, as follows:

1830—1860	35.15 of whole population.
1790—1860	35.71 of whole population.
1790—1880	35.84 of whole population.
Census of 1890	35.95 of whole population.

It has been urged that, while there were serious omissions in the census of 1870, the aggregate was not sufficient to account for the entire decline in the rate of increase. A study of the rate of increase of the total colored population (slaves and free) from 1790 to 1860 refutes this theory, and establishes beyond doubt that a much larger number of colored persons were omitted in 1870 than those who incline to this idea suspect. I have prepared this table showing the growth of the colored population from 1790 to 1880, the figures for 1890 not being yet attainable:

Year.	Total number colored persons.	Percentage of increase.
1790	757,208	
1800	1,002,037	32
1810	1,377,808	37
1820	1,771,656	29
1830	2,328,642	31
1840	2,873,648	23
1850	3,638,808	23
1860	4,441,830	22
1870	4,880,009	10
1880	6,580,793	35

If these figures are correct for 1870, the increase of colored persons between the years 1860 and 1870 was nearly 700,000 less than in the decade before, while the percentage of increase dropped from 22 to 10. In 1880 it took a sudden leap to 35 per cent.—higher by more than 10 per cent. than for the three decades preceding 1870.

If any further proof is necessary to establish the fact that the disappointment as respects the population in the Southern States to-day is the result of the abnormal apparent increase of ten years ago, and not of defective enumeration, it can be produced. Omitting from consideration those States in which the census of 1870 is known or is presumed to have been faulty, the rate of

increase between 1870 and 1880 in the remaining States has been very nearly maintained in the decade between 1880 and 1890, as shown in the following table:

Year.	Population.	Increase in population.	Percentage of increase.
1870	26,270,351	.....	.....
1880	33,639,215	7,368,864	28.1
1890	42,693,682	9,054,467	26.9

It will be seen that the actual increase between 1880 and 1890 exceeded that between 1870 and 1880 by 1,685,603, and that the proportional increase was but 1.2 per cent. less. Here we have corroborative proof. Even those who lay stress on the percentage of increase have little to complain of in that portion of the country in which the enumeration for the last three decades has been satisfactory, since the decline in the rate of increase has been so small.

The enumeration of the people has been fairly and thoroughly prosecuted by competent officers, and the results will stand any reasonable statistical tests that may be applied. Any attacks made for political purposes or inspired by municipalities convicted by the Census Office of padding will fall to the ground. An attempt has been made by certain politicians to create the idea that the census was inflated in certain Republican States and depressed in certain Democratic States for the purpose of reducing Democratic representation. On this charge it is only necessary to produce the alleged victim in sound health to refute completely the charge of murder. The total population of the United States is 62,480,540. Out of this should properly be deducted those new Northwestern States and territories where the growth of population is abnormal. This throws out of the calculation 4,689,413, and allows for a basis of comparison a population, comprising Democratic, Republican, and doubtful States, of 57,791,127. Here is the percentage of growth, Democratic and Republican States being placed in juxtaposition:

PERCENTAGE OF GROWTH OF POPULATION OF DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN STATES BETWEEN 1880 AND 1890:

Pennsylvania	22.55	Mississippi	13.55
Alabama	19.45	Maine	1.75
Illinois	24.06	Tennessee	14.35
Louisiana	18.82	New York	17.69
Texas	40.24	Maryland	11.28
California	39.24	Indiana	10.65
Arkansas	40.23	Virginia	9.01
Wisconsin	27.99	Nevada (decrease)	28.81

PERCENTAGE OF GROWTH OF POPULATION OF DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN STATES BETWEEN 1880 AND 1890.

Florida	44.88	South Carolina	15.23
Kansas	42.91	Vermont (decrease)	0.02
Georgia	18.95	Rhode Island	24.88
Connecticut	19.78	West Virginia	22.96
New Jersey	2' 40	Ohio	14.65
Michigan	27.66	Delaware	14.50
Missouri	23.46	Kentucky	12.54
Massachusetts	25.26	New Hampshire	8.31
Iowa	17.36		
North Carolina	15.54		

Percentage of increase of 34 States	20.50
Percentage of increase of Western States and territories	112.27
Percentage of increase of the entire country	24.57
Largest percentage of increase in any one Democratic State	44.88
Largest percentage of increase in any one Republican State	42.91
Smallest percentage of increase in any one Democratic State	9.01
Smallest percentage of increase or greatest decrease in any one Republican State (decrease)	28.81
Percentage of increase of 16 Democratic States	19.79
Percentage of increase of 14 Republican States	22.43
Percentage of increase of 4 doubtful States	7.39

If any politicians can see "politics" in the fact that Pennsylvania increased 22.50 and Alabama 19.50 per cent.; Texas 40.25 per cent. and California 39.25 per cent.; Florida nearly 45 per cent. and Kansas nearly 43 per cent.; Kentucky 12.50 per cent. and Indiana only 10.50 per cent.; Arkansas 40.25 and Wisconsin 28 per cent., they are welcome to the "discovery." And if they can see in these increases and these percentages evidence of a "dark plot" to "overturn free government" and "uproot the Constitution," I have no desire to curtail their amusement or to object to their platitudes. The facts show that if such a conspiracy existed it was a melancholy failure.

And now a word in conclusion about the American method of taking a census. For this country it is unquestionably the best; in fact, it is the only system possible. That it is a perfect system no one who knows anything about census-taking will claim. The improvements I would suggest are greater simplicity in the population schedule by a reduction of the number of questions; the omission of such inquiries as those relating to mortgage indebtedness, physical disability, etc.; smaller supervisors' districts, smaller enumeration districts, and increased *per-capita* pay for enumerators. All these changes must be made by Congress, as the Superintendent of Census under the present act is compelled to obtain certain information through the enumerators, and must put the questions on the schedules. Instead of 175 supervisors'

districts, I would have at least 500, and instead of 50,000 enumerators, the number should be 100,000.

Next April they will take a census for the United Kingdom. The authorities informed me a few weeks ago, when I was in London, that in England and Wales about 40,000 enumerators will be employed. For the entire United Kingdom the number will aggregate 55,000, and this army will be supervised by not less than 4,000 superintendent-registrars, registrars, and police inspectors. To cover the United States, from the stand-point of area, as England will be covered next April, it would take 400,000 enumerators, instead of 42,000. Surely an enumeration thus conducted would yield more accurate results. Each of the English enumerators is employed about a week, and receives on an average $7.50 compensation.

While the English census will be full and accurate, so far as counting the population is concerned, and while we may strengthen our system in the way suggested, the Eleventh Census of the United States, when completed in all its branches, will stand unequalled by any similar publication of any government in the world. Those who vilify and slander it will take their places alongside of the men who, only a century ago, opposed the idea of a census for fear that it would bring on an epidemic of contagious diseases.

ROBERT P. PORTER.

A TOPIC FOR CHRISTMAS.

BY THE RIGHT HON. SIR LYON PLAYFAIR, K. C. B., M. P.

WAR is the organization and exercise of the combative instincts of man, common to him and beasts. Its methods may vary with the progress of science and civilization, but its incidents, for a long succession of ages, have been to desolate smiling countries, to massacre prisoners, to perpetrate every kind of barbarity, and to carry into slavery the women and children of the conquered nation. We do not require to go so far back as the flourishing periods of Chaldean and Assyrian history for illustration of this barbarity. "It is an eternal law," says Xenophon, "that when a city is taken the persons and possessions of the conquered become the property of the conqueror." The history of the Punic and other wars abounds in illustrations of this "eternal law." Carthage and Rome were advanced in civilization, but the sack of Syracuse and Agrigentum, the razing of Carthage, and the brutal destruction of Corinth were perpetrated by generals some of whom, like Scipio Africanus, could weep over their barbarities, though they did not disdain to receive honors, as heroes, from their civilized republics. There was little difference in the methods employed during the Punic wars by Hamilcar, Hasdrubal, or Hannibal on the one side, or by the three Scipios on the other. Even after these wars we read of the cultured Macedonian, Philip V., exercising such severe measures that, on the capture of Abydos, the whole population committed suicide *en masse*. We might parallel these atrocities in comparatively modern times, when the Duke of Alva made war on the Dutch Republic; but it is useless to refer to other illustrations of the bar-

barities of war, for they are more or less incident to it at all times and in all places.

> "Ages after, while in Asia he who led the wild Moguls,
> Timur, built his ghastly tower of eighty thousand skulls."

Still, it would be foolish to deny that war extended civilization in ancient times. Greece and Rome did much to subdue barbarism and to civilize nations. The Scythians and the Persians were subdued from licentiousness to comparative civility. War welded the divided commonwealths of Greece into a powerful state, just as the American War of Independence showed the weakness of confederated states and united them into one of the great nations of the world. War formerly was the chief mixer of races, as navigation is now. The latter, in early times, was little better than piracy, but now it has become the great pacificator of nations. The sea, which formerly separated countries, is now their bond of union. Commercial intercourse is the circulating blood of the world, while telegraphic wires transmit the nervous influence which guides all the sensory and voluntary motions of commerce. Both war and commerce have gone through a series of evolutions in the course of history, and a slight study of these, so far as they relate to war, will best enable us to show how the progress of civilization steadily tends towards peaceful adjustments of international differences.

The original essence of war is club law—the *faustrecht* of the Germans—the law of the strong over the weak with the view of appropriating their possessions—the lust of conquest. Even when civilization assigns property to an owner, civil law may be too weak without club law to enforce the rights. A survival of this is seen in the lynch law of unsettled districts. The first phase of war, in organized communities, is the law of the strong over the weak. The second phase is that the lust of conquest is less dominant, while the desire for peaceful possession of property becomes strong. Then war is considered right as a repeller of injuries, though these are easily imagined and often fanciful. In the third phase of war, public sentiment disapproves of aggressive war, but approves defensive war. The means employed for defence often lead to defiance. The hand is kept on the hilt of the sword, but is tempted to draw it from the scabbard. Living soldiers cannot be trusted to keep their hands eternally on their swords like dead

crusaders in a Gothic cathedral. The civilized world is in the third phase of war at the present day. It is usually represented by the formula, "If you wish for peace, you must be prepared for war." This may possibly be true when a nation is surrounded by uncivilized tribes. It is not true when nations do not desire war, which is often forced upon them by the magnitude of standing armies—a constant menace to peace. Extensive armaments are a condition of war, and are opposed to the continuance of peace. A machine is not made to stand idle; it rusts if it is not used.

The desire to lessen the horrors of war among civilized nations has led to the recognition of certain international laws. The great commander, Marlborough, has the credit of having civilized his profession by making requisitions on conquered districts, instead of exposing them to indiscriminate waste and rapine. International laws are actually moral principles, positive and true in fact, not disputed by civilized nations, although they are not backed by force, which is the distinguishing feature of ordinary law. They have not yet got so far as to say when there is a legal standard for determining the justice of a war, though they mitigate its brutalities. The United States, to its honor, has always contended that an international law should be established for the protection of private property under a hostile flag. "Try, my friend," wrote Franklin to Hartley in 1783, "what you can do in procuring for your nation the glory of being, though the greatest naval power, the first who voluntarily relinquished the advantage that power seems to give them of plundering others, and thereby impeding the natural communication to men of the gifts of God, and rendering miserable multitudes of merchants and their families, artisans, and the cultivators of the earth, the most peaceable and innocent part of the human species." This condition was actually introduced in a treaty between France and the United States in the last century.

Various efforts have been made to prevent wars in Europe by artificial combinations of nations. At one time "The Balance of Power" was a crude attempt in this direction. It was no new method of adjusting international differences, for it was instinctively enforced by the Greek states. As an international principle it was adopted after the conquests of Charles V., and it had sufficient force ultimately to overthrow

the first Napoleon. A pentarchy of the great powers kept the idea alive in Europe, and moderated the pretensions of Russia in 1854. Though it has had its uses in preventing the absorption of small states, it was not powerful enough to prevent the Franco-German War. Now the idea is abandoned as unworkable. Nevertheless, all the past attempts to extend international laws to the mitigation of wars are noble; and in course of time the public sentiment of nations will compel them to be applied for the prevention of unjust wars. Already civilized communities have extinguished intestine wars within their borders.

In times not very remote the clans of Scotland made war against each other, while England and Scotland fought like cat and dog. In France, counties, duchies, marquisates, and baronies fought with each other for the most trivial causes. To be born a Norman or to be born a Breton was sufficient for enmity. Separation of two adjoining countries by a narrow sea was eminent justification for war. Pascal exposed this monstrosity. "Wherefore do you kill me? What! do you not dwell on the other side of the water? My friend, if you dwelt on this side, I would be an assassin, for then it would be unjust to kill you; but since you dwell on the other side, I am a hero, and it is just to kill you."

It took a long time to teach individuals that private quarrels must not be settled by force. Ordeal by "battel" only disappeared in England by an act of George III., c. 46, for a judgment of Lord Ellenborough, in 1818, declared the right of the litigants to settle their disputes by combat. No doubt the right of "battel," which was recognized and carried out in the presence of judicial authorities, arose out of the idea that "*potestas est a Deo*," and therefore that might was right. Even now a conqueror on the field of battle always declares that God is on his side.

After the ordeal of "battel" ceased to be legal, its survival continued in the modern foppery of duels to vindicate a tarnished honor. Duels seem to have been unknown to the ancients, though single combats were prevalent. The word *duellum* meant war between two nations (Cicero, Orat., 45). Duels, as a vindication of honor, were common in France: during eighteen years of the reign of Henry IV. four thousand persons were killed in this

way; and, in the reign of Louis XIII., the English Ambassador, Lord Herbert, writes that no Frenchman of position could be found who had not killed his man. Duels still linger in that country and in Germany, but have become wholly obselete in England, Norway, and Holland. Duelling is a survival of barbarism, and should not be tolerated in any civilized country. If brotherhood among nations were recognized as a principle of international morality, the settlement of disputes by violence would be as little tolerated as the old law of "battel" between individual contestants.

Arbitration is a sound idea capable of expansion. Though it were only an idea, its triumph would be sure if founded on truth, for human progress is only the realization of ideas. Idealism becomes realized when it passes from thinkers into the conscience of a people. It was Mazzini who said: "Thought is the action of men, and action is the thought of the people." Arbitration has survived the test of time and has received practical application both in private and public affairs. As a system, we owe arbitration to the Justinian jurisprudence, the eighth section of the fourth book of Pandects being devoted to the subject. The law of Scotland, being founded on Roman law, has always recognized and encouraged arbitration, and the "decree arbitral" is enforced as a judgment by the courts of law. In England statutory intervention has been necessary to carry out schemes of arbitration. Gradually arbitration became employed to settle international differences. Vattel recommends it as "a reasonable and natural mode of deciding such disputes as do not directly interest the safety of a nation."

It is an important fact that at the congress of the great powers in Paris in 1856 a distinct article in the treaty expresses a formal approval of international arbitration. The article is in these words:

> "The plenipotentiaries do not hesitate to express in the name of their governments the wish that states between which any serious misunderstandings may arise should, before appealing to arms, have recourse, as far as circumstances might allow, to the good offices of a friendly power."

There was no force to ratify this obligation, and since then the wars between Turkey and Russia and between France and Germany show that the clause was little more than a benevolent opinion. An international police would be difficult of application, but there is a

moral force in the growth of public sentiment, which recognizes that there is a solidarity in humanity and a brotherhood among nations. The acceptance of this idea has been recently illustrated by the International Labor Conference at Berlin, the Pan-American Conference at Washington, the Anglo-German agreement in relation to Africa, the Anti-Slavery Conference at Brussels, and the arrangements recently made between France, England, and Portugal.

Although there have been failures in the adjustment of international disputes, no less than sixty-seven have been settled by arbitration during the present century, and of these as many as thirty three have been between the United States and other nations. Some of them have concerned great questions of international right, while other cases have only been of secondary importance, though all prove that, even in the absence of international force to carry out the award, arbitration between nations is eminently practicable.

Several peculiarities as to the "Alabama" dispute between the United States and England render the arbitration in 1872 of exceptional importance. The Court of Arbitration which met at Geneva in June of that year was one of the most solemn judicial courts that had ever been established between nations. It consisted of Lord Chief-Justice Cockburn for England, Charles Francis Adams for the United States, Count Sclopis for Italy, Mr. Staemfli for Switzerland, and Viscount d'Itajuba for Brazil; the Italian arbitrator acting as president. The arbitration was preceded by a treaty between the United States and England. This treaty included certain rules as to the action of neutrals which should be binding as obligations in future between the two countries. England acknowledged that she had been remiss in allowing the "Alabama" and other vessels to escape from her shores fitted as ships of war, but limited the case to injuries "growing out of the acts" of these vessels of war. A misunderstanding of the meaning of these words nearly wrecked the arbitration.

The English and American commissioners, in making the treaty, had discussed their meaning, and the former went to England with the full belief that the words limited the issue to direct injuries. The United States government, however, claimed that they included "indirect" injuries, such as the

transfer of the American commercial marine to the British flag, the enhancement of insurance, the prolongation of the war, and the additional cost of suppressing the rebellion. This wide interpretation would have thrown upon a negligent neutral nearly the whole cost of a war in the origin or prosecution of which it had nothing to do. Fortunately this excessive interpretation was not insisted upon by the United States, and the Court of Arbitration unanimously struck out the indirect clause at its first sitting. Finally, the award was that England should pay to the United States $15,500,000 in gold "for the satisfaction of all claims." When the award was known in England, the feeling was general that it was excessive in amount, but all political parties agreed to accept it without protest. It was a great occasion, and advanced the cause of arbitration immensely. Formerly international arbitration had been intrusted to neutral sovereigns, but on this occasion two great nations, conscious of their strength, intrusted their differences to a regularly-constituted tribunal of learned men specially named, the form and method of a legal controversy being followed, while counsel learned in law were appointed by each nation to conduct the case.

This leads us to consider the two proposals which have found most favor among competent statesmen for the conduct of international arbitration. The first is to form an international congress to which all disputes should be referred; the second to form an international court of the most learned jurists of all civilized nations which may be willing to accept arbitration. Kant, Jeremy Bentham, John Stuart Mill, and other great thinkers incline most to a permanent international congress, to which all questions tending to war should be referred for absolute decision. This implies a brotherhood of nations which is not yet recognized in practice, though even kings incline to believe in its possibility. The King of Portugal, writing in 1864, said: "Congresses after war are ordinarily the consecration of the advantages of the strongest, and the treaties which result therefrom, resting rather on facts than rights, create forced positions, resulting in that general uneasiness which gives rise to violent protests and armed demands. A congress before war, with the object of preventing it, is, in my opinion, a noble idea of progress." Even the Emperor Alexander of Russia had this idea so forced upon his mind during a night of reflection that "he rose from his bed and

wrote a plan that all crowned heads should join in a conclusion to submit to arbitration whatever differences might arise among them instead of resorting to the sword."

It is doubtful, however, whether such congresses, which must be carried on by statesmen or diplomatists, would be so efficient as a tribunal constituted on the type of the "Alabama" Court at Geneva, and composed of the most distinguished jurists of different countries. That was preceded by a treaty binding the parties in dispute to accept the award of the court. Treaties of this kind could be general between two nations, so that the court need not be constituted *ad hoc*, but be extended to all disputes between the nations. The eminently practical mind of the late Earl of Derby urged, in 1867, this view as of possible attainment, though he foresaw that it must be preceded "by international law by which parties can be required to refer cases of this kind." Richard Cobden, in the absence of international laws, recommended in 1848 "that treaties be entered into for the express purpose of binding the contracting nations to submit their future quarrels to the decision of arbitrators."

Perhaps this is the practical stage to which the idea of arbitration has reached. Treaties of peace between nations are recommended by formal votes of various parliaments. England has not yet done so, but it is well to remember that 234 members of the House of Commons, about one-third of its whole number, signed a memorial to the President of the United States inviting him to submit the question to Congress. The writer of this article had the honor to head a deputation of English members of Parliament who presented the memorial to the President on the 31st October, 1887. They were accompanied by delegates from English trades-unions representing 700,000 workingmen. The unions had a right to be heard, because those which are the largest and best-organized no longer use strikes, but refer their disputes to courts of conciliation, or, in the last resort, to umpires. The President sent the memorial to the Senate and to the House of Representatives, both of which bodies came to a concurrent resolution on the 4th April, 1890, "that the President be, and is hereby, requested to invite, from time to time, as fit occasions may arise, negotiations with any government with which the United States has or may have diplomatic relations, to the end that any differences or disputes arising be-

tween the two governments, which cannot be adjusted by diplomatic agency, may be referred to arbitration and be peacefully adjusted by such means."

Advantage was taken of the Pan-American Congress to make the basis of treaties with the South American states in this sense. A memorial signed by French senators and deputies was also presented to the President, and resulted in a serious proposal, which is now under the consideration of the Foreign-Affairs Committee of the Senate, and may lead to a treaty of arbitration between the United States and France. The parliaments of Italy, Spain, and Norway have passed resolutions very much in the same terms as that of Congress. Signor Crispi, the Italian Prime Minister, supported the Italian resolution with warmth. Nations, through their parliaments, as well as their people, are now alive to the possibility of settling international differences by arbitration. The legislatures which have already passed resolutions in favor of arbitration represent 150,000,000 of people. The extension of this feeling—and it is rapidly extending—will be a force better than an international police for securing the due observance of treaties. An international congress sat last year in Paris, under the presidency of Jules Simon, and this year in London, under that of Dr. Barth, a member of the German Reichstag. A banquet was given to seventy members of foreign legislatures by British members of Parliament. The writer of this article presided at the banquet, and had on his right hand the venerable French deputy, Mr. Passy, and on his left the German president of the congress. It was a happy omen for the cause of peace that for the first time since the Franco-German War the French and German members of Parliament coöperated in advancing the peace of the world. We were engaged in realizing an idea which is as old as Homer, for Minerva called Mars a furious, mad, and infernal god. The blood-red star, Mars, is now on the wane.

To the United States the lovers of peace look with hope and confidence that she will take a leading part in the promotion of peace by international arbitration. Her growth is the great fact of modern history. She is a country of boundless resources and has shown that she can carry on great and successful wars, so that her intervention as a peacemaker could not be misinterpreted. She is strong now and has all the elements of growing strength. In

ancient mediæval codes the maxim frequently occurs, "*Sepimentum est vicinorum Pacificator,*" and for that the United States is eminently fitted. She has no huge armies or navies weighing on her finances, and is outside the jealousies of European politics; while, being neutral as regards them, she is the natural guardian of neutral rights.

The great men of this great country, from Washington and Jefferson to Grant and Sheridan, have left records of their horror of war and of their belief in arbitration. Benjamin Franklin expresses the sentiment of his nation when he said: "There never has been and never will be a good war or a bad peace. All wars are follies—very costly and very mischievous. When will mankind be convinced of this and agree to settle their differences by arbitration? Were they to do it by the cast of a die, it would be better than by fighting and destroying each other." General Grant wrote an admirable passage against the use of war in international disputes, and concluded in these words: "I look forward to an epoch when a court recognized by all nations will settle international differences, instead of keeping large standing armies as they do in Europe." General Sheridan was equally hopeful when he said at a banquet in Philadelphia: "I mean what I say when I express the belief that in time arbitration will rule the whole world."

The United States has already referred thirty-three international disputes to arbitration during the present century. She is better fitted than any other great nation to enforce this principle upon the world. She can begin by promoting permanent treaties between herself and France and England. The public opinion of the latter country would gladly support a movement for a treaty of peace between the two nations. We at least have a brotherhood between us. We are both the common inheritors of the traditions and glories of the Anglo-Saxon race, from which we have obtained the spirit of conciliation—a spirit that has so aided the national development of both countries. The people of the United States and the people of England are the joint possessors of the respective glories in art, literature, and science of their common ancestry. To us war would be fratricidal: to us continued peace would be the realization of true brotherhood. Never again should it be possible to allow disputes between England and the United States to be

fanned into war, so as to come under the censure of the greatest of our poets :

> "This might have been prevented and made whole
> By very easy arguments of love,
> Which now the manage of two nations must
> With fearful bloody issue arbitrate."

The governments of both countries are now in dispute as to seals, cod, and haddock. The people in each would be glad to see this difference adjusted by an international tribunal, for they will never consent to fight on such a frivolous dispute. England has invited arbitration in regard to the dispute over fishing in Bering Sea. If we make and preserve a treaty of amity, the great Anglo-Saxon race throughout the world will become a security for peace and a surety for the growth of constitutional liberty. When Canning, in the first quarter of the century, recognized the South American republics, he used words which were substantially true, though arrogant in form : "I called into existence a new world to redress the balance of the old." The American people have a right to use these words, if Canning had not, and from the new world may come the realization of the heaven-born idea of arbitration, when war between nations will be deemed to be a barbarism and a crime against humanity.

A material force tending to peace is the excessive armament of Europe, which is on a scale that shakes national credits and threatens national solvency. In the last ten years the cost of European armaments has increased by 25 per cent., and is estimated at 3 per cent. of the earnings of Europe. Luckily science has eliminated from war the qualities of personal heroism, which made it so attractive, and has converted it into mechanical means for slaughter and destruction. Every nation now shrinks from war, for no one can tell what will be its results either on land or sea. Every new invention brings the time nearer when war must be displaced by international arbitration. The very excess of preparation for war is the surest proof that our idea will be realized. The total armed force of Europe and the United States consists of four and a half millions of men in the prime of life, while the reserves, ready for service at call, amount to ten and a half millions. Substantially one out of five of all men of arm-bearing age is under the standards ready for war. How are we to reduce this

huge incubus upon the peace and prosperity of nations? An international congress might arrange a proportional annual reduction, so that the discharged soldiers might gradually be absorbed into industry.

We have tried to show in this article that the United States is admirably fitted to be the champion of arbitration in the world. She is not, however, fitted to undertake the disarmament of Europe. Germany is the power which can most easily make a movement for that purpose. The young German Emperor has already shown that he can take a large view of the interests of civilization. The International Conference on Labor summoned by him showed that his thoughts are directed to peace and not to war. It would add to his greatness and glory if he removed the pressure upon the people of all European nations by endeavoring to reduce the pressure of heavy armaments which threaten dangerous social revolutions. Hitherto he has been forced to increase those of his own country. The increasing cost of armaments and their destructive character will before long render them intolerable.

While continental countries in Europe groan under these burdens, it is the privilege and duty of English-speaking people to preach and to practise the doctrine of peace. Every Sunday morning the prayer arises in England, "Give peace in our time, O Lord!" This prayer is national, but it is followed by another, catholic and unique, applying to all nations, that they may have "unity, peace, and concord." A few hours after these prayers have been made in the churches of England, they are repeated in those of the United States, and pass with the rising light till they girdle the whole world. The realization of these prayers is within the power of the Anglo-Saxon race. They are animated by the spirit of love, liberty, and order, which has already done so much to ameliorate humanity, and the triumph of their mission will be the maintenance of peace between nations.

LYON PLAYFAIR.

THE FUTURE OF WARFARE.

BY CAPT. E. L. ZALINSKI, U.S.A.

In these days of rapid advance in what may be called the *mechanics of war*, we are constantly informed by enthusiasts that each new invention will "revolutionize" warfare. Some even declare that the increased destructiveness of war appliances renders wars impossible.

No one appliance or invention, however destructive, can do more than modify existing methods or add a new factor to the war problem. This problem remains unchanged in its underlying principles. Its successful solution can only be obtained by following ideas and rules which have remained the same from the earliest authentic historical periods. These unchanging principles may be designated the *axioms of war*. They are essentially independent of mechanical warlike appliances.

The human race must be greatly modified before it abandons war either through fear of consequences or from higher motives than those of expediency. But the improvements in war appliances, while not rendering wars impossible, tend to shorten them. The great destructiveness of these appliances, although making greater loss of life possible in a given period of time, reduces materially the *aggregate* of losses and suffering. This last is not confined to the combatants, but extends to the non-combatants, whose suffering from sympathy and actual deprivation is as poignant and real as of those actively engaged. Paradoxical as it may seem, the fiendish possibilities of destruction which the newest weapons of war open lend themselves to the amelioration of human suffering.

Modern methods and discoveries in the art of peace also tend directly to lessen suffering and loss of life in war. The necessities of modern warfare demand great strength and endurance of

troops, so that they may march long distances with rapidity, and at the same time carry a maximum of ammunition and food. Hence arises the necessity of a high degree of physical culture. Great attention is now given in all European armies to gymnastic training, resulting in the improvement of the physique. This training enables the soldier to endure more easily the demands made upon his strength. He can also withstand better the unwholesome conditions and influences which are ordinarily productive of disease, which has in the past caused greater losses of life than the weapons of the enemy.* The future will, in this respect alone, see a decided amelioration of suffering and losses in war, compensating somewhat for the greater losses incurred in battle.

Military sanitation and hygiene have received serious attention. The soldier's clothing and equipments are being modified to protect his body fully and reduce the onerousness of burdens to be carried. His food contains all the elements of nutrition in compact form, and it is cooked so as to be palatable and digestible. The human machine is cared for so as best to conserve it under abnormal conditions and exposures.

Not alone will the improved vitality of the soldier save him from disease, but it will aid him to withstand the shock of otherwise fatal injuries. Improvements in surgery, with the wonderful benefits derived from antisepsis, will also help him to recover quickly from wounds.

To judge of the future of warfare as modified by modern improvements in war appliances, we must examine these somewhat in detail. We will first consider the weapon of the infantry, which, the smallest in size, is still the one that produces the most decisive results. The characteristics of the rifle-fire govern in a large degree the tactics of battle. The most recent developments will in the future even modify the strategic character of the conduct of campaigns.

The rifles which are now being generally adopted are all of magazine type and of a calibre varying from 0.302 to 0.315 inch. The bullet weighs less than one-half that used during our Civil War; the charge of black powder used at present is 25 per cent.

*The report of the surgeon-general of the United States army gives the number of deaths during the Civil War as follows: from disease, 186,216; from wounds, 93,969; or nearly two to one.

greater, and the velocity imparted is about double. In addition to this, the weight per unit of area of the cross-section of the bullet being greater than before, it has greater power to overcome the resistance of the air or to penetrate any object which it may strike. Its course through the air is less curved, and the danger-space for any given range becomes much greater. In other words, the judgment as to the distance of the enemy need not be so accurate within the ordinary fighting ranges. Furthermore, it will not be necessary at the last supreme moments, when fighting within 500 or 600 yards, to make any changes in elevation. The chances of each bullet attaining a billet in the ranks of the enemy become very much increased as it sweeps along nearly parallel with the ground.

The use of the magazine rifle, permitting from five to eleven rounds to be fired in as many seconds, enables the delivery of a fire in the final critical moment which may well be called a *feu d'enfer*, and which must render the success of the attack upon intrenched troops well-nigh impossible.

So-called "automatic" rifles have been made from which it is possible to fire seven rounds in one second. In these the force of the recoil is utilized to eject the old shell and insert a new one, close the breech, and fire; this being continued until the magazine is emptied. To do all this it is only necessary to load once, cock the hammer, and pull the trigger once. The remainder of the cartridges in the magazine are then fired automatically. This having been deemed too rapid, the arm has been modified so that a separate pull of the trigger is required for firing each round, but no exertion beyond this slight bending of a forefinger is demanded. Such arms are not considered desirable because of the too rapid expenditure of ammunition. But this argument was likewise made against the introduction of single breech-loading rifles and, more recently, against the magazine rifles. As the magazine rifle has now been accepted, it is not improbable that the magazine automatic rifle will in turn meet with favor. Rifles of this class have been made which fulfil, apparently, all the requirements of service. It is, therefore, solely a question of supply of ammunition, and this will surely be provided. The use of the small-bore rifle enables the soldier to carry about 70 per cent. more rounds of ammunition than of our present service calibre.

Coupled with the rapidity of fire and improved ballistic con-

ditions, which give flatter trajectories, increased danger-zones, longer ranges, and greater penetrative powers of the bullets, there is a promise of the perfection and use of smokeless powders. If introduced, these will leave the field of view in battle unobscured. As the smokeless powders are so often mentioned, it may not be amiss to discuss them briefly. They may be divided into four classes :

(1) Picrate class.
(2) Nitrate-of-ammonia class.
(3) Nitro-cellulose, or gun-cotton, class.
(4) Nitro-cellulose and nitro-glycerine combined.

The picrate class, having picric acid as a base, have been tried very thoroughly and found unreliable. The first of the smokeless powders which were used by the French consisted of a combination of picric acid and nitro-cellulose. Combinations of chlorate or nitrate of potash with picric acid were also tried. After a number of modifications, all of which were found to deteriorate in time, this class has been abandoned.

The nitrate-of-ammonia class, consisting largely of that salt, are objectionable on account of their hygroscopic character.

Only the two remaining classes, nitro-cellulose and its combination with nitro-glycerine, appear thus far to have given good results. But we may well feel doubtful of the entire reliability and stability of any powder which contains nitro-glycerine. In the best of these defects have been developed, and no one kind has been accepted as sufficiently perfect to warrant its preparation in large quantities for future use. The smokeless powders, when acting properly, produce higher velocities, while the pressure is not too high, and, indeed, give in some cases lower pressure, than the best black powder. Being made chiefly of high explosives, they necessarily have possibilities of instability of character. One cannot but feel regarding them as one would toward a captured lion or tiger which may have been apparently tamed. Subject to control under ordinary circumstances, the natural ferocity of the beast remains latent. At any instant it may break forth and destroy the tamer who, the moment before, appeared to be its master.

Ordinary gunpowder alone appears to be worthy of full confidence. It is now used advantageously in a compressed form in small-arms ammunition, giving velocities as high as 1,900 feet per

second. Sufficient has been accomplished with smokeless powders to indicate that they may be used in small arms in future wars. Particularly will this be the case where the combatants assume that a war of long duration is out of the question, and that serious deterioration before use is not possible.

Smokeless powders are not, however, noiseless, as is so frequently stated. The noise is somewhat different from that of black powder, being on a higher key; but it can be heard quite as distinctly and as far as when the latter is used.

The increased deadliness of fire due to better ballistic conditions and unobstructed view of the target has made it advisable for troops to secure artificial shelter when nature does not provide cover. This has caused a large percentage of the troops to be provided with portable intrenching tools. Provision is made for quickly rendering temporarily-occupied positions impregnable, by a larger supply than heretofore of wagons and carts carrying regular intrenching tools. In addition to this, there is a possibility of using small portable armored turrets, carrying quick-firing guns, for still further strengthening the key-point of a position on the battlefield. Some of these were used for this purpose in the German manœuvres of 1889 in Hanover, and they appeared to be as readily transported as pieces of field artillery. Galvanized corrugated sheet-iron arches are also provided for field use. With these, splinter-proof shelters against vertical fire can be quickly improvised at key-points of the line of battle.

Thus intrenched and armed, the question of an attack becomes a most serious one, and direct attack will not be made if avoidable. Where the ground which must be advanced over is entirely favorable to the defence, in affording an unobstructed view of the attacking forces for considerable distances, front attacks, such as have been common in previous wars, will be exceptional. Each army will endeavor, by manœuvring, to force the enemy to attack, itself choosing to do so only when the conditions of the terrain are most favorable, or only when obliged to do so by most urgent necessity.

When obliged to make the attack on an open and exposed terrain, there is now serious debate as to how such an attack had best be made. Shall it be in the extreme of open-order formation in successive clouds of skirmishers, or shall it be in closer order? On the one hand, it is said to be impossible to keep troops under

requisite control; on the other, denser bodies are thought to be more liable to destruction by the enemy's fire.

It would appear that a combination of the two is demanded. At the longer distances, where the trajectory will be somewhat curved and the danger-zones consequently somewhat less, the formations will be in successive lines of battalions at distances from each other greater than the length of the danger-zone of bursting shrapnel. Nearer at hand they will break up into companies, still nearer into platoons, and within the last 800 yards into squads in open order, but not so far dispersed that each squad may not be held well in hand by its immediate commander. As the combat is continued and the enemy in front becomes fully occupied by the swarms of the first lines of the attack (many under cover, but near the enemy's position), the succeeding lines will advance in more compact order, moving rapidly, halting momentarily in favorable positions to gather breath and strength for the next rush, and finally all charging so as to support the broken crowd of the front of the attack by solid bodies of troops.

That such an attack cannot be made without terrific loss goes without saying. This must be anticipated and accepted from the beginning, and no attack entered into unless the means are at hand to push it to a successful conclusion, whatever may be the result. To hesitate, once having undertaken an attack, is surely to be lost. A defeat will mean more loss in the course of the repulse than could have been incurred in the aggregate had the attack been forced home to a successful conclusion. In the last stages of such an attack bodies of cavalry may well be advanced rapidly in support of the infantry, both in the direct front and in flank movements.

Successful action will in the future rest more than heretofore on the subordinate officers, including the non-commissioned officers. These will have to be most carefully selected and educated. To them must be given a great degree of consideration and authority, in order that they may command the fullest obedience and control in time of action: discipline, as applied particularly to the conditions of being under fire, should be Draconian in character, however gentle it may be at other times. The soldier must be made to feel that in retreating without orders he will not alone be subject to greater danger from the enemy, but also, if he should escape, from the action of his own authorities.

Severe action is justifiable in such cases, because success is often within the reach of troops able to make a determined and continued effort. If this is not made, all the loss to this point, and all that will surely be lost in the retreat, will have been needless. In other words, troops must be made to feel that their best chances of escape are in success.

The study of the details of terrain will be of the greatest importance in determining upon the tactics of battle. The ability to utilize accidents of the terrain in taking up positions and chosing points of attack will more than ever be an essential requisite to successful command.

Mounted troops will be used in much larger numbers than heretofore. Besides being employed for covering and observation purposes, they will be used largely where rapid movements are necessary, and to surprise the enemy by attacks on his flanks or lines of communication. The force best trained to dismount rapidly and make an attack or take up the defence on foot will undoubtedly have the greatest chance of success. Particularly will this be the case where the combat is with attacking cavalry.

A temporary madness appears to have seized European armies in the adoption of the lance for cavalry. It is difficult to ascertain upon what experiences of actual modern warfare this predilection for a weapon of the distant past is based. In the most recent battles every attack of cavalry against unbroken infantry has failed, however determinedly and recklessly made. The weapons borne by attacking cavalry appear to have been of but little importance, as success depended mainly upon the moral effect of the onrushing horses against troops already shaken. Infantry or dismounted troops will be better able to withstand a cavalry charge in the future, in view of the greater flatness of trajectory, range, and power of penetration of the new small arms, especially when combined with the advantage given to the defence by the use of smokeless powder.

The lance is a serious encumbrance, and great skill is required to use it successfully. Its range is but a short distance in advance of the rider. Its thrust may be parried. But with practice the horseman may become so skilful in the use of the revolver as to insure his hitting the human target at three to four times the distance attainable with the lance. The bullets cannot

be parried. If there is any chance of the rider approaching within thrust of the lance, there is certainly a greater chance of his coming within effective range with the revolver.

Much is said of the demoralizing effect of the rapid approach of charging horsemen. But this moral effect will be as strong when these horsemen are armed with a weapon that may not be parried and is far-reaching as when they are armed with the short-reaching lance. In the last case we may consider the horse, and the horse only, as the really effective arm and projectile which is being launched against the enemy, and success is dependent upon the extent to which this may act upon the imagination of the defence.

What has been said of the lance applies equally to the sabre. Both are encumbrances which but seldom repay the trouble of carrying them. The rare occasions when they may be successfully used are times when a well-handled revolver would be much more effective. The modern magazine carbine, giving a flatter trajectory than our present service rifle, will be the chief weapon of mounted troops.

Artillery will fill a more important part than heretofore in deciding the fate of battles. The longer range of modern field artillery, combined with the possibility of accurate measurement of ranges by improved range-finders and better time-fuses, will give it a large radius of effective action. This will also permit a wider selection of positions which may be occupied while concentrating fire upon any desired point of the enemy's line. Hence a much larger number of guns than heretofore may be simultaneously brought into action, directed by means of the telegraph and telephone.

In the Franco-Prussian War the German artillery were constantly pushed to the fore. With a gun of relatively low velocity, and with no range-finders, this was doubtless the best course to pursue, particularly as the small arms of the day had also shorter ranges than now. Neither was the fuse of that day (so necessary for successful shrapnel fire) reliable enough to warrant firing freely over their own troops. The German artillerists apparently cling to the methods and material of 1870. They ignore range-finding, and trust entirely to the expensive way of "shooting in" by the "bracket" or "fork" method. This "fork" method may be called a purely "cut-and-try" one. Percussion

shells are fired until one is seen to strike short and one beyond, and then the firing is by successive intermediate ranges until the "fork" is not longer than 50 metres. Fire is then opened with the entire battery. Fairly good results may, with very great experience, be obtained in this way if the ranges do not exceed 2,000 yards and the conditions are most favorable. How often failure results from this method is shown in the remarkable "Letters on Artillery" of Prince Hohenlohe Ingelfingen.

Artillery equipped with range-finders and accustomed to their use will have a great advantage over artillery not so supplied. A mediocre range-finder will produce better average long-range shooting than the best system of guessing and "cut and try." The difficulties involved in carrying a sufficient number of rounds of ammunition emphasize the necessity of avoiding waste and making every shot tell. It is better to take a little more time and measure the ranges, producing an immediate effective fire, than to fire rapidly, but without producing results. From one to three minutes suffices to measure a range, and the time thus taken is more than compensated for in increased effectiveness of fire. Frequent changes of position will be avoided.

Telescopic sights are necessary for the long-range work of modern field artillery. The absence of smoke will often make it difficult to detect the enemy's position and to direct accurate fire upon it. The telescopic sight will be an essential adjunct in directing the guns with sufficient accuracy to utilize the long ranges attainable.

Not alone will the use of range-finders and telescopic sights add to the certainty of artillery fire, but we may look for improvements in ammunition which will give greater uniformity of results. The cartridge-bag will be replaced by metallic cartridge-cases, hermetically sealed to protect the contents from atmospheric action. Until the smokeless powder becomes an accomplished fact, we may look for the use of compressed black powder in metallic cases, like that used so successfully in small-arms ammunition.

The longer ranges of artillery fire should indicate its use at distances beyond the effective fire of infantry, provided that the former can be delivered accurately. With improved ammunition, with range-finders, with telescopic sights and due consideration of atmospheric conditions, greater accuracy of fire should now be obtained

at 5,000 yards than was formerly obtained at 2,000 yards and less. The improvement in time-fuses will render it safe to use shrapnel fire over one's own troops, while making this most important fire more effective. Indeed, where the enemy are intrenched, as will frequently be the case, the longer range-firing may be more effective than that delivered from shorter distances, because the fire is more curved, the angle of fall being greater and having more chance of striking a covered enemy.

To attain this same end, gun-cotton bursting charges have been tried, the object being to produce the explosion just beyond the enemy's trenches and cause the fragments to fly backward. This will be met by the defence throwing up another line of breastworks in their rear, should this reverse fire annoy them.

The universal intrenching of troops when not required to be moving will undoubtedly be met by greater development, for field operations, of vertical-firing artillery. Mortar fire has heretofore been considered inaccurate. This has been largely due to inaccurate methods of pointing and loading. An increase of accuracy is now attainable and a formidable vertical fire can be delivered.

Small mortars of 3.6 or 4 inches calibre will be suitable for such work. These mortars, light and portable, carried on carts and placed on the ground when firing, can be moved wherever infantry can go. A range of at least 4,000 yards can be attained with them. Not less than 500 of these mortars could be effectively used as an arm of reserve, to be brought into action at critical times. They can be manœuvred and their fire concentrated upon any portion of the enemy's line with a degree of facility hardly obtainable with that number of field-guns. The vertical fire enables a position to be chosen behind a hill or woods, entirely removed from the enemy's direct fire. Although such indirect fire has its difficulties, improved methods will aid in overcoming them. The demoralizing effect of a vertical fire concentrated upon any portion of the enemy's position previous to attacking by infantry will be great. The demoralization of an enemy's troops is more dependent upon considerable losses in a given short period of time than upon greater losses distributed throughout a day's fighting. For example, a loss of 3,000 inflicted on a corps of 20,000 within ten or twenty minutes will tend to demoralize the troops more than a loss of 10,000 in the course of a

day's battle. Losses inflicted upon troops lying down and apparently under cover, unable to strike back, are much more dispiriting than the loss of a larger number when they are actively engaged in retaliating upon the attacking force, or when they themselves are engaged in attacking. Such a body of field-mortars may be able to assist an attacking force for a considerable time while the latter are advancing on the enemy's position.

Should smokeless powders become available for field artillery, it will be a decided gain, as the positions occupied by the guns will usually not be sufficiently defined to permit the enemy to obtain ranges, when reasonable care is taken in placing the guns. The use of smokeless powder will most benefit the defence. If it were admissible, one would use for infantry fire smokeless powder when defending a position, and smoke-producing powder when attacking, in order, in the latter case, to obscure the field of view of the defence. To provide this veil of smoke for the attack, powder producing even a denser smoke than ordinary powder will be used as a bursting charge for shell and shrapnel fired by the attacking artillery.

Battles will no longer present the brilliant and kaleidoscopic pictures of the past. The uniforms for service will be of the least visible colors, all conspicuous ones being discarded. Gray and brown will predominate. Arms and accoutrements will be browned and lustreless. The pomp and circumstance of war will be relegated to the parade-ground in the piping times of peace.

The increased use of railroads will materially aid in shortening wars, permitting rapid concentration of troops. Each of the contestants will try to bring overwhelming numbers to the probable theatre of war, and little time will be lost in commencing active operations. Railroads were first built with reference to the requirements of commerce. In recent years old lines have been extended and new lines built solely with a view to war. This has been constantly going on throughout Europe since 1870.

We may judge more clearly of the probable influence of railroads in the future by noting the progress made. In 1806 Prussia mobilized and concentrated 145,000 men, a few marches from the centre of the state, in forty-five days. In 1866 Prussia mobilized an army of twice that number in thirteen days, and concentrated it on its frontier in eight more days. In 1870 Germany mobilized 500,000 in eight days, and in eight more concen-

trated 450,000 on the extreme frontier, much farther from the centre of the state than in 1866.

With the great extensions of the railroads since 1870 by all of the great powers of continental Europe, we may look for a rapidity of concentration far exceeding the past, and decisive actions may be expected in a very short period after a declaration of war. Thus they will shorten the duration of wars materially. A crisis in the affairs of one or the other contestant will be likely to be reached at an early date. We may look for the concentration of the armies in a single theatre of war. No contestant will be likely to scatter his forces in the face of the certainty that his opponent will concentrate all his available forces at the point where the most decisive results are likely to be obtained.

Commanders on the defence will be less likely to allow themselves to be diverted from their main purpose by any threatened attack upon distant points. They will hold their forces together and take the chances of local injuries rather than lessen their chances of defeating the main attack or change their own plan of attack.

Light portable railroads, such as the French Decauville system, will be largely used in rapidly building branches, where needed, to follow up closely the movements of troops. These will minimize the wagon trains, which would otherwise become of impossible size for the very large armies that will be used.

Besides shortening war by the rapidity with which decisive results may be obtained, the increase of railroads tends also to reduce suffering by facilitating the removal of the sick and wounded to suitable permanent hospitals and to their homes. The possibilities of recovery are thus increased far beyond what they are when the wounded are treated in field hospitals.

The telegraph, combined with portable field telegraphs, will keep a commander constantly in touch with all subordinates. The telephone, of course, will be largely employed. Battles will be directed by means of these, producing greater unity of action than would otherwise be possible for the large bodies of troops engaged.

Balloons may be used for observation purposes, but sufficient has not been accomplished to warrant the assumption that they will be able to go where desired. Their dirigibility and powers

of locomotion are not as yet sufficiently developed to make them generally useful. They may be sometimes used for observation purposes, but, with modern artillery and range-finders, they must ascend to heights of two or three miles to be out of reach of effective fire. At altitudes which may be considered safe balloon observations will be of little value. Especially is this the case in hilly and wooded countries. Captive balloons may be used for short, momentary observations, but even this is only possible where the wind is less than ten miles per hour. Beyond this velocity, unless the balloon has an extraordinary surplus of buoyancy, it will be beaten down by the wind. To have sufficient buoyancy to withstand a moderate breeze, balloons must be so large that, with the necessary apparatus, they will be cumbersome to transport and difficult to fill, and will afford excellent targets for the enemy's gunners.

Photography is to play an important part among the auxiliaries of war. Reports of reconnoissances will present to the eye of the commander the very scenes of different parts of a proposed field of operation, and he will be able to judge at a glance that which would have taken some time to grasp if limited to the ordinary field notes of a military reconnoissance.

Nothing but the most careful study and preparation to meet the complex character of all combinations of contingencies in future warfare can give any reasonable assurance of success. The commander who does not do his utmost to prepare all of the factors of his forces for the most intelligent and strenuous exertions, but trusts only to the inspirations of his genius when the critical moments shall arrive, will surely be defeated. Genius alone will not enable him to conquer an opponent whose officers and men have had superior training and whose equipment of material may also be superior.

E. L. Zalinski.

THE PARTITION OF AFRICA.

BY THE RIGHT HON. THE MARQUIS OF LORNE.

PEOPLE are said to be apt to believe that things that are unknown must be magnificent, but, unless they are stirred to quick action by the special incentive of gain easily acquired, they are also apt to let that supposed magnificence remain an unknown quantity. There is something in the very vastness of such fields for exploration and enterprise as that of Africa which discourages men from interesting themselves in a subject so bewildering in its immensity. Of old it was so with regard to America. Men in England hardly knew where Canada or New England was situated on that great map which spread in desolation to the North Pole and the central deserts, and, with the exception of a few navigators, hardly cared whether the first-named countries were or were not near or far from California or Mexico. Even among the colonists themselves—yes, even as late as 1850—the words might be heard, "Go to California!" as though it meant banishment from any reasonable sphere of human interest. That this is not so now is only because the world is for all of us becoming smaller as its populations become greater. From the seething centres those who are pressed move more easily away.

Perhaps in regard to Africa there may have been in other days special forms of discouragement. Over tremendous spaces there is a climate which, unlike that of the American continent, is reeking with fevers; some very fatal, as on the Congo coast; some of a less formidable character, as on the eastern seaboard, and pervading what is known of the interior. Commercial companies, too, had not fared so well as might have been expected from the energy of those who undertook them and the large populations among which it was endeavored to force a way for trade. Scotsmen, at the time when the union with England was more

a vision than a reality, had formed an African company and had come to grief with the Darien scheme, chiefly owing to the jealousy of England. The Niger Company in later times had not made much profit.

To be sure, parts and spots and isolated fringes of the great Unknown Land were always held to be of value. The seaboard of the Mediterranean, on the north, was prized and coveted, and though the site of Carthage remained almost deserted, yet Algiers and Tangiers, and, above all, Egypt, had become bones of contention among the nations of Europe eager for predominant influence in that sea. The history and antiquities and wondrous relics of the civilization of old Egypt had excited the fancy, as well as the cupidity, of the seafaring peoples. And then again, far in the south, Great Britain had used the Cape of Good Hope as a stepping-stone to India, and had waged war after war to extend and consolidate her possessions in that region, ousting the Dutch, who have left in the Boers and colonists of their race a sturdy fragment not always friendly under this new dispensation, but now working together with the British in subduing the lands and their native lords. The same necessity on the part of the British to find outlets for their own and Indian trade had made portions of the continent facing India and the Red Sea better known. The jungles and the savages of the west coast had been touched and small settlements made, and the suppression of the slave-trade, a crusade on which England entered honestly enough, had worked in the direction of leading us on to exploration.

But as the government had always plenty to do elsewhere, but little regard was paid to Africa in general. The Portuguese were originally the only people that with their government had dreamed of extended empire. They had done a good deal along the coast, and remarkably well-constructed forts built by their engineers may be seen to this day along an extended line of stations, which embrace not only the African, but other coasts stretching towards India. They had also knowledge of the interior to a surprisingly accurate degree. In ancient Portuguese maps, dated 250 years ago, the great bend of the Congo is laid down. No one else had so boldly marked the course of that river, which remained a puzzle even to David Livingstone. Of course the latitude and longitude of the curve of the river from a course flowing northward to one flowing to the west were not pre-

cisely laid down in these Portuguese charts, but the general character was not incorrectly given. They had probably derived their information from no better source than that which also with more or less of correctness described the Nile as flowing from great lakes near the Mountains of the Moon, where dwell the pygmies, as shown in the maps of the geographers of the ancient world. Still the ancients, and later the Portuguese, had a better idea of these things than had the learned modern geographical world up to a period that the youngest of us can remember.

But we were long content to let the land of big apes, small men, and mighty lakes and mountains and forests, alone. We had too many other matters on hand, and richer, or apparently richer, fields still to be developed. But gradually a change has come, and now there is a thirst for African exploration and for empire in Africa, and a general scramble among civilized nations to share the continent between them; an eagerness to know more and get more, and to possess all that can be claimed and gained, that is remarkable and all-engrossing. King Leopold, of Belgium, probably anxious to give his vigorous people something better to think of than the perpetual squabbles between Clericals and Liberals, or the labor disputes of the crowded little kingdom, has, with singular wisdom and generosity, spent a large fortune in securing for them the so-called Congo State—territory that enters by a narrow avenue along that river into the interior and then expands until its flanks rest, upon the north, on regions near the sources of the Nile; and on the south its limits are not very far from the River Zambesi.

France has a large slice to the north of the Congo, and, more important still as regards European politics, she has secured the reversion of the Belgian territories; for there is an agreement in existence that gives to her a redemption right over all of them if at any time the Belgians do not care to continue in possession of the heritage that has been secured for them by their wise and far-seeing ruler. The Portuguese have still an immense block on the west coast to the south of the Congo State, and a considerable share of the east coast, including the invaluable harbor of Delagoa Bay. Then Germany again, on both sides, has great possessions in the country opposite to Zanzibar Island on the east, and on the Atlantic to the south of Portugal.

Britain has hitherto been represented not only by her great

colony of the Cape, but also by several companies whose agents and explorers have hoisted her flag around the Transvaal Republic and have called themselves the South African Company. Then to the north of these are the British Lakes Company, and, if we leap across the German belt opposite Zanzibar, the East African Company, possessing a splendid harbor in Mombassa, on the Indian Ocean. These last possessions now continue northward until in Abyssinia they meet the Italian protectorates; for the Italians, too, have been subject to the African epidemic, and their King Humbert is as eager as is King Leopold that in the division of the new black world his power shall rank with the others in exercising at least some influence.

Never, probably, in the history of the world was there such a rapid portioning-out of other men's goods; for, of course, the natives have not been represented at any of the conferences that have been held in the distant capitals of the invading white men! Yet these natives are in number as the sands of the sea, and it is over no scattered series of bands, such as existed in America in the case of the Indians, that dominion is to be exercised, but over organized peoples and confederacies, some of whom could place two hundred thousand men in dusky array of battle. Truly it is a wonderful phenomenon—this pouncing of northern eagles and lions upon the abodes and realms of the black man. And why is it? Oh, for their good, of course! We shall stop their mauling and enslaving each other, and they ought to be grateful, and would be so if they only knew what unselfish intentions we one and all of us have!

Meantime there is some suspicion that some of us may not be quite so good as we say we all are: so we come together in far-away Europe, and we pledge ourselves, each, all, and severally, to do as follows. What a pity it is, by the way, that the Indian Department at Washington, at least, is not represented among these kings of men!

"In the name of God Almighty" (then follow the names of the contending sovereigns), "all of whom being animated by the firm intention of putting an end to the crimes and devastations engendered by the traffic in African slaves, effectively protecting the native populations of Africa, and insuring for this vast continent the benefits of peace and civilization; wishing to give a fresh sanction to the decisions already taken in the same sense and at different epochs by the powers to complete the results obtained by them, and to draw up a scheme of measures guaranteeing the accomplishment of the work which is the object of their common solicitude, have resolved to hold a conference at Brussels, and declare that the most effective means for counteracting the slave-trade in the interior of Africa are: progressive

organization of the administrative, judicial, religious, and military services in the African territories placed under the sovereignty of civilized nations; the gradual establishment in the interior by the powers to which the territories are subject of strongly-occupied stations, in such a way as to make their protective or repressive action effectively felt in the territories devasted by slave-hunting; the construction of roads, and in particular of railroads, connecting the further stations with the coast, and permitting easy access to the inland waters and on the upper courses of the rivers and streams broken by rapids and cataracts, in view of substituting economical and rapid means of transport for the present means of carriage by men; installation of steamboats on the inland navigable waters and on the lakes, supported by fortified posts established on the banks; telegraphs, expeditions, and *colonnes mobiles* to keep up the communication between the stations and secure the routes; the restriction of importation of firearms and ammunition."

There are also provisions, which, it is to be hoped, will be honestly carried out, in regard to the importation of spirituous liquors, each nation undertaking to institute a line beyond which prohibition shall be absolute for any quantity of liquor brought for trade purposes. All these things they pledge themselves to do, and mean to do, and a good deal more—for it is now confidently believed that ivory and gold and diamonds may be found in remunerative quantities.

The words of the agreement are ample enough, and might be held to imply that the governments themselves would actively aid, by the use of moneys drawn from the public treasuries, any efforts made by their subjects in the direction indicated. Portugal must, indeed, have done so directly, and her example has been largely followed of late by Germany. The German Chancellor who followed Bismarck into power has sustained the work of Peters and Wissmann by grants from the exchequer, and comparatively little of the money spent has been contributed by merchants and other private persons. Caprivi, in the Reichstag, indicated that he thought that in England the citizens were willing to embark their money in such ventures as those involved in opening up Africa, but that, such not being the case in Germany, it was necessary to aid by government support. Unless very satisfactory results are obtained, it remains to be seen how much the German nation will allow their government to spend, especially in view of the very heavy taxation levied at home in preparation for another war with France. France herself has not spent much on her African possessions, but she has entered on a policy of largely subsidizing her mercantile marine. The Messageries Company receives no less than £600,000 per annum, and runs steamers on each side of the Indian Ocean. While Britain has been content to give very little assistance to her navigation

companies, Germany, again, has granted no less than £45,000 to a line of steamers running down to Zanzibar. It will be a curious study to watch how these artificial, or, at all events, extraneous, encouragements to mercantile traffic will fare. If these nations care only to have their flag flying from a considerable merchant marine, they must pay heavily for it while competing with the British services which depend almost entirely upon the natural profits made in their business.

But why is it that so much rivalry is being developed in regard to the Dark Continent? Several causes have led to it, and the seeds of the fever have been long sown in the system. Schweinfurth was probably the father of the colonization societies which have sprung up in Germany having a hankering after Africa; but there has long been a feeling there that "das Vaterland muss grösser sein," and that it is not altogether satisfactory to German pride that Uncle Sam takes so many Germans away from the said Vaterland to turn them into undeniable American citizens in the second, or at most in the third, generation. Unfortunately, the "colonization" societies have as yet chosen places which are not favorable for white men to colonize. New Guinea, for instance, is far worse than Equatoria. Germans have always been famous for their accurate map-making, but they have grown somewhat impatient of only mapping the countries belonging to other flags, and they naturally exult that the black, white, and red now waves over such extensive lands that somewhere, whether in the south or on the plateaus of the hotter parts of Africa, there may be standing-room for patriotic men who must leave home, but desire to carry their banner with them. Some day they may meet France in Africa, but in the mean time, and until the Belgians see fit to drop their prize, the Congo State forms a wide buffer between Teuton and Gallic influence.

There have been other distinguished travellers, notably Du Chaillu, who can be held as originally French, but the British travellers who have made their mark far outrank all others, both in numbers and in importance; and it is to them that we owe in the main the interest manifested in the new countries. Every one will remember the work of Livingstone; but Speke and Grant, who labored so lovingly and courageously together; Sir Samuel Baker and his heroic wife; Burton, famous on the Red Sea littoral as by his translation of the "Arabian Nights" and his won-

drous journey as a Mohammedan pilgrim to Mecca; James in kindred regions; and, above all, the marvellous careers of Gordon and of Stanley, have fixed attention on the possibilities lying latent in spaces as varied as they are vast. There is no doubt also that the rich finds of gold in the Transvaal and of diamonds at Kimberley, with the reports that have come in of an apparently limitless supply of the precious metal in many places, have excited the public mind so that it would not be difficult in London, at least, to get funds to start mines wherever a prospector had penetrated and hammered the rock or washed the gravel in a river.

Livingstone, to be sure, did little to encourage the idea of gold. The only gold visible about him was the gold of his character, and a remarkable hat-band of the same color he always persisted in wearing, whether in Africa or in Europe. That gilded hat-band had probably much to do with the conversion of the savage to Christianity, which was the purpose for which Livingstone travelled, toiled, and died. He had probably found it an open sesame to distinction in the minds of the natives. It was a most awe-inspiring diadem; and if it avails on the captain's head or the merchantman's deck, why should it not help discipline and enforce awe on the children of Ham? When there remained little to mark Livingstone as an Englishman, when his skin was burned dark brown, and his speech had become almost wholly Makololo, that golden hat-band remained to distinguish him outwardly from all others.

But how far above any ordinary mortal's was that man's character! None more pure, more faithful, more unselfish, more calmly courageous and merciful, was ever formed by God. To lift the dweller in heathen degradation in heart and body to happier consciousness and higher existence, and to learn the secrets of his land, that it, with him, should be open to better influences, was his sole and simple end and aim. He delighted, too, in the majesty of the new scenes he was the first to see and to describe. I remember how, after a long walk in the Highlands, he threw himself down in quiet delight on the heather on a hill summit, and compared his own Scotland with the country in which he had spent so many trying years. He liked to describe in his slow speech, full of the acquired gutturals and liquid sounds of the African tongue he had so long spoken, his impressions of some of the great wonders of nature in Africa. Thus he lingered over his

remembrance of the first time he saw the Victoria Falls. He had known Niagara ; but these falls were like a great succession of Niagaras in long rank, thundering into a huge crevasse or long split in the plain—a cleft so narrow that the effect of the great breadth of this cataract was lost unless the traveller were close to the abyss. Perhaps, he said, we might say that it was an advantage that we did not get that impression from a distance that rendered Niagara from the Suspension Bridge too much like a big mill-sluice.

It was admiration for Livingstone that led Stanley on his adventurous quest, and Stanley's fame and deeds have ever since incessantly called men's minds to the paths he trod. When Du Chaillu had found for us the gorilla, Stanley found our Livingstone, and then the true course and great value of the Congo, and then, in searching for Emin, the dwarfs, the vast forest full of elephants, and the wide plains, the uplands, and the mountains that give birth to that river on which we may fear there will yet be many a fight for empire—the Nile, with its annual tide, the only river of the ancient world which retains on its banks the peoples which have lasted and lived while Nineveh and Babylon have sunk into the desert beside their streams, and are only heaps of sand giving no shelter even to the rudest nomad.

So it is a strange mixture of sentiments that has given rise to this thirst that has afflicted or blessed the world to enter Africa, and to behold the yet unseen ; the holy zeal to strike the chains from slaves ; the love of adventure that makes conquest a pleasure; the curiosity of science that causes geography to be a delight; and the greed of gold and pride of dominion that in martial rivalry must subdue, possess, and organize the lands that shall yield a tribute to the god of commerce, and help the ever-growing comfort and luxury of the teeming millions of civilized mankind.

The share which has fallen to the East African Company is especially interesting at the present moment, when a part of it has been so graphically described by Mr. Stanley that, with the aid of his pen and the illustrations which accompany the text, we are as familiar with the scenery of the western side of the Lake Victoria Nyanza as we are with Broad Street or Piccadilly. We feel to know the faithful tribes who, with his own Zanzibaris, rescued Emin Pacha's discontented soldiers not only from the hosts of

Kaba Rega and the Ballegas, but from the consequence of their own frivolity, treachery, and mutiny.

The territories gained for the British protectorate are divided from the Congo State by a line running nearly due north, and therefore including the province of Equatoria, the scene of Emin's temporary viceroyalty, and both banks of the Nile, with the valuable stations of Lado and Wadelai. Here we trench on the abortive work of Gordon. May we not at some time avenge his death and have recompense for the dismal page in our history stamped with the name of Khartoum? The two smaller lakes, Albert Edward and Albert Nyanza, lie the one partially and the other wholly within our limits. Recent accounts show that their waters are probably receding, but they will form useful channels of communication by steamers until railways can be brought to their banks. The countries of Unyoro and Ankori and Uganda are pleasant and populous. Colonel Grant formed a very high estimate of the qualities of the people of Uganda. "If my old friend Mtesa, the king, were now alive," says he, "you would have little difficulty in bringing a railway to those parts, for if the king had held up his little finger, you would have had in his day thousands of eager warriors prepared to work as navvies on the lines, and their grading could all have been done by setting his nation to work in the west while you approached from the sea."

But now revolutions and changes have shattered the monarchical power among the Waganda, and we can no longer entertain any confident hopes that they can give much material assistance. Missionaries always do good in the "long run." But at first the effect of their natural rivalry is a little disappointing. For instance, in Uganda the Roman Catholic missionaries and their Protestant brethren have divided the people into two hostile camps. Perhaps, as in other lands, the belligerents only took the mask of religion. Anyhow, the "Katoliki," as the Roman Catholic blacks call themselves, are at civil war with the "men of the book," as the Protestant blacks are called. Then the Arabs come and use these divisions, and the king, Mwanga, had lately to hold his court in the security of an island in the great Lake Victoria, because he was powerless on the main land. Serious conflicts have occurred between the rival factions, and the missionaries have been more occupied with dressing wounds of late

than with the cure of souls. All will, no doubt, soon come right, but the old united nation of Uganda has been rent in twain, and is likely, under the Arab guidance, to oppose in part, a resistance to the approach of the forces of the East African Company.

It must in any event take time to advance the roads so far. The mountain group of Ruwanzori and, further south, of Mfumbiro (the initial M's are pronounced—Mumfumbiro, Mumtesa, Mumpapwa, etc.) will afford perfect sites for hill stations for Europeans and persons unable to bear the heat of the plains. Cotton can probably be made to thrive on the west and north of the lake, as well as nearer the seacoast. There are fine forests around the shores, comprising trees that yield very valuable timber. Corn is grown, and millet, beans, sugar-cane, bananas, and plantains; great herds of cattle and goats and sheep meet the eyes of the traveller.

Again, there seems no end to the supply of India-rubber. The quality is of the best, as the London merchants testify. It is easy to gather the gum harvest. Trees are tapped, and the viscid sap flows out in such sort that the pliant threads can be wound round and round the first bit extracted, so that very soon you have an elastic ball that bounds off the ground again to your hand.

The lake itself is two hundred and thirty miles long and almost as broad, and possesses good harbors and many sheltering islands. Steamers will at once be built in England and sent out in sections, and the carriage of them up country will not long be delayed. It is intended also to construct a light line starting from Mombassa, on the seacoast, to traverse the plateaus and have its terminus on the lake.

Although there are some demarcations of the frontier line with the German territories which are by no means what could be wished, considering how much we in the past have done in these countries and how novel the German zeal for their acquisition has been, yet, on the whole, we may be fairly satisfied with the arrangements concluded recently at Berlin.

The country along the proposed railway route has been only partially explored. There is a bad tract along the coast and then hills occur. The wood is dense and necessitates incessant cutting as progress is made inland. Especially troublesome is this when camels have to be taken through the jungle. Forts or stockades are being erected at intervals. The Gallas are a formidable race,

keeping the other natives in great awe of them. But there is great encouragement to make a caravan route, for water is plentiful at all times of the year at convenient places. It is reported that there is much cultivation of the land by the natives of Fuladoyo, and villages are frequent and large. There is sufficient grass for fodder. The policy adopted is to free at once all slaves brought along from the interior in gangs, and, in regard to the Arab domestics, to free them by letting them earn a little money wherewith their freedom is purchased. In the interior the Masai are perpetually making raids and carrying off cattle and gear, and there is no doubt that a force will be required to keep these and similar gentry in order.

The soil is often good. The openings in the forest are clothed with excellent grass. The rock is generally of a slaty character, well adapted for building, and among the beds are frequent bands of quartz which seem to be auriferous. Copper in sulphate form has been found, and plumbago. At Machacos, again, a stockade has been made. Further on there may be some trouble with streams in flood, and with the quicksands that are left in the dryer seasons of the year. A place called Nzoi is the next station, and here granite appears, and then the river Kibweji is reached, flowing through a district good for white men because elevated and wholesome, the water being excellent and flowing over great beds of lava.

But this sketeh covers only part of the route, and fresh explorations must be made before the remainder of the road to the lake can be even located. Among the vegetable products which are remarkable is a species of aloe called mbouge, with a very strong fibre, capable of resisting moisture. The natives, says Captain Lugard, who has written very interesting notes, extract this fibre very cleverly, and it may prove more valuable than hemp. The supply is absolutely unlimited, and, as it can be floated down the rivers, the transport will cost nothing.

Mr. Jackson has penetrated with an expedition further than Captain Lugard, and has reached the lake shore. His men were too much afraid of the Arabs to let him lead them into Uganda. They were also attacked in the neighborhood of the lake by many native tribes, and another expedition with nearly 400 rifles has been sent to make good the road. It was found that there was much ivory in the country, but its possessors were unwilling to

sell it for anything but cattle, and cattle the expedition could not give. "Blood-brotherhood" was made with some of the chiefs, and it is evident that we shall have some sturdy allies on our side. The ceremony necessary for this making of blood-brotherhood differs with different tribes. In one case it was necessary for the unfortunate white leader to cut a little piece out of his own flesh and give it to the chief, who gave a similar savory morsel to his English ally. Both then had to eat their gift! Great herds of cattle and of smaller domestic animals were seen. The natives have poisoned arrows, and are evidently good at bargaining. They are very numerous, and their country may contain much mineral treasure, but the geologist and mineralogist have not yet examined the rocks. In 700,000 square miles there must be much to discover, and much that will be of great commercial value.

Of these and other possibilities it is as yet too early to speak. But of this we may be sure: that, whether our progress be slow or fast,—and too great haste may not mean better speed, unless we can, as we march, conciliate the natives,—we shall do our best to keep from the inhabitants the plagues that have too often followed the white man,—drunkenness and disease,—and we shall most certainly, as we go, spread the blessing of freedom until the slave-driver, with his manacles, yokes, and whips, shall be only an evil memory of the past.

LORNE.

MAIDENS AND MATRONS IN AMERICAN SOCIETY.

BY MRS. BURTON HARRISON, AUTHOR OF "THE ANGLOMANIACS."

FLOATING about the drawing-rooms of the old *régime* in Richmond is the tradition of a travelled young Southerner who, goaded by the spur of political conscience, lent to the Confederate capital the light of his presence during several years of the war. When asked, upon first arriving, what part he meant to play in aiding to shape the new order of things for the would-be independent South, his reply was: "I haven't quite made up my mind; but I think it probable I shall put down quadrilles, teach the girls their proper place, and bring the young married women out."

In spite of the best efforts of reform, the artless conditions of society in which a woman once married, however beautiful or young or clever, is pushed to the wall like the heavy furniture when a dance is under way, have not yet been banished from our land. The more remote members of the struggling young family of sixty-odd millions, shown by the census to be assembled under our national roof-tree, still believe in early maturity, are dazzled by superficial brightness, and refuse to hear themselves denounced from dictating centres as beneath the yoke of a barbaric cult. That we, at the corner-stone of the commonwealth, are in full practice of the conventionalities of older civilizations, where matrons of all ages have their due share of the honors and influence and responsibilities of social interchange, our far-away brethren are only just beginning to find out. In this respect they are fairly on a par with the travellers and writers of other countries who, when at a canter across our continent, pause for a moment to stare at some trait or custom of a raw settlement recently reclaimed from virgin wilderness, to cry, "Oh!" and

"Can these things be?" and to assure their hearers or readers that with such leaven Americans are leavened in the lump.

No feature of our sociology is more fruitful in flippant comment than the national attitude toward the young girl alleged by such critics to be the actual disposer of our social destinies. It has proved useless to suggest to commentators upon our body social that a distinction must be drawn between the refined daughter of a cultivated home, hedged in from birth with every nicety of influence and education, and the bogie of modern novels and essays who is accepted as our "type." To the enthusiasts who yearly undertake to condense America into paragraphs, or expand it into chapters, it makes very little difference where they place the caricature their souls delight in. One of the latest specimens of this sort of writing is to be found in the pages of "Les Americains Chez Eux," a publication from the pen of the Marquise de San Carlos. After describing the *vie intime* of a New York family of wealth, the members of which, "arising at seven o'clock, *the hour of going to bed the night before*," consume a breakfast of "bleeding meats, tea, coffee, warm heavy pastry called hot rolls, and iced water," then scatter, the men to business, the women to spend the day in shopping, for the pleasure of "carrying parcels home through the street," or at numerous "receptions,"—with an account of the dinner, eaten in silence and followed by an exhibition of the master of the house sitting, absorbed in thoughts of his affairs, with his heels on the mantelpiece until it is time to go to his "agitated sleep,"—the author gives us the following impressions of a representative American maiden:

"The code of convenances, as we understand it in Europe, exists nowhere in the United States. . . . As soon as a young girl is declared to be 'out,' she does absolutely all that comes into her head. Her first care is to have a reception day different from that of her mother. . . . Mademoiselle also receives alone in the evening, and her mother is careful to avoid checking by her presence '*les expansions de la jeunesse.*' . . . Without losing her innocence, she leads the life of a rushing young widow. . . . If this young person cannot find a husband for herself, she remains an old maid. . . . Traditions and the fruits of experience having in general no existence in the United States, one finds in the education of their children strange misconceptions of propriety. For instance, Mlle. ——, the most modest of young girls, gives an evening party, and reproduces, for the amusement of her friends and the occupants of the boarding-house in which she lives, the poses of the most remarkable statues of European museums."

Another specimen of free-handed criticism is from the recent letter of a German gentleman of good education to a friend:

"*In the United States* callers in the evening are received by the young lady of the family, seated in the 'parlor' in her rocking-chair, after her father and mother

have retired up stairs; she is very agreeable and entirely at ease; if one remains till ten o'clock, when the rest of the house is wrapped in slumber, he will be asked, before leaving, to turn out the gas in the hall, and his young hostess will, with her own fair hand, put up the night-latch when he goes."

Such generalizing is part of the penalty we shall continue to have visited upon us so long as the least flutter of our national pennon is of interest to lookers-on under other forms of government; or so long as (to quote from Professor Bryce) "the social and political experiments of America, constantly cited in Europe as patterns and warnings, are hardly ever cited with knowledge of the facts, much less with comprehension of what they teach"; he justly adds that "where premises are wrong inferences must be unsound." It would be interesting to know in how many tens of thousands of our homes the strictures of such essayists would be received with amused incredulity; but, in their bearing upon the subject of this paper, even such unflattering assertions must be considered in relation to the germ of truth from which they have been elaborated for general application. And by a glance at some of the dominant characteristics of elementary society in our broad land we may arrive at a reasonable understanding of the facts.

The further away society is found from the fountain-heads of coercive custom, the more ardent among us is the worship of the girl fetich. Under the conditions of life in our regions toward the setting sun, and in the climate where myrtle and orange shade her bower, woman's charms are earlier developed and earlier spent; "a rose, she lives the life of roses, a morning's space"—and must enjoy her fleeting hour, or none at all. In many of the mushroom communities of the frontier the laws of homiletic etiquette are framed in her honor with a simplicity as limpid as a mountain brook. A graduate of an Eastern university, recently taking up his abode in one of these Cities of the Plain, was, shortly after his arrival, waited upon by two of the town "beaux," who, with affluence of courtesy, requested him to inscribe his name upon their "Social List." Speaking for the cream of local aristocracy, they were the managers of an annual series of assembly balls, and explained that, in order to facilitate the general attendance of young ladies at these festivities, it was the rule to assign to every available young man a girl whom it was his duty to "call for in a hack" and escort to the place of revelry. That the propriety of the presence upon such occasions of an older woman had apparently never

entered into the calculations of that coterie is, it will be said, an illustration of a stage of progress in the custom-making groups of all primitive societies about which Walter Bagehot has quoted the captious phrase, "Manner gets regularly worse as you go from the East to the West: it is best in Asia, not so good in Europe, and altogether bad in the Western States of America."

But we should be loath to extol the sensual, superstitious "Mother of the Maids" of Oriental custom, at the expense of the chaperon who is a necessary part of good society and good form in Europe and America, or even at the expense of the sketchy personage who sometimes supplies the limited demand for such an article in the untutored circles at one of which my story allows a glimpse. And, judging not only from the infrequency there of the resounding scandals of more advanced communities, but from local observation of other facts, the social relation in even the least conventional of our American communities is proof that "altogether bad manner" may be an accompaniment and conservator of very good morals. Bagehot's citation, however, like many another clever generalizing phrase, has less of accuracy than point. We have in America fewer examples, perhaps, of that refinement in woman which comes of practice in all the arts of society in an ancient civilization; but the general average of manner resulting from purity of mind and an intellectual training may be claimed to be higher here than in any other country of the world. And that is an end sought to be reached by institutions of republican equality.

To know her as she is, the actual American girl-sovereign to whose account we must put some of the strange charges laid at our door, it is necessary to journey far, and behold her majesty at home. She is in the human family as the cape jasmine in the kingdom of plants—able to survive transplantation, but rarely seen at full bloom and fragrance under alien skies. Fair and brilliant, she is as fearless as a nymph of Diana's train. Constantly in movement, her throne is often a saddle, her sceptre a riding crop. She rows, swims, shoots, dances with equal skill; reads novels abundantly; works not at all. As all men in her neighborhood are banded for her protection, she does not hesitate to go about alone, or with the cavalier of the hour; choosing now this, now that member of her train to be the recipient of her smiles; impartially delighted with them all. Innocent in thought

and unconscious of danger, without intention of being defiant, she does not know the meaning of the word conventionality. It was of such an one in the Southwest, where he had known her, that a young American discussing the type, when asked in an English drawing-room, "Can you trust your men in such a case?" said, with dignity, "We can trust our young girls, in such a case and always."

To follow from afar the movements of this elusive charmer in all parts of the territory where she prevails, one would have to make use of the Lick Telescope instead of a lorgnette. In the South she is generally lithe and tall, of a clear pallor in complexion that by lamplight warms into rose-bloom upon the cheeks, with dark orbs, languid during the sultry hours of day, at night and under the impulse of music, dancing, attentions of the other sex, shooting forth a thousand beams of merriment and mischief —a creature who can no more resist appealing to man's service, taxing man's gallantry, testing her own power over his helplessness, than a humming-bird can turn away from a flower-cup of sweets— a coquette born, whose most engaging aroma is exhaled between the ages of sixteen and twenty. The whole omnipotent sisterhood hold sway through their youth, insouciance, fearless audacity. These apparently-soulless witches excite among their followers a loyalty combining the fervor of Don Quixote with the indulgence that is all American. For a brief season they flit and gleam; they marry early, or not at all; and then comes the reverse of the medal. Who has not seen such deposed idols sitting wan and cheerless in a room-full of their pre-matrimonial worshippers? Without reason, save that of custom, the favorite has ceased to attract. She hangs on forlornly for a little while, and then her star sets, to rise again, perhaps, in the person of her daughter. Fortunate in being able to console herself with domestic joys, she makes an admirable wife and indefatigable housekeeper. It is on her first return to society after her nuptials that the former admirers of the butterfly, now crushed, contrive to let her know there is no longer zest in conversations made up of complimentary personalities and the exchange of infinitely small talk about theories of love and marriage. Like the *cigale* of the French fable, she has danced and sung her summer days away.

It were futile to attempt assembling statements about our restless people which may be expected to make a correct picture of

what will be a year ahead; but, unless all signs fail, the movement is in full swing that will restore suppressed parents, console flouted matrons for long desuetude, and, it may be, even establish a bench of dowagers as a background for every provincial gathering. In the turmoil of inchoate settlements seeking how to push ahead to be neck to neck with the best lies a germ of national evolution. Our zeal for change, for continual improvement, is more conspicuous in petty matters than in great events. With the transfer or imitation of the column of "society intelligence," published in mammoth dailies of the East, now essential to any country journal that sings the progress of a local "Miss Mamie" or "Miss Susie" from "hop" to "drummers' picnic," we have learned to blush at nakedness of which we were hitherto unaware.

If there is any point a progressive American is sensitive about, it is his knowledge of how to do things as they are done by recognized authorities. For his simple needs, the chatter, the tyrannies, the petty exactions, of the ex-schoolgirl in society have been ample, until now. Accustomed to wreathe the flowers of rhetoric around her shrine while scattering sugar-plums and roses in her path, he has wondered secretly at the taste men avow to-day for the companionship of ladies "on the shelf." He has all his life known the Sisters of Dorcas in alpaca gowns and sealskin jackets who form the church sewing-circle, and tries, and fails, to imagine them seated in V-cut robes *en train*, watching the progress of a protracted "german." But, difficult as conformity may be, he is heroically determined it never shall be said that in his part of the world they allow themselves to falter long in observance of the code of etiquette New York and Boston have definitely accepted. He is in his way as resolute and anxious about that as was the Marylander intent on general acquiescence in his claim to long descent, who, in a casual conversation at the club, unfolded to an astonished Englishman an elaborate pedigree which he drew from his pocket, having it always there, ready for any emergency.

Another lantern is now turned upon the path where are soon to be marshalled the hosts of home-keeping matrons who have so long and so bravely borne the burden of domesticity, uncheered from without. The leader of society in Newville, let us say, has become a diligent student of those strenuous little manuals which, like the peerages revised every year to date, our publishers

of to-day provide in such apparently useless numbers. From one of these springs of wisdom he sips, to ascertain "it is no longer the mode to give preference to a miss over a married woman, if the latter be of the dancing age"; "the most recent bride should be led out to conduct the cotillon, or to head the march to supper"; "a married lady may now receive the social calls of her gentlemen friends in the necessary absence of her husband, without subjecting herself to the criticism of the unkind." And, although the concession is rather cruelly limited by the text to the "dancing age" (whatever that may be), it is apparent that here the matron may read, at last, the decree of her emancipation.

The fiat having gone forth, what a flutter in provincial dovecots! Pastors, taking the alarm at this evolution from the peaceful joys of church fairs and "oyster box-lunches," embody in their sermons lurid mutterings against the decadence of true American womanhood. The question is discussed in women's debating clubs, is peppered with Liliputian arrows of sarcasm from the "Stroller" or "Lounger" without whom no country paper nowadays deems itself complete; is made the occasion of more clack of tongues than a canvass of rival politicians. The husbands of some, arming in defence of immemorial rights, sniff the battle from afar; others, less belligerent, are quite sure their spouses are too well satisfied at home to wish to break down the long-established barriers of usage. Girls, enthroned yesterday in secure sovereignty, still toss their heads at the idea that a mere Mrs. Anybody is to come from nursery and storeroom to take a place in their free ranks. They can't imagine what Mr. Jones or Mr. Robinson can find to say to a woman who has been married; and the real trouble of the situation is that Messrs. Jones and Robinson, although ambitious to conform to the requirements of metropolitan fashion, are secretly gnawed by the same distressing doubt. And then, while uncertainty and contention are at their height, arrives, in print, the glowing account of some Eastern ball or function of high society, from which the advocates of the new movement extract triumphantly the names of the leading belles, each, with a few "professional" exceptions, bearing the matron's prefix.

Little by little, led by the daring, the timid fall into line, and the old order changeth. Such equality of feminine awards in the social prize-giving seems, to some of the elders

who cherish Puritan traditions that have begun to loosen their iron grip upon America, to prelude little short of the speedy destruction of mankind. What, they argue, has any right-minded woman to do with junketings, after her day's work is laid aside? It is her place to be content, as generations of her predecessors have been content, with the society of the husband God and the law have provided for her perpetual edification. But, alas! many a time has wisdom cried aloud in the streets when no man has heeded her. The inexorable course of social growth deals with towns settled by the wandering offspring of the Pilgrim fathers as it is dealing in Scotland with those peopled by descendants of grimmer Presbyterians, who, it is now averred, dance the polka and drink champagne-cup at recurring festivities of their congregations—the dominie himself lending a foot, now and again, to the merry round! Verily, as comments the keen chronicler of these surprising incidents, "there has been nothing like it since the Flemish cities took up the Renaissance."

Returning to the long-settled centres of our States, we find that locality and custom afford our matron her revenge. Not only in all communities assuming to be abreast of modern conventionalism is her right to precedence established beyond the chance of heart-burnings; but, oftentimes, when a girl of our day makes, at her mother's elbow, her first courtesy to the world, the *mater pulchrior* is the rival most to be feared by the *filia pulchra*. A clever American woman touching her forties, who in the healthful ease of well-to-do modern life has kept her good looks, and has added to them a tact and facility in conversation born of long habit, is as attractive to the youngster strutting his first opinions as to the club-man who has no time to lose in explorations for new discoveries. One sees the daughter of some brilliant favorite of society leaving the hands of her masters and governess, shy, reserved, angular; too full of theories for the patience of her fellow-beings; inclined to mistake sarcasm for wit and to practise it at the expense of the first comer, or to turn her back on him outright; civil only when she chooses to be so; usually looking with cold gaze upon the passing show. What wonder that people approach her but for her mother's sake, or that, pushed along as if on rollers, she runs a little way to stop?

Another specimen of a débutante often forsaken for her elders

may be, and in truth most often is, charmingly fresh and dainty, with eyes, like those of old Réné of Provence in boyhood, "*à fleur de tête.*" The most jaded frequenter of crowded rooms is tempted to linger in her spring-like atmosphere. But, alas! there is no object short of a roc's egg so rare as a fresh young girl who can control herself to pay attention to her interlocutor when in a throng. Her gaze is through him, not at him, and wanders incessantly; her voice rises, pierces his tympanum in random answers or in trivial comments on the scene; and soon her discouraged admirer drifts away in search of some haven of companionship where conversation may be found and enjoyed.

History affords many examples of women both elderly and dowdy, and neither beautiful nor rich, who continued to be sought by the cleverest men of their day until the coffin-lid was shut in the face of callers. Théodore de Banville depicts a wonderful comtesse who, with every appearance of youth and vivacity, danced, sang, and otherwise charmed a critical assemblage until she dropped dead after supper,—of old age,—leaving a young husband of twenty-five to mourn his loss. We hardly expect to see these things come to pass in our day. It would be too much to ask of even an American youth who aspires to be *fin de siécle*, to burn his candles before the goddess of ethereal sentiment. He is a creature who believes in what he sees, and demands an equivalent for every outlay. The married belle of our time and place is most apt to be she who can control and afford such good things of life as a desirable country-house or a yacht, dinners, balls, opera-boxes, four-in-hands, perhaps a Pullman car.

Sometimes an oldish woman who talks well, and gives a good cup of tea on Sunday afternoons, is not altogether overlooked by male beginners. And we have always with us the mature impressionist who scruples not to confess to every new acquaintance that her husband is a bore; who, like the illustrations in the journals of society, is forever posing amid cushions, under palms and lamps, her taste in men culminating in the very young ones who bleat their emotions in her ear. The recently-married, or the wife of a few years, young, joyous and captivating, seen in company surrounded by her husband's friends, himself among them, is forever pleasing to all men. Whether at dance or horse show, opera or drum, the woman most conspicuously followed and fêted by the other sex is, in nine cases out of ten, in marriage-bonds.

None can pretend to vie with her, except the real reigning "beauties" who are almost always "about to" marry some one —even if they do not, in many seasons, accomplish that notable achievement. And in Washington, Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Newport, or any other centre of our most conventional society, the explanation offered by men of the world for their wholesale surrender to appropriated loveliness is that, in this material age, one cannot afford to be devoted to any woman who may reasonably expect him to propose !

Forsaking the comedy aspect of our question, we may assert, as a proposition it is to be hoped none will gainsay, that modern society will continue to make broad the borders of its phylactery in proportion to the presence and participation in its reunions of the women who, with gracious tact and kind feeling, give variety and sparkle to conversation, illumine commonplace, and lightly dispense the benefits of such experience as may save their juniors from a world of mortifying retrospect.

And I do not like to let this article go into print without emphasizing the word so seldom spoken for the larger class of home-bred, thoroughbred American women, as modestly retiring as they are intellectually eager, who are often jostled out of line before the public by the dashing sisterhood for whose shortcomings they are unjustly judged. Their wholesome and busy lives, so admirably full of effort in the direction of charity, of literature, of art, create an impression on their surroundings of the utmost importance to the social progress of our cultivated people.

Having thus handled my subject as a study of manners chiefly, I have not touched upon the graver aspect which may be suggested in a final paragraph. It is against reason that a young creature, before whom life opens as a clean scroll to receive her experimental sketches, should be weighed in the balance, as a maker of the habits of society, with the woman who in the depths of human emotion has learned wisdom, and has acquired in the married state and maternal relation a true knowledge of the motives and feelings that govern men and rule the world.

How America esteems her flower of maidenhood, a superficial glance reveals. What America owes to the energy, the tact, the inspiration of her wives and mothers, the wonderful progress of our commonwealth in the civilization we exhibit has already proved, and the future will continue to exemplify.

CONSTANCE CARY HARRISON.

OVER-PRODUCTION IN SECURITIES.

BY ERASTUS WIMAN.

THE great growth of London as a financial centre necessarily implies serious penalties as well as great profits. As the monetary centre that has been levying tribute from all the rest of the world in the shape of interest, dividends, and profits, it is not much wonder that in transactions so tremendous and operations so complicated mistakes and disasters should occur. The necessity for an outlet for British capital is the cause of the misfortune that now overtakes the world, and which in the embarrassment of the great house of Baring Brothers finds its most pronounced expression.

Accustomed as the British public are to look abroad for fields for profit, it was not surprising that the Argentine Republic should seem an attractive portion of the earth's surface, in which development should rapidly take place, and from which large profits should be realized. Progress in South America might with some reason be expected to parallel, even in a faint degree, the progress made in North America; and when a virgin field for investment was afforded, large prospects glowingly pictured, and a basis of security offered which seemed ample, it is not altogether surprising that once again the European investor made a mistake. The fact that 500 millions of dollars were advanced within a very brief period for development in the Argentine Republic, with a population of only four millions, is but one cause of the difficulties of the hour. Investments by France in the Panama Canal, by Germany and Belgium in Africa, by England in Australia and Canada, in South America, and in almost all other parts of the globe, have absorbed an amount of capital far in excess of

what could well be locked up, unless, indeed, the return was immediate and early realization of profits possible.

When it is realized that in London alone the corporations created during the past six years foot up to the enormous aggregate of 3,488 millions of dollars, it will be realized with what rapidity securities have been created, properties taken over, and investments made. If a financial revolution was caused by the creation in this country of the war debt of 2,700 millions of dollars, all of which was spent or lost or realized within the country itself, what may not be expected if corporations are created in London for 3,400 millions, three-fourths of which is to go out of Great Britain? It is true that a very large portion of the wealth represented in these issues may have been placed in projects entirely legitimate and profitable, but the fact, nevertheless, remains that the volume of undertakings was almost beyond reasonable belief (exceeding a million and a half per day), coupled as these were with enormous govermental demands from abroad in the shape of loans and subsidies, including the attempt to furnish, as in the case of Russia, vast sums with which to maintain peace establishments more expensive than those necessary even in time of war.

It will thus be seen that the evil of the time is excessive output of securities on the one hand, representing an enormous outlay of money on the other. But this amount, vast as it may be in the aggregate, is, nevertheless, quite within the power of Great Britain to furnish. For she is the possessor to the largest extent of all the moneyed wealth in the world, and it will be only a short time before the vast proportion of even this investment will return to her in the tribute from the rest of the world to which her position entitles her.

So far as the money which has come in the direction of the United States is concerned, there seems no cause whatever for apprehension that, as to the 200 millions of dollars which have found their way into railroad, land, and industrial enterprises in the last three years, there should be either serious loss suffered or anxiety manifested. Nevertheless, it is true that many of these securities were bought in the expectation of a premium, and that many people in England were much more influenced by a desire to gain a premium than to own a property, expecting to unload upon their fellow-speculators at an advance in price over that at which

they themselves borrowed the money to buy. Now that the money is to be paid, and the market is found to be overstocked, there will doubtless be continued depression. But the prudence exercised in most of these investments, their profit-earning-power, the stability and strength of the industries of this country, our ever-increasing population and material progress, form a basis for an earlier return to a safe and sound condition of finance than can be found in any other department of English investment.

With regard to the condition of business throughout the United States, notwithstanding the clouds that lower over the commercial horizon, and the dangers which may flow from disturbances in Great Britain, this may with truth be said: that, so far as the country itself is concerned, there never has been a period in its history when fewer disturbing elements were present to affect the healthfulness of its trade. The enormous extent of the transactions consummated, as shown by the Clearing-House returns; the great volume of internal commerce, as shown by the increased railway and lake tonnage; the rapid development of natural resources; the creation of wealth as illustrated by the 8,000,000 bales of cotton produced; the variety and excellence of the crops; the output of iron, oil, and coal,—all point to a condition in which if safety does not reside, there is no safety elsewhere in the world.

It is true that there is an absence of banking capital with which to carry forward this tremendous commerce. It is unfortunate that, owing to the reduction of the public debt, the basis for banking facilities diminishes, and that without enlarged facilities it is somewhat difficult to discover how legitimate demands of traders and manufacturers for accommodation can be met. The hope that currency based on silver would relieve the situation has been indulged, and it is not improbable that Congress, at its forthcoming session, may meet the difficulty in a way that will at least afford temporary relief. But aside from the want of facilities with which to do business, and the restriction which operations may suffer therefrom, there is every reason to feel confident that the commercial affairs of the country are in a sound and healthy condition.

ERASTUS WIMAN.

DR. KOCH'S DISCOVERY.

BY PAUL GIBIER, M. D., DIRECTOR OF THE NEW YORK PASTEUR INSTITUTE.

WITHIN a few days public attention has been much excited over the announcement of a discovery of the greatest importance—that of a cure for tuberculosis. I shall attempt to prove that this discovery presents not only a medical interest, but also a social interest, the effects of which will be incalculable, if the fact of Professor Koch's discovery becomes established.

It would be inopportune in a paper of this kind to analyze the studies made of the tubercle from an anatomic point of view; however, a word on its history will not be useless. Laennec* was the first to give an exact notion of the tubercle; then came Reinhardt† and Virchow,‡ who have given a good description of tuberculous lesions. The tubercle is a mass of cells caused by the presence in the tissues of certain microscopic beings, living strangers developing themselves at the expense of the elements of our organs. Their form is that of a little stick composed of round grains very near each other, and a microscope enlarging at least 500 times is necessary to perceive one of these bacilli.

The contagiousness of tuberculosis appears to have been perceived by physicians anterior to those I have just mentioned. Thus, Malpighi, in one of his letters, declares that he would not consent to make the autopsy on a man who had died of consumption even if the kingdom of France were offered to him. Laennec, to whom I have referred, seems to have had an idea of the inoculableness of that disease. In sawing tuberculous vertebræ, he inflicted a slight wound on his finger: the result of this wound

* "Traité de l'Ausculation Médiate," 2d édit., 1826.

† "Ueberenstimmung der Tuberkelablagerung," etc. (Annalen d. Charité), Berlin, 1850.

‡ "Die Tuberculose" (Verhandl. d. phys. med., Gessellsch. 1855).

was the development of a small tumor containing caseous matter, which he cauterized with protochloride of antimony. Laennec died of phthisis. But the man who really proved the inoculableness of the tuberculous substance is a French army physician, Dr. Villemain, who by his numerous experiments proved at the same time the contagious nature of the tubercle and its identity with caseous lesions of a scrofulous nature.

Pasteur proved the part played in contagious diseases by microbes, which he was the first to cultivate outside of the living organism. When he had cultivated not only the microbe of anthrax, but also those of chicken cholera and of the furuncle, etc., learned men, who had before their minds Villemain's discoveries, judged that, tuberculosis being a contagious disease, the element of the contagion must be a microbe analogous to those in the diseases I have already mentioned, and a considerable number of investigators set to work to discover it. A French scholar, Dr. Toussaint, obtained growths of an organism presenting the appearance of small grains in chaplets. He cultivated these organisms in broth. I have examined the organs of animals (rabbits) inoculated by Toussaint with the seventeenth culture of this microbe, and the microscopic examination of the lesions showed, with the aid of appropriate reactions, the characteristic bacillus of tuberculosis.

At this time Robert Koch made known his discoveries on the same question. He indicated a particular process to color the productions of the tuberculous patients, by the aid of which the existence of the tuberculous bacillus in the special pathological lesions is placed in complete evidence. And, what is more important, he announced simultaneously that he had cultivated that bacillus in an inert nutritious medium, and that this culture, repeated several times on a similar substance, could by inoculation give tuberculosis to animals. We may say that, in spite of previous attempts, the discovery of the bacteria of tuberculosis was made by Robert Koch.

Let us now examine the side of the question which is most particularly the object of this article. At the moment when these lines are written a few favorable results following the application of the method of inoculation for the cure of tuberculosis have been brought to us by cable ; but we are still ignorant of the composition of the liquid used for the injections. The field,

therefore, remains open, and we shall give a free course to our own suppositions.

It was at the recent Medical Congress in Berlin that Robert Koch publicly announced for the first time that he had found the means of arresting the development of tuberculosis in animals. His experiments had been made on guinea-pigs. These animals are even more sensitive than man to the action of the tuberculous bacillus. All the experimenters that I met at the congress in Berlin were of the same opinion. We agreed, first, that from the moment Koch communicated a fact of so great importance, that fact must exist; second, that, the guinea-pig being an animal very sensitive to tuberculosis, if a method existed to prevent the evolution of the tuberculous bacillus in the tissues of that animal, the success of that method could, *à fortiori*, be predicted in the case of man.

It is now about ten years since Koch began his experimental researches on tuberculosis. When I studied in his laboratory in 1885, he had made known, three years before, his method for the cultivation of the bacillus. His ten years of laborious and persistent research are highly rewarded. *Finis coronat opus.*

According to the communications which have reached us, what can we presume in regard to this new method of treating consumption? The injection is composed of lymph; if we are well informed, this lymph is a transparent and brownish liquid. I suppose the word lymph is meant to be the equivalent of *serum sanguinis*. It was, in fact, in the serum that Koch made his first cultivation of the tuberculous bacillus. A few drops of this liquid injected in the cellular sub-cutaneous tissue of a healthy man produce but little effect. On the contrary, in a person attacked by tuberculosis the reaction is more or less strong; the visible tuberculous lesions, notably those of the skin, modify themselves before our eyes, the whole accompanied by a feverish period of short duration, but quite intense. The inoculations must be continued during several weeks. They are made in the region of the back, above the loins, in the place where the injections to protect one from hydrophobia are now made.

Persons who have applied to me for information on this subject of so great present interest have all asked about the same questions—What can that liquid be? Does it act like the liquid used to inoculate against hydrophobia? Is it a substance ana-

logous to vaccine, used as a preventive for small-pox? Or are there attenuated growths like those employed in Pasteur's method against anthrax? Or is it a powerful antiseptic acting through a special tendency upon the tuberculous bacillus?

I think we can even now eliminate all kinds of comparison between Koch's liquid and the virus, composed of nervous rabic matter, which is injected into persons bitten by dogs suspected of or attacked by hydrophobia. I should say as much of what concerns the Jennerian vaccination against small-pox, from this fact, that, if we are well informed, the liquid injected in Berlin is clear and transparent; unlike the others referred to, it contains no solid particles in suspension. We should for the same reason eliminate the supposition that it is an attenuated culture. Finally, we know that tuberculosis is a disease specially subject to relapses: a first attack, far from protecting against subsequent attacks, constitutes rather a reserved seed which will become developed at a suitable time, when the composition of the soil—that is, the constitution of the affected individual—lends itself to it.

It has been proposed to treat tuberculosis by injections of bacilli antagonistic to those which produce the disease. It is, perhaps, to an antagonism of this kind that we owe the protection of the Jennerian vaccination against small-pox, although certain pathologists are disposed to see in the microbe of vaccination an organism identical with that of small-pox, but attenuated by its passage through certain animals, like those of the equine and bovine species. But this is not the process employed by Dr. Koch.

By elimination we remain in presence of two hypotheses. One is that Robert Koch has found in his researches a chemical compound, an agent of a special antiseptic power, which fastens on the bacillus of tuberculosis; a very small quantity of this antiseptic (chloride or cyanide of gold, silver, or platinum, for instance) would be sufficient to destroy the contagious germ, and then this antiseptic would act after the manner of nitrate of silver on the *aspergillus niger* experimented upon by Raulin,* which suffices, with one-sixteen-hundred-thousandth ($\frac{1}{1600000}$) of this salt added to a nutritious liquid where this mucor is cultivated, to arrest its development instantaneously. If the *aspergillus niger* in question was a human

* "Ferments et Maladies," Duclaux, Paris. 1882.

parasite determining a disease analogous to consumption, and even capable of invading the entire human body, the necessary weight of nitrate of silver to radically cure a man of medium height affected with this supposed malady would not be over one grain. Is it not permissible to admit that in nature, and even among the chemical agents which we have in our laboratories, there may be found one or several substances capable of acting as powerfully on the different bacilli that are the agents of the zymotic diseases with which our race is afflicted? It is, therefore, a sort of equation which might be thus established: *Nitrate of silver is to aspergillus niger as x is to tuberculous bacillus*, or any other contagious disease: $\frac{A_g A_z O^5}{A N} \quad \frac{x}{T}$.

The foregoing hypothesis appears very reasonable, and yet another possibility presents itself to the mind. It is a fact well known in laboratories of bacteriology that, when a microbe has developed itself in a medium of liquid cultivation, at the end of a certain time a cessation in the development of the microbe is observed. The liquid, however, is not exhausted; another microbe of a different species may be developed if it is added to the first. But, instead of proceeding thus, if the liquid is filtered so as to retain the first germs which have been developed there, and if new microbes of the same species in full vitality are added, no new change can be observed in the centre of culture. This is because the microbes have the function, among others, of secreting chemical substances, more or less active, constituting veritable poisons for the bacillus that produced them. The substances which of late years have been studied under the name of ptomaïnes can be extracted from the liquid, sometimes in the shape of crystals suggesting those of the alkaloids drawn from various vegetables such as strychnine, digitaline, etc.

The liquid employed by Dr. Koch is perhaps only a concentrated solution of a special ptomaïne, extracted from the culture of the tuberculous bacillus. The action of ptomaïnes injected under the skin of animals is generally slower than that which follows the injection of alkaloids. Dr. Koch's liquid injected in the same manner in man produces a variety of symptoms appearing only after four or five hours. This is perhaps an indication of what it is.

In this hypothesis the ptomaïne injected consecutively during

several weeks into the system would modify the medium of growth of the tuberculous bacillus so as to check its development. The cells of the organism, finding no more obstacles, would regain strength. That would explain why the ptomaïne injected efficaciously under the skin remains without effect when introduced through the digestive organs, as seems established in regard to the substance used by Dr. Koch. This difference of action does not exist in a similar degree in the case of metallic substances.

The future will soon teach us the truth about the nature and real value of the antidote used by the illustrious German professor, and if the hope we have cherished be not a vain one, we shall perceive before long how important, from a social and economical stand-point, the cure of tuberculosis is. We know that in the civilized world more than a million persons die annually in middle age, their lives being cut short by this terrible bacillus. From the results already obtained we may hope that all attacks of tuberculosis, pulmonary or other, can be checked, at least *in the beginning.*

The hospitals are full of patients attacked by different forms of tuberculosis; they lie there awaiting the coming—more or less slow—of death to deliver them. Thanks to Dr. Koch's discovery, these patients will soon be restored to activity.

Robert Koch deserves the praise of humanity.

PAUL GIBIER, M.D.

MORE TESTIMONY AGAINST "SHAKSPERE."

BY THE HON. IGNATIUS DONNELLY.

IT WAS said of old that "whatever is is right." Modern philosophy does not go so far as that. It contents itself with asserting, with much emphasis, that whatever is *is*. And this creed it is ready to maintain against all comers.

The world's advance has been greatly hindered during many centuries by the unwillingness of mankind to perceive that the thing in fact might be very different from the received idea in the mind of man. Preconception dominated actuality. Truth had to be forced into the moulds of current belief.

Nor was this to be wondered at. Oftentimes the reality is, on the face of things, more unreasonable than the faith which it seeks to overthrow. There was, for instance, a time when, from the stand-point of the world's development, it appeared much more probable that the earth was held up by elephants, turtles, or eagles than that its tremendous weight was suspended on nothing. It appeared much more reasonable to suppose that it was a vast, placid plain, with the starry hosts marching around it for the delight and edification of man, than that it was a ball revolving upon its own axis at the inconceivable speed of more than one thousand miles an hour. It was reasonably argued that such an appalling rate of motion would pile the oceans into walls of water mountain-high, and send the inhabitants of the globe flying off into space like stones from a catapult. But when the facts were once

NOTE.—The manuscript of this article was accompanied by *fac similes* of the four pages of the original text of the Shakespeare Folio of 1623 referred to in it. The editor finds it difficult, however, to reproduce these *fac similes*, but would state that a careful examination and comparison show that the statements made by Mr. Donnelly in the following pages, as to the position of the words *Francis—Bacon—Sir—Nicholas—Bacons—son* in the original text, are substantially correct. —EDITOR N. A. REVIEW.

clearly established, however awful, however incredible, the preconceptions in the minds of men had to give way and adjust themselves to them; and that was the end of the matter.

To the ordinary citizen of to-day the proposition that the great plays which go by the name of Shakespeare were written by another, and that they contain a cipher, interwoven in the text, asserting that fact—and much else, must appear as impossible, as unreasonable, as ridiculous, as the theory of the earth's sphericity and daily revolution did to the worthy people of the olden time. It cannot be believed, in this age of free thought, that any man could or would attempt to communicate with posterity by so laborious and secret a device as that of placing a historical narrative inside world-famous dramas. The thought is inconceivable: poetry without, biography within; flowing verse and arithmetical adjustments; every word of the highest flights of which the human soul is capable counted up like the leaves of a merchant's ledger! The world refuses to accept anything of the kind. It denounces the idea with indignant clamor, which

> "Conjures the wandering stars, and makes them stand
> Like wonder-wounded hearers."

But softly, softly, good reader. The earth does turn on its axis; and we do not fly off into space—although we may fly off into a great many ridiculous errors, for which the attraction of gravitation furnishes no remedy. Let us get back to our indisputable axiom,—"whatever is *is*." If there *is* a cipher in the plays, it avails nothing to furnish ten thousand most excellent and conclusive reasons why it should not be there. And wrath and fury signify nothing. If you tear your hair you do not stop the planet. The fact rules. It is a thing of eternity. Beliefs are but the dust-formed creations of time, and perish with the brains that hold them.

Remember that this is the nineteenth century—not the sixteenth. We breathe the sweet air of peace and liberty. It is difficult to realize the difference wrought in all things human by those three hundred years. It is difficult to bring before the mind's eye those cramped, dark, wicked, cruel days when Smithfield smoked with the flesh of martyrs, and the blood of patriots ran red on Tower Hill.

Oppression breeds secretiveness; and secretiveness begets

hidden methods of communication. The persecuted human intelligence reaches past the torture-chamber and the headsman's block, to address itself to the coming ages. The ingenuity of man surmounts the brutal wrath of tyrants. Genius, through the cryptogram, makes its appeal to posterity.

And hence the vast literature of cipher-writing growing out of those dark days. We need not go back to the ciphers in Jeremiah and Isaiah (for which see the "Encyclopædia Britannica"), but, confining our attention to the middle ages, as they are called, we find the cryptogram playing an important part in the lives of kings and the destinies of nations. French scholars believe they have found a cipher story in the writings of Rabelais; and the elder Rossetti discovered one in the pages of Dante. Count Vitzthum von Eckstadt, in his recent remarkable work, "Shakespeare und Shakspere," shows that the cipher was so universal at one time that it was even used in the external decoration of the Tuileries by Philip de l' Orme, and in the sculptures of the palaces of Francis I. and Henry II. Lord Bacon esteemed cipher-writing so highly that he wrote an essay upon the subject; he dignified it as "a part of grammar"; and he invented, we are told, "the most ingenious method and the most difficult to decipher of any yet contrived." He conceived the extraordinary design of a cipher within a cipher—the external harmless, the inner dangerous. If the writing fell under suspicion, the innocent cryptogram was exhibited, and the mind of watchful authority rested content, for it could not grasp the idea of such infinite subtlety.

But it is needless to do more than refer to these subjects. Let us come directly to some new proofs of the existence of a cipher in the Shakespeare plays.

A few words of explanation are, however, first necessary. I had noted in my book, "The Great Cryptogram," that on pages 53, 54, and 55 of the "Histories," in the First Folio, of 1623, the words *Francis—Bacon—Sir—Nicholas—Bacons—son* occur. To one who does not closely consider the subject it may appear a little thing that this collocation of significant words should be found on three consecutive pages of this or any other work; but it is indeed most extraordinary. I challenged the scholars of the world to find another instance in which those words occur on three consecutive pages scattered through the text of any book, printed before or since 1623, where Francis Bacon or his father, Sir Nicho-

las, was not the subject-matter of the text. The challenge has not yet been answered. I had also noted in "The Great Cryptogram" that the word "*Bacon*" on page 53 was the 371st word from the top of the column on which it occurs; that there were on the same column seven words printed in italics; and that, if we multiplied the page, 53, by this number, 7, it gave us the number of the word "*Bacon.*" In the same way there are on the first column of the next page, 54, twelve italic words; and 54 multiplied by 12 gives us 648; and the 648th word from the top of the same column (one of page 53) brings us to the word "*Nicholas.*" And in the same way there are on the first column of page 67 six italic words; 67 multiplied by 6 gives us 402, and the 402d word is "*St. Albans,*" the name of Bacon's place of residence. But while I set forth these facts in my book, I could not at that time proceed further; in fact, I concluded that these results were not parts of a cipher story, but that they were simply placed there as finger-marks on sign-boards, to direct some future investigator to the conclusion that the plays contained a cipher.

Since the publication of my book I have, however, devoted all my leisure time to further study of the plays. Thus engaged, it occurred to me that there must be some coherent rule linking together those significant words, *Francis—Bacon—Nicholas—Bacons—son,* by the same root-number or numbers, in a story of which I had found only two words—*Nicholas* and *Bacon.* The result of my studies was the astonishing discovery that every page of the play of "First Part of Henry Fourth" on which a scene begins—and presumably every other similar page throughout the whole of the First Folio—produces a continuous cipher story, elaborated by a root-number which is obtained by multiplying the number of the page by the number of italic words on the first column of the page. In other words, that the cipher narrative given in "The Great Cryptogram," growing out of page 76 (of "2d Henry IV."), multiplied by the number of bracketed words on column 74 (on which the scene begins), is but one of a series of cipher stories woven through the text of these extraordinary works.

The proposition, I am aware, appears incredible on its face, but it seems to me that, if it can be shown that those words, *Francis —Bacon—Sir—Nicholas—Bacons—son,* are each of them the 371st word from a few clearly-defined points of departure; and, again, that each of the same words is also the 648th word from

substantially the same points of departure, these results are so utterly beyond the domain of accident as to force the conviction on the mind of the world that this play unquestionably contains an arithmetical cipher, in which allusion is made to the great philosopher of Verulam. And if it is once conceded that the plays *do* contain such an internal narrative, it will then remain to ascertain what the cipher story tells, and to find out what *Francis—Bacon—Sir—Nicholas—Bacons—son* had to do with the composition of these plays which go by the name of Shakespeare. For it is self-evident that, as William Shakspere died seven years before this 1623 Folio was printed, and as the cipher depends on the most careful proof-reading of the text, it could not have been threaded through these marvellous pages by the play-actor of Stratford, whose remains had been mouldering for years seventeen feet below the floor of the old church on the banks of the Avon.

In any event, the facts herein set forth are new to the world, and deserve the careful consideration of all thoughtful men.

Let us address ourselves to this demonstration.

We begin with page 53. There are, as I have shown, seven italic words on column one of that page, and if we multiply 53 by 7 we have 371. Now, this 371 becomes, as I have said, a root-number, by which a cipher story of thousands of words (a great part of which I have worked out) is told. To save space I shall employ abbreviations in the following statement, using, for instance, "col. 1, p. 53," for column one of page 53; where two or more words united by a hyphen or hyphens are counted not as one word, but as two or three, as the case may be, I shall use the sign "+ *hy.*"; where the bracketed words are counted, I shall indicate it by the symbol "+ *b.*"; and where both are counted by the sign "+ *hy. & b.*" Where no such symbols are used, the reader will understand that the count embraces only the spoken words of the text, exclusive of those in brackets, with the compound words, like "heigh-ho," "foot-land-rakers," etc., counted as one word each.

Let the reader number the words from the top of col. 1, p. 53, downward, and he will find, I repeat, that the 371st word is the word "*Bacon.*" The word "*Bacon*" occurs but four times in all the plays, and three of these instances are found on these two consecutive pages, 53 and 54. To make the word "*Bacon*"

the 371st word, eight different adjustments of the text had to be made. "In faith," the 19th word, had to be printed as one word; the word "he" had to be left out of the sentence, "Poor fellow, (he) never joyed," etc. Taking these eight "doctorings" of the text into consideration, there is, by the law of chances, but one chance out of many millions that the word "*Bacon*" would precisely correspond with the number of the page multiplied by the number of italics on the first column of the page.

Now, take that same number, 371, and as "*Bacon*" came from the top of col. 1, p. 53, let us take it to the top of col. 1, p. 54, and carry it through the eighteen words from the top of the second subdivision of the same (counting the first word of that second subdivision), and we have left 353; carry this number, 353, to the end of the same scene (col. 2, p. 54) and downwards through the twenty-four words which constitute the first subdivision of scene third, and thence through the second subdivision on col. 1, p. 55, and thence to the bottom of col. 2, p. 55, and advance upward, through the first subdivision of scene fourth, and the count (plus 1 *hy.*) brings us to the word "*Francis.*" Here it will be perceived that 371 passes through the *first* subdivisions of scenes two, three, and four. And observe the alternate movement: "*Bacon*" is obtained by going *down* the column, "*Francis*" by going *up* the column,—thus:

53 × 7 = 371, top of col. 1, p. 54, upwards.....FRANCIS
53 × 7 = 371, top of col. 1, p. 53, downwards.....BACON

But after the cipher story told by 371 is exhausted, then new cipher-numbers are formed. How? The 1st col. of p. 53, is broken in half by the ending of act one and the beginning of act two. Above this point of junction there are 189 words; below it there are 269 words: the fragment of a word at the bottom, "gel," is not counted as a word, for it is not. There are, in these 269 words, four hyphenated words: if these are counted separately, then there are 273 words in that lower half of the column. If we take 371 and count upward through the 189 words, we have the number 182 left; if we count downwards through the 269 words, we have 102 left, or, counting in the four hyphenated words, 98. And these numbers, 182 and 102 (or 98), become the source, used alternately, and carried alternately up and down the columns, of another cipher narrative, of thousands of words, in which the names of "*Francis Bacon,*" and his father, "*Sir*

Nicholas Bacon," are repeatedly used; the cipher being carried backwards and forwards from the ends of acts, scenes, and subdivisions of scenes, precisely as in the other cipher shown by me in "The Great Cryptogram."

Now, let us take that number, 98, and carry it, as we did the 371, to the end of scene second (p. 54), thence downward through the same twenty-four words, and we have 74 left; and this carried up again, from the end of col. 2, p. 55, brings us to the same word, "*Francis,*" which was brought out by the number 371.

The alternate of 98 is 182. We took 98 to the beginning of scene three to obtain the word "*Francis*"; let us carry 182 to the beginning of scene one: we counted upwards to obtain "*Francis*"; let us now count downwards, and the 182d word is "*Bacon*"—the same 371st word which came out at the summons of the root-number 371. And let the reader note how the text is manipulated to bring in that word "*Francis*": the old saying is, "Tom, Dick, and Harry"; but here the author drops the word "Harry," and makes it read "Tom, Dick, and *Francis*"!

If we take the alternate, 182, and carry it through that same fraction of twenty-four words, we have left 158, and if we take that 158 down the same column on which "*Francis*" is found, we have the 158th word "I," "I, Francis Bacon,"—a very singular collocation to find arithmetically arranged in a Shakespeare play! Thus:

$53 \times 7 = 371 - 189$ *up* = 182 begin sc. 3 *down* col. 55, 2 = 158, 55, 2..... I
$53 \times 7 = 371 - 273$ *down* = 98 begin sc. 3 *up* col. 55, 2 = 447, 55, 2..... FRANCIS
$53 \times 7 = 371 - 189$ *up* = 182 begin sc. 1 *down* col. 53, 1 = 371, 53, 1..... BACON

But the writer of the cipher story refers repeatedly, at this point of his narrative, to his father, "Sir Nicholas"; not, perhaps, always in the set form, "I, Francis Bacon, Sir Nicholas Bacon's son," but in one place speaking of himself, in another of his father. For instance, between the first word of the third scene and the end of the col. (54, 2) there are 23 words, not counting the clew word, "He." This 23 becomes the parent of new cipher-numbers which tell a long story. Thus 182 — 23 = 159; 102 — 23 = 79, or 98 — 23 = 75; and these numbers, 159 and 79 or 75, alternately move up and down the columns, just as we found 182 and 102 or 98 alternating and moving. The number 79 carried through the fragment of 17 words at the top of col. 1, p.

54, leaves a remainder of 62; this is taken to the top of the last subdivision of the same column and (counting the top word) is carried upward + 2 *hy.* (that is, counting "heire-apparent-garters" as three words), and we reach the word "*son,*" the 337th word on the column. This was obtained from the top of the last subdivision on col. 1, p. 54. Now, let us take the alternate number, 159, and starting from the bottom of the same subdivision, but not counting the last word, descend the preceding column (53, 2), and the 159th word is "*of.*" We return to the number 79, and carry it up the next subdivision which follows, to wit, the 1st of col. 2, p. 54, and it brings us to the 45th word on the col., the word "*Sir.*" We take again the alternate number and carry it through the same 17 words at the top of 54, 1, and we have 142 left. We proceed to the preceding column again, and descend from the top of the second subdivision on that column (+ *hy.* and *b.*), and the 142d word is "*Nicholas.*" And so we have, moving in regular order, these results:

53×7=371−269 *down*=102−23= 79−17=62	top 4 §, 54, 1	*up* =..... SON
53×7=371−189 *up* =182−23=159	top of col. 2, 53 *down*=..... OF	
53×7=371−269 *down*=102−23= 79	end 1 §, 54, 2	*up*= .. .. SIR
53×7=371−189 *up* =182−23=159−17=142	top 2 § 53, 2	*down*+*b.*+*hy.*= .. NICHOLAS

But let us go a little farther in this curious work. "*Nicholas*" was the 159th word; we recur to 79; and as it has just produced "*Sir*" by going upwards from the end of the 1st subdivision of col. 2, p. 54, let us ascend from the end of the next subdivision of the same column with the same number, and it brings us to the word "*a.*" Now we return to the count which produced "*Nicholas.*" That was obtained by counting in both the bracketed and hyphenated words. Let us count the bracketed words, but treat the compound words as one word each, and the 142d word from the top of the 2nd § of 53, 2, is the word "*truly.*" We obtained "*son*" by going to the top of § 4, 54, 1, with 79 — 17 = 62; let us return to it, and count in the 60 words contained in that subdivision, and we have two left; now carry this two to the same point of departure which gave us "*Nicholas*" and "*truly,*" the top of the 2d §, 53, 2, but count upward instead of downward, and the second word is "*great.*" We recur again to 159 — 17 = 142, and carry it downward from the end of the same 1st § of 54, 2, which gave us "*Sir,*" and it brings us to the word "*and.*" We take the alternate number again, 79 — 17 = 62, and as we

obtained "*great*" by moving downwards from the top of the last § of 54, 1, and "*son*" by moving upwards from the same place (+ *hy.*), so if we leave out the additional hyphenated word, it brings us to the word "*good*"; while if we return to 159 — 17 = 142, and carry it down from the same point which produced "*Nicholas*" and "*truly*," but do not count either the bracketed or the additional hyphenated words, it brings us to the word "*man.*" So we have :

53 × 7 = 371 — 269, *down*,	= 102 — 23 = 79,	*up*.....	A
53 × 7 = 371 — 189, *up*,	= 182 — 23 = 159 — 17,	*down*, + *b*.....	TRULY
53 × 7 = 371 — 269, *down*,	= 102 — 23 = 79 — 17 = 62,	*up*.....	GREAT
53 × 7 = 371 — 189, *up*,	= 182 — 23 = 159 — 17 = 142,	*down*.....	AND
53 × 7 = 371 — 269, *down*,	= 102 — 23 = 79 — 17 = 62,	*up*.....	GOOD
53 × 7 = 371 — 189, *up*,	= 182 — 23 = 159 — 17 = 142,	*down*.....	MAN

A careful study of these tables will show the minute accuracy of the work : the first word goes down from the starting-point and up to the terminal word ; the second goes up from the starting-point and down to the terminal word, and so on to the end. But if we had space we could go further. For instance, if we carry that 79 up col. 2, p. 53, it brings us to the word "*receit*" ; while if we carry 159 — 17 = 142 down from the top of the column, it yields—counting or not counting the *hy.* or *b.*—the words "*with—him—marks—in—gold.*" This refers to a receipt which Bacon had given Shakspere for four hundred marks in gold, which Shakspere had with him, the money being paid for Bacon's share of the profits of the plays ; and this "receipt," if found, would, Bacon feared, send him (Bacon) to the gallows. For instance, 182 — 17 = 165, and this 165 carried downward from the end of §1, 53, 2 (+2 *hy.*) brings us to the word "*gallows*" ; while 142 (159 — 17 = 142) carried up from the end of the 3d §, 54, 1, brings us to the word "*hanged.*" If the reader needs further proof that these numbers, 159, 102, 62, &c., are cipher-numbers, let him carry 102 up from the end of the 3rd § of 54, 2, and it will bring him to "*Bacons*" ; while if taken upward from the preceding subdivision (+2 *hy.*), it yields the word "*Bacon*" ; and carried down from the end of the 2d § of 54, 1, it produces the word "*son*" ; while 62 (102 — 23 = 79 — 17 = 62) carried up from the end of the 3d § of 54, 2 (+1 *hy.*), gives us the same word "*Bacons.*" And remember the word "Bacon" or "Bacons" occurs only four times in all the Shakespeare plays !

And Shakspere is alluded to in the cipher as "a gorbellied rascal." The 182d word, col. 2, p. 54, is "*gorbellied,*" and 102

carried up from the top of the 3d §, 54, 1, brings us to "*rascal*"; while the same 102 carried through the 17 at the top of 54, 1, and thence up the preceding column, gives us "*a.*"

102 — 17 = 85	end col. 2, p. 53, *up*	395, p. 53, 2 = ... A
182	top col. 2, p. 54, *down*	182, p. 54, 2 = ... GORBELLIED
102	top 3 §, 54, 1, *up*	135, p. 54, 1 = ... RASCAL

The fact that Shakspere is alluded to in the cipher is also proved in a very curious way. I have shown elsewhere that the *J* in *Jack*, in that age, had the *sh* or *zh* sound found in "jacquerie" (see Webster), and it is used by Bacon to represent the first syllable of *Shak*-spere's name, for the Stratford man never wrote it "Shake-speare," but "Shak-spere." If we take the same root-number first used, 371, and carry it through the first subdivision of scene 1, act 1 (53, 1), containing 53 words, we have 318 left: now, take this to the end of col. 2, 54, and carry it upward (+ 3 *hy.*) and it brings us to *Jack*. This was derived from the first subdivision of scene one; now let us deduct 53 again, and then go to the first subdivision of scene two, the group of 17 words; this taken from 318 leaves 301; carry this down 52, 1 (+ 9 *b.*), and it brings us to the word "*speare*" (292, 52, 1). "*Jack*" is found two columns forward from the end of scene one, and "*speare*" is found two columns backward from the beginning of scene one. Thus we have:

371 — 53 = 318,	col. 2, p. 54 upward	+ *h.* = 69, p. 54, 2.....	JACK
371 — 53 = 318 — 17 = 301,	col. 1, p. 52 downward	+ *b.* = 292, p. 52, 1.....	SPEARE

But this significant word "*speare*" is so placed as to be used either from the top or bottom of the column on which it stands; it occurs but once in this play, and but eight times in all the plays.

If we take the same root-number, 371, to the end of scene two, and carry it down through those 24 words, it leaves 347; carry this down again from the end of §1, 55, 1, and we have 91 left; go to the beginning of scene four (55, 2), and again go downward, and we reach the 477th word—another "*Jack.*"

Next go to the top of scene one (53, 1) and count upward, and we pass through 190 words, leaving 181; carry 181 up the same col. 1, p. 52, and it brings us to the same word "*speare.*"

371 — 24, begin sc. 3 *down* = 347 — 256 = 91 + 386 = downward..	477, p. 55, 2..	JACK
371 — 190, begin sc. 1 = 181, *up*, 1, 52 = upward	292, p. 52, 1...	SPEARE

So that "*speare*" is the 371st word *up* the column and the 371st word *down* the column; and one "*Jack*" is the 371st word *up*

the column, and another "*Jack*" is the 371st word *down* the column; and "*Francis*" is the 371st word *down* the column, and "*Bacon*" the 371st word *up* the column; and the same "*Francis*" is the 371st word *up* the column, and the same "*Bacon*" is the 371st word *down* the column. The man who can believe that all this is accidental would, as Bacon himself says, believe that, by scattering the letters of the alphabet on the ground, they would by chance arrange themselves into the words of Homer's Iliad.

But this is not all. We multiplied 53 by the number of italic words on the first column of that page, and obtained the root-number 371. Let us treat page 54 similarly. There are 12 italic words on the first col. of p. 54; 54 multiplied by 12 gives us 648. We will now see that 648 brings out the same words, *Francis—Bacon*, and *Nicholas—Bacon*, and *Bacons—son*.

By counting from the top of col. 1, p. 53, we found that the 371st word was "*Bacon*"; let us continue the count and go down the next column, and we will find that the 648th word from the top of col, 1, p. 53, is the word "*Nicholas*"—the 189th word, col. 2, p. 53. The 371st word on the page is "*Bacon*"; the 648th word on the page is "*Nicholas*"!

Now, there are, on that first column of page 53, 458 words plus four hyphenated words, or 462 in all; count up the column, or, in other words, deduct 462 from 648 and we have left 186; carry this up from the end of col. 2, p. 54, and it brings us to "*Bacons*," the 198th word!

We have now got *Nicholas—Bacons* by a very simple process. We carried 648 through the first col., p. 53, and down the next col., and it gave us *Nicholas*. We carried it again through the same col. and up from the end of the next page, and we got the word *Bacons*. But where are the words *Sir* and *son*, which are necessary to give us the sentence, *Sir—Nicholas—Bacons—son?*

In the 2nd § and 3d § of p. 53, 1, there are (plus 3 *hy.*) 251 words. The cunning cryptographist counts in these 251 words, leaving 397, then skips another §, and counts in the 1st § of the 2d col. of the same page, 78 words (plus 2 *hy.*), and there are 319 left. Now we go again to the end of the next page (2, 54), but, instead of counting from the last word of the last § of that col., as we did to get *Bacons*, we count from the top word, inclusive, of that same §, upwards, plus 3 *hy.*, and we reach the 45th word

on the column, the word *Sir*. Once more we take that same remainder, 319, and count downward from the top of the 2d § of p. 54, col. 1, and the 319th word is the word *son*. Observe the regularity of the movement in the following :

54 × 12 = 648, *down* begin § 2, p. 53, 1, less 78 = 319; *up* from the top last §, 54, 2 = 45th word, 54. 2..... SIR
54 × 12 = 648, *up* from end col. 1, p. 53 ; *down* next col. = 189th word, 53, 2..... NICHOLAS
54 × 12 = 648, *down* from top § 1, p. 53 ; *up* from end col. 2, 54 = 198th word, 54, 2..... BACONS
54 × 12 = 648, *up* end § 3, 53, 1, less 78 = 319 ; *down* 2d §, 54, 2 = 337th word, 54, 1..... SON

Observe how the number 319 produces both *Sir* and *son*. Where the count goes *up* at the start it goes *down* at the end ; and where it goes *down* at the start it goes *up* at the end. Could there be more perfect regularity ?

If, again, we take 648 and start from the same point which produced the words "*son*" and "*Sir*," and carry that remainder, 319, through the 2d § of 55, 1 (plus 3 *hy.*), and then take the remainder, 61, to the top of scene 4th, 55, 2, and thence downward, we come to the same ubiquitous 447th word, "*Francis.*"

Take 648 again and carry it through the last subdivision of scene second, containing sixty words, and then proceed backward through the eighteen words from the beginning of the second subdivision of the same scene to the top, and we have left 570 ; and this carried through the preceding column (53, 2) and up the first column of p. 53, counting the two hyphenated words on 1, 53, brings us to the word "*Bacon.*" And so we have again, "*Francis—Bacon—Sir—Nicholas—Bacons—son.*"

648, begin end 3d §, 53, 1, *upward*, through 2 §, 1, 55, *downward* = 447, 55, 2, FRANCIS
648, " top 5th §, 54, 2, *downward*, "1 §, 1, 54, & 2, 53, *upward* = 371, 53, 1, BACON

That little fragment at the top of 1, 54, containing, to the top of the next subdivision, 18 words, produces, applied to the number 371, the words "*Francis Bacon.*" Thus :

102—18= 84—23 (end 2, 54)=61, down from top sc. 4, 55, 2=447, 55, 2.....FRANCIS
182—18=164—76 (1st §, 53, 2)=88, up from end col. 1, 53=371, 53, 1 .....BACON

We will find this group of 18 words performing similar service with 648. If we take 18 from 648, we have 630 left. This now becomes a subordinate root-number. We have just advanced up 54, 2, from the end of the 3d § ; let us go up that column from the top of the 5th §, and we pass through 300 words ; this de-

ducted from 630 leaves 330. We carry this through the 2d §, 55, 1, from the end of the 1st §, and this deducts 256 words, and leaves 74; and 74 carried up the following column, brings us to the same 447th word, "*Francis.*"

Take 630 again and carry it through the first fragment of scene third, end of col. 2, p. 54, containing, after the first word of the scene, 23 words, and we have 607 left; count down through all of col. 2, p. 53, and we have 128 left; carry this downward from the top of the 3d § of 53, 1, and it brings us to the same 371st word, "*Bacon.*"

Take 630 again to the same point of departure as in the last instance, the top of the first § of scene 3d (54, 2), but go up the column instead of down; there are 396 words on the column from that point; this leaves 234; the last word was carried to the 2d col., p. 53; we take the 234 there also, but go up the column instead of down, and we reach the 246th word, "*Sir.*"

Take 630 again; descend col. 1, p. 53, to the top of the last § on the column; we pass through 441 (+ *hy.*); 441 from 630 leaves 189, and the 189th word is the word "*Nicholas.*"

Take 630 again; go to the bottom of col. 1, p. 54 (the last word was from the top of col. 1, p. 53); we ascend the column (we descended col. 1, p. 53) to the end of the 1st § (we descended col. 1, 53, to the top of the last §), and we pass (+ *hy.*) over 443 words; 443 from 630 leaves 187; and 187 carried up the next column (+ *hy.*) brings us to the same 198th word, "*Bacons.*" Observe the cunning of the workmanship: there are 438 words on col. 1, 53, from top of column to top of last §; there are 438 words on col. 1, 54, from the bottom of the column to the end of the first §. The difference in the results (189 and 187) is due to the fact that there are three hyphens on the one column and five on the other.

Take 630 again; carry it downward from the end of 1st §, scene one, and we pass over 216 words; 216 from 630 leaves 414; carry this to the next column forward to the top of 2 §, 53, 2; we pass over 77 words; 77 from 414 leaves 337, and the 337th word on the next column is the word *son.*

648 — 18 = 630	top § 5, 54, 2 *up*	55, 2 *up*	447, 55, 2.....	FRANCIS
648 — 18 = 630	top § 6, 54, 2 *down*	53, 2 and 1 *down*	371, 53, 1.....	BACON
648 — 18 = 630	top 6 §, 54, 2 *up*	53, 2 *up*	246, 53, 2.....	SIR
648 — 18 = 630	top col. 1, 53, *down*	53, 2 *down*	189, 53, 2.....NICHOLAS	
648 — 18 = 630	top last §, *up*	53, 1 *up* 54, 2 *up*	198, 54, 2.....	BACON'S
648 — 18 = 630	end § 1, 53, *down*	54, 1 *down*	337, 54, 1.....	SON

Lack of space prevents me from giving many other examples of the manifold adjustments of this text to the requirements of the cipher narrative. Remember that all these results are found on *three pages* of the Great Folio of 1623—the first collected edition of the plays. And remember that these words, *Bacon—Bacon—Bacons,* are not found on any other two pages of the plays. The only other time the word *Bacon* occurs is in "The Merry Wives of Windsor"; and there, by a strange coincidence, it is found on page 53 of the "Comedies," while the first *Bacon,* here referred to, is found on page 53 of the "Histories." This play of "1st Henry IV." is, perhaps, the most exquisitely-constructed piece of verbal mechanism in the world. To some readers all this —"up from end § 2, 1, 52," or "down from top § 3, 1, 54"— may appear a meaningless jumble of figures; those who follow and test the statements I have made will not, I trust, consider it such.

Certainly these plays have a thousand-fold more grasp on the minds of men to-day than they had in 1623; and when Macaulay's traveller from New Zealand sits on a broken arch of London Bridge to sketch the ruins of St. Paul's, although the English language may have perished from the face of the earth, these writings we call Shakespeare's will still survive,

"In states unborn, in accents yet unknown."

Is it not worth while, then, to determine whether they were the careless, fountain-like outpourings of a rustic and untaught genius, "whose mind and heart went together with that easiness that we have scarce received a blot in his papers," as the play-actor publishers of the First Folio tell us; or whether this was all a mocking jest of the mighty spirit behind the mask, and they are, indeed, the results of massive scholarship and enormous industry; an unparalleled mosaic of cipher work, every word counted and adjusted, over and over again, to meet the mathematical exigencies of a marvellous internal narrative?

Let the indisputable facts set forth in this article help to answer this most important question.

IGNATIUS DONNELLY.

SHALL OUR DAUGHTERS HAVE DOWRIES?

BY C. S. MESSINGER, HARRIET PRESCOTT SPOFFORD, AMELIA E. BARR, MRS. HENRY WARD BEECHER, MARY A. LIVERMORE, AND ALICE WELLINGTON ROLLINS.

MR. MESSINGER:

THE average income in New York of young men from twenty-four to thirty years of age, in the superior mercantile professions, I have ascertained by careful inquiry to be about $1,100 per annum; viz.:

In the larger trust companies, savings-banks, and national banks employing only a select number of clerks, some with double duties, about $1,500; in national banks employing a large number of clerks, and in some private banking houses, about $1,300; in life-insurance companies, $1,200; in wholesale importing and domestic commission houses, dealing in silks, woollens, and goods for both men's and women's wear, about $1,200; in other importing and commission houses dealing in produce, fruit, groceries, wool, leather, metals, dyes, and chemicals, about $1,050; in the general wholesale trade in dry goods, clothing, food, hardware, jewelry, house furniture, building materials, paper, and drugs, in fire-insurance companies, and in brokers' offices, about $900. I have made no account of the army of men employed in the retail establishments of the city.

In the professions of the law, of medicine, and of theology the average income at the marriageable age is insignificant. Young lawyers, doctors, and ministers must, as a rule, be supported by their parents until past the age of thirty. In the professions of teaching, of reporting, of writing for the press, and in the various departments of art and science, the average earnings of men at the age mentioned are below those of the principal mercantile

professions. It is from these chiefly that the corps of young husbands in the large cities is recruited.

It is not possible that salaries should be advanced. The class of men who in England are called "gentlemen's sons" is in this country innumerable. It furnishes many applicants for every vacancy. The chief positions of honor and profit in business houses are reserved for the sons of the partners. Colleges and scientific schools keep the supply of educated men also ahead of the demand in the walks of literature, art, and science.

"Wilt thou love her, comfort her, honor her, and go to housekeeping with her?" was the amendment of the marriage service proposed by a witty and practical divine; not, "Wilt thou live with her in her father's house?" or "in thy father's house?" but, "Wilt thou live with her in a house of thine own?"

To marry and to go to housekeeping on $1,100 a year—that is the condition which confronts the young man of marriageable age in the city of New York. He begins his calculations with the items that regard most nearly his new relations; viz., his wife's allowance and the domicile in which her friends will see her settled. She has received heretofore from her father a stipend for dress and pocket-money of perhaps $300 a year. The would-be husband feels that he is bound to continue that. He is himself obliged to dress in a manner befitting his daily intercourse with the better-dressed classes of business men. His memorandum begins:

Allowance to wife for dress and pocket-money	$300
Allowance to self for same	300
Rent of apartment	400
Outings	100
	$1,100

He stops. Where are diet, a servant, doctors' and dentists' bills, and repairs to come in? Social requirements are too much for him. He abandons all expectation of matrimony, and turns anew to the society of men. The marriage-rate is decreasing.

American fathers have a strong prejudice against providing their daughters with marriage settlements. "Let them begin as we did," they say. But in Edinburgh or Paris your friend remarks to you frankly: "I can afford only my modest style of living, because I must save for the marriage portions of my daughters." Is there any reason in the American prejudice? Is it fair treatment of the daughter of the house that she

should be guarded from every wind of heaven, lest it visit her face too roughly, be furnished with every appliance of comfort and ease, and on her wedding-day be thrust out penniless? Is it fair treatment of the expected husband that she should be habituated to live without work, and then be handed over to him with nothing she can call her own but a store of personal clothing and a parcel of bric-à-brac?

Dependence upon a husband is a very different thing from dependence upon a father. A young woman goes to her father for money with the trust and confidence of a young child. How is it when she goes to a husband for money? Be he ever so considerate, there is a painful shrinking on her part, particularly if she knows that his means are straightened. In truth, the two that have heretofore met as equals cease to do so. What equality can exist where one supplies all the means of subsistence and performs all the labor? A great injustice has been done to the young wife. The parents have brought her up to live without work; they ought also to have provided for her maintenance. This has been the rule in older communities, and it will probably become the rule in ours.

I am not discussing the question whether it would not have been better had she learned to work. That is not a practical one at present. Doubtless society will yet evolve a plan of house-work that will not be distasteful to young women—a method under which the heavier and ruder parts of the daily routine will be made lighter by association. Club kitchens and laundries, with effective machinery, will do the laborious part of the household service, and married women will find health and pleasure in the remainder.

Matrimony assumes a form in our communities which precludes the wife from being a helpmeet. It makes her a play-fellow for the hours of play, but a mere looker-on and idler in the hours of work. The labor in the house is performed by servants. The duty of superintendence which the *chatelaine* found no sinecure in former days on the plantation, or in the city house where clerks and apprentices lodged with the master, is a trivial affair in an apartment measuring sixty feet by twenty.

This doing nothing is not the fault of the young wife. She is the victim of circumstances and of Mrs. Grundy. The husband cannot afford a larger abode, and Mrs. Grundy forbids her to dispense with servants. As a resource against absolute idle-

ness she takes to sewing. If she is of a healthy temperament and lack of exercise does not depress her spirits, she is a delightful companion for her husband in leisure hours, and he thanks God for her. Nevertheless, it is he that is bearing the burden of the day, and she is not permitted by custom to share it with him.

Under these circumstances, would it not be well for her to be relieved of the pain of dependence? "If I cannot help," she would be glad to say, "I do not hinder. I wish I could be of greater use; but if my sphere is necessarily contracted, I can at least do my part well, and my husband cannot feel that my bed and board are any drawback to his prosperity." This she is now able to say in those communities where the custom of the dowry exists. Ought not that custom to be established in America?

Of ten of my intimate acquaintances who have died in early middle age nine were men, and nearly all were victims of the strain which a mercantile life puts upon the brain and vital force of the bread-winners. Two of them died instantly of brain disease, two by their own hands in sudden insanity, the others prematurely worn out; all of them in the prime of life, and surrounded by a fair degree of material prosperity, and by families who never knew by what stretch of nerve and expenditure of vital power that material prosperity was achieved. It may seem an anti-climax to ask if dowries for their wives would have prolonged the lives of those men. Nevertheless, that question should probably be answered in the affirmative. The greatest strain upon such devoted husbands and fathers is during the earliest days of manhood, when the possession of some security against accident or sickness would have been a greater relief than much larger possessions in later years.

It is not earning the money that kills; it is the anxiety about the future, the dread of being invalided without means of support, of leaving wife or child penniless. This anxiety often becomes morbid at last.

An acquaintance of mine, receiving a liberal salary and spending it all, has often walked the street for an hour on approaching home, delayed by an insane dread of meeting the loved ones who were dependent on his ability to continue the daily round. Would a wife's dowry of a few hundreds a year have prevented this form of insanity? Yes! Had there been such a provision behind the early years of my friend's married life the

degeneration of his nervous system might never have begun. He would have borne his arduous task lightly. I repeat, it is not the pace that kills ; it is the anxiety.

Life insurance, with all its beneficence, is largely the sign of an anxious, perturbed business community. Are the premiums paid by the fore-handed and thrifty ? Not so ; they are paid in the greater proportion by the anxious and overburdened. This is why life insurance prevails so much more extensively in this country than in England, Germany, or France. It is because New York is the most unhappy city on the face of the earth that life insurance has there its headquarters and its greatest development. It is the sign of a shifting and uncertain foundation for the family. Despairing of ever attaining to the security of a moderate competence, the father strains a point to provide something for his dependents in case of his death. For long sickness or disability there is but slight provision made ; and as a matter of fact the men who die suddenly of the strain outnumber many times those who are retired for a long period of sickness.

Americans know less than men of any other race the comfort of pecuniary ease. We are a nation of spendthrifts, and consequently a nation of worried, dyspeptic men. There is but little real cheer among us. There is the enjoyment of high intelligence, of the intercourse of keen quick minds ; there is unfathomable kindness ; but there is not cheerfulness, and there is not repose. Care is the chemical which precipitates all cheer to the bottom of the cup, and leaves it either insipid or positively bitter.

"Amuse yourselves more," say the lay preachers. "See the people of other countries : how much time they take for recreation." Yes, but they are not living on the brink of dependence. The mother has a steady income from the dowry she received at her marriage. The father has savings ready to endow his own daughter. There is security underneath them, and they can amuse themselves without care.

When once it is accepted as fashionable to supply daughters with dowries of money rather than of knick-knacks, the open acknowledgement of economy will become common, and in a certain degree saving will become fashionable. The moment that saving becomes fashionable, its practicability will have been established. The slaving of the bread-winners is not for bread, but for display. President Eliot says it is practicable for a student

to subsist at Cambridge on $150 a year, exclusive of tuition and the long vacation.

Dress and food never cost so little, absolutely, per yard or pound as they do to-day. There is not the least physical necessity for the enormous pressure of family expenses under which the community staggers. The difficulty is purely one of insane imitation and competition. If the daughter has found a corsage bouquet of hot-house roses at her plate when dining out, no consideration for her father's purse restrains her from providing the same for her own guests. "Is it her fault that flowers are dear in cold weather?"

When it comes to be understood by the members of the household that saving brings them, not out of the pale, but within the pale, of those called the upper classes, then it will be easy to live.

To-day not more than one family in twenty is free from constant anxiety about money matters. Reverse the proportion, and let nineteen families in twenty have the comfort of solid savings to rely upon, and figure the increase of cheerfulness. It is a disgrace to the national character that Americans permit themselves to be weighed down by unnecessary expenditure. Ninety-five per cent. of the husbands and fathers of New York city are in a state of constant anxiety. One has only to compare the happiness of society in the smaller collegiate towns like Hanover, Amherst, Princeton, or Ithaca, with the unhappiness of the great cities, to comprehend how comfortable it is to be moderate in outgoes. In those towns the rate of expenditure is fixed by the average salaries of the college professors, who lead in society and commonly set the pace at which not only ease but accumulation of savings will be attained.

The rule of saving for daughters' dowries, having been established in the older households, would descend with all its beneficence to the younger. "We must begin to save for Dorothy's dowry," would be one of the first things said after the advent of the new daughter, and the reign of ease and cheerfulness in that house would begin.

It was reported in the newspapers that Mr. William Astor, on the marriage of his daughters, made the Farmers' Loan and Trust Company the trustee of their marriage portions—an example worthy of careful note. It is not necessary or desirable that such trusts should be vested in individuals. There does not exist in

this country a class of solid proprietors whose history and comparative leisure fit them for trusteeships. These should be confined to trust companies of sufficient capital, doing the business for gain. Nothing could be easier or more secure than the current method of dealing with such companies. A father desiring to secure the interest of, say, $6,000 to a married daughter, passes that sum over to the trust company irrevocably, but upon trust nevertheless, to invest it during the life of the daughter on bond and mortgage on improved city property, and to pay the interest on the same to her during her life, and transfer the principal at her death to her children or heirs-at-law. At the current rate of interest on small loans the company collects 5 per cent. interest on the fund, amounting to $300 per annum, on which it charges a commission of 5 per cent., making the return to the beneficiary $285.

The fact that the trust is made irrevocable forestalls any possible question in the future as to whether the husband may have the use of the capital in his business. Money given to the wife in her own name at the time of her marriage has often been turned over to the husband at a later date, to help him through pecuniary straits, or, if not, has been the cause of estrangement between wife and husband; whereas, had the same property been invested permanently in a trust, the question of diversion could never have arisen.

A plea for the dowry becomes a plea for a change in the habits of the American community that would decrease its cares and increase its happiness many fold. The difference between nineteen families in twenty living fully up to their means and the same proportion living within their means is, in respect to comfort and cheer, almost inconceivable.

C. S. MESSINGER.

MRS. SPOFFORD:

DESIRABLE as it may seem that daughters should have dowries, and forcibly as the affirmative has been presented in Mr. Messinger's brief, it may still be seen that the question travels in a vicious circle. Where there is not enough money to live on without fatal strain, there is not sufficient to save a dowry from; the people who cannot live on the average salary now cannot save out of that salary the money which shall help other people

to live in the future. "*Pour filer, il faut manger; pour manger, il faut filer.*"

It is not by any means a simple question, but one involving high moralities and even some political considerations. It would surely be a lofty altruism that would make a man pinch and deny himself, where it might be possible for him to do so, in order that another man, a future son-in-law, should have less necessity to pinch and deny himself. It is not, however, in view of the father's love for his daughter and his often unspeakable tenderness towards her, an impossible or an unusual course. And wherever the sufficient amount of money is in hand, spared or accumulated by parental deprivation or effort, or inherited in the beginning, it would not be difficult to persuade parents to create the trust fund for the benefit of their daughters, instead of keeping it in possession till death made division.

But where the family income is already narrow, it is not easy to conjecture a surer method of establishing a system of social caste than by the acceptance of this necessity of saving from the income the sum sufficient for a dowry. It would exact a rigid economy, of a sort to which no one in this country has been accustomed; *soupe maigre* would take the place of the generous roast and steak, and a low and spare diet would create in time an undersized and ill-developed race. The children of the family would be forced to forego the luxuries and pleasures enjoyed by the children of families where the economy was not obligatory; their clothing would have to be so different that they would be mortified if associated with the children dressed in purple and fine linen; their experiences, their habits, would be dissimilar, and would naturally separate them; they would have to resort to schools where cheaper teachers were employed; they would have to go without the costly accomplishments; many delicate usages would be unknown to them; they would become a middle class as entirely apart from those of ampler means and less economies as if living in a land where there was an aristocracy of birth.

There would be, then, an impregnable barrier of habits, manners, and views formed between classes—a barrier which in the wide interchangeability of to-day does not exist. Surely this would be a poor outcome of our commonwealth. Better than this are the strain and struggle under which a few succumb, but with which all have had the opportunity of rising to the best the

day affords under our present interfluent social order. In a civilization which reckons many things better worth than money, the father who gives his children the best education and accomplishments of the time feels that he has done far more for them than if he had saved a sum of money for a marriage settlement, and left them half-educated and all unaccomplished. And it is true; he has done far more for them, and far more for the race as well. If he is himself destroyed in doing it, he should have thought of that earlier. Perhaps that is his destiny; his part in the evolution of species. There is a certain little creature that, laying her eggs on a stem, spreads herself over them and hatches them by the warmth of her body; whereupon they devour her. There are few mothers among ourselves who do not abandon themselves to a similar fate. Why should the fathers go scot-free? And if the daughters are to have a dowry, what injustice would refuse the sons a business capital? And with that sum also to be pinched out of the inelastic income, what is to become of either father or mother?

If, however, the dowry is impossible, and the husband must still live under the pressure of struggle and strain, the fact remains that it is not to be wished that life should be without struggle. It is only by feeling a want intensely, by reaching out with all existing force to satisfy that want, that the new organ comes into being. It is through struggle that the creeping thing at last becomes the winged creature. It is the effort of this aspiring father which has placed the multitude of moneyless American girls on the plane of manners, thought, and learning that once might be occupied only by royal women and their kind, which has raised a great fraction of humanity in effect from peasantry to princedom, and to a higher than princedom.

It is through a still wider emancipation of women from the harem that the relief of the husband and father of the future is to be found, rather than in the provision of dowry. Through the recognition of the dignity of self-support, through the increasing accessibility of professions and crafts, and the occupations of trade, through the growing conviction that it is dishonorable to be supported by the labor of another and that every girl should be reared to take care of herself, is the burden to be lifted from the aching shoulders that now carry it. When all these daughters have been made self-supporting, it is in the probabilities that the

greater number of them will scorn to become a dead-weight on a husband's hands, and will continue their work after marriage, whenever possible. If the actress who marries and becomes the mother of children does not find it necessary to leave her business, no other healthy woman need do so, except upon occasion.

Doubtless, as the demand enforces it, the associated kitchen and kindred alleviations of domestic life will give a wife the command of much more time than she now has for outside work; while, on the other hand, the general shortening of the hours of labor abroad will give her more time for her duties at home. When our girls have, one and all, rich and poor, found that a bee is as happy as a butterfly, that there are health and joy and honor in work, they will not be willing to relinquish its power or its emoluments, and will hardly know what to do with a dowry if they have one; and parents meanwhile may hold that, in giving their daughters equal opportunities with their own, widening, perhaps, with the growth of all things, they have given something even better than the dowry that Pharaoh gave his daughter when he tossed her a city for a plaything. On the whole, is it not possible that, instead of being a benefit to women, the provision of a dowry would but forge another link in their fetters?

HARRIET PRESCOTT SPOFFORD.

MRS. BARR:

THOSE who occupy themselves reading that writing on the wall which we call "signs of the times" may ponder awhile the question which Mr. Messinger puts with such plaintive appeal to the parents of this generation—"Shall our daughters have dowries?" But in the very commencement of his argument, he abandons the case he has voluntarily taken up, and enters a plea, not for the daughters, but for the young men who may wish to marry the daughters. Also in urging upon parents the duty of endowing their daughters he seems to have lost sight of the fact that "dowry," in its very spirit and intention, does not propose to care for the husband, but is solely in the interest of the wife.

He asserts, doubtless with accuracy, that the average income of young men is $1,100 a year, and he finds in this fact a sufficient reason for the decrease of marriage among them. It is no reason at all; for a large and sensible proportion of young men do marry and live happily and respectably on $1,100 a year, and

those who cannot do so are very clearly portrayed by Mr. Messinger, and very little respected by any sensible young woman.

But it is not to be believed that they form any preponderating or influential part of that army of young men who are the to-morrow of our great republic. Let any reader count, from such young men as are known to him, the number who would divide their $1,100 as Mr. Messinger supposes them to do:

Dress for self and wife	$600
Apartments	400
Amusements	100

I venture to say the proportion would be very small indeed.

For the majority of young men know that nothing worth having is lost in the sharing. They meet in their own circle some modest, home-making girl whom they love so truly that they can tell her exactly what their income is, and then they find out that their own ideas of economy were crude and extravagant compared with the wondrous ways and means which reveal themselves to a loving woman's comprehension of the subject. The Oranges, Rutherford, and every suburb of New York are full of pretty little homes supported without worry, and with infinite happiness, upon $1,100 a year, and perhaps, indeed, upon less money.

The difficulty with the class of young men whose case Mr. Messinger pleads is one deserving of no sympathy. It is a difficulty evoked by vanity and self-conceit, of which Fashion and Mrs. Grundy are the bugbears. Why should a young man capable of only making $1,100 a year expect to marry a girl whose parents are rich enough to guard her "from every wind of heaven, lest it visit her face too roughly"? "Is it fair treatment of the expected husband," Mr. Messinger asks, that a girl "should be habituated to live without work and then be handed over" to her husband with nothing but her clothing and bric-à-brac? Yes, it is quite fair treatment. If the husband with his $1,100 a year elects to marry a girl not habituated to work, he does it of his own choice: the father of the girl is probably not at all desirous of his alliance; then why should the father deprive himself of the results of his own labor and economy to undo the folly and vanity of the young man's selection? As for the girl, if she has deliberately preferred her lover to her father, mother, home, and to all the advantages of wealth, she has the desire of her heart. It may be quite fair that she should have this desire, but it may be very unfair that her father, mother, and perhaps her brothers and sisters,

should be robbed to make her desire less self-sacrificing to her. For if the young man with his poverty is acceptable to both the daughter and her parents, the latter may be safely trusted to do all that is right in the circumstances.

The most objectionable part of Mr. Messinger's argument is the servile and mercenary aspect in which it places marriage. "What equality can exist," he asks, "where one [the man] supplies all the means of subsistence and performs all the labor?" That a husband should provide the means of subsistence is the very Magna Charta of honorable marriage; and nine hundred and ninety-nine men out of a thousand so accept it. It is the precise point on which all true husbands feel the most keenly sensitive. They want no other man—no matter what his relationship or friendship—to support their wives. And under no circumstances does the husband perform all the labor resulting from a marriage. That he may be a true man, a father and a citizen, it is necessary that he have a home; and in the care of the home, in the bringing-forth and the bringing-up of the family, in the constant demands upon her love and sympathy, the wife performs a never-ceasing multitude of duties that tax her heart and her body in every direction—a labor of love in comparison with which her husband's daily routine over his "entries" or his "orders" is a trifling drain of vitality. For a wife and mother must keep every faculty and feeling "at attention"; but a clerk over his ledger keeps a dozen faculties on the premises to do the work of one. And in behalf of all true and trusted wives I deny in totality the idea that they go to their husbands with "painful shrinking" for the money necessary to carry on the mutual home, or that there is in any beloved wife's heart the most fleeting thought of "dependence." Mr. Messinger does a great and shameful wrong to the majority of husbands and wives by such an assertion.

Indeed, this gentleman's experience seems to have been an unusually sad one, nine out of ten of his friends having died in early middle age from the undue expenditure of nerve and vital force in their efforts to provide for their families in what they doubtless considered a suitable manner; and he evidently thinks that if their wives had been dowered this result would probably have been averted. It is extremely improbable. The wife's small income would far more likely have led to a still more ex-

travagant way of living; for the genius of the American is to live for to-day and take care for the morrow when the morrow comes.

In many respects it is the genius of the age. Old forms of thought and action are in a state of transition. No one can tell what to-morrow may bring forth. The social conditions which inspired the fathers of the past to save for their posterity are passing away; and I speak from knowledge when I assert that they were often conditions of domestic misery and wrong, and that growing children suffered much under them. Suppose a father has two daughters and three sons: must he curtail the daughters in the education and pleasures of their youth, must he limit the three boys at home and at college, in order to give a sum of money to some unknown young man who will doubtless vow that his daughter's heart and person are more than all the world to him? If she be not more than all the world to him, he has no right to marry her; and if she be, what can be added to a gift so precious?

The tendency of the time is to dishonor marriage in every way; but the deepest wrong, the most degrading element that can be introduced, is to make it dependent upon dowries or any other financial consideration. We must remember also that in England, where dowry has been a custom, it was one not particularly affecting those classes whose daughters are likely to marry clerks upon small salaries. It was the provision made by landed gentry for their daughters, and they exacted in return an equally suitable settlement from the expectant husband. If the father gave a sum of money to the bride, the bridegroom generally gave the dower-house, with the furniture, silver, linen, etc., which would make it a proper home for her widowhood. Many a marriage has been broken off because the bridegroom would not make such settlements as the father considered the dower demanded.

Mr. Messinger acknowledges that the cost of living was never so small as at this day, and that the difficulty in the way of young men marrying is "purely one of insane imitation and competition." But there is no necessity for this insane competition; and why provide an unusual and special remedy for what is purely optional? Nobody compels the young husband to live as if his income was $11,000 instead of $1,100. Of his own free will he sacrifices his life to his vanity, and there is no justice in attempting his relief by dowering his perhaps equally guilty wife out of the results of another man's industry and economy.

Dowry is an antiquated provision for daughters, behind the genius of the age, incompatible with the dignity of American men and the intelligence and freedom of American women. Besides, there are very likely to be two, three, four, or more daughters in a house: how could a man of moderate means save for all of them? And what would become of the sons? The father who gives his children a loving, sensible mother, who provides them with a comfortable home, and who educates fully all their special faculties, and teaches them the cunning in their ten fingers, dowers his daughters far better than if he gave them money. He has funded for them a provision that neither a bad husband nor an evil fate can squander. He has done his full duty, and every good girl will thankfully so accept it.

As for the young men who could imagine themselves spending, out of $1,100, $700 upon dress and amusements, neither the world, nor any sensible woman in it, will be the worse for their celibacy. For if they take a wife, it will doubtless be some would-be stylish, foolish virgin, whose soft hands are of no earthly use except as ring-stands and glove-stretchers. It is such marriages that are failures. It is in such pretentious homes that love and moderate means cannot live happily together. It is in such weak hands that Pandora's box shuts, not on hope, but on despair.

The brave, sensible youth does not fear to face life and all its obligations on $1,100 a year. With love it is enough to begin with. Hope, ambition, industry, good fortune, are his sureties for the future. However well educated he may be, he knows that in his own class he will find lovely women equally well educated. They may be teaching, clerking, sewing, but they are his peers. He has no idea of marrying a young lady accustomed to servants and luxury, and the question of dower never occurs to him. The good girl who supplements his industry by her economy, who cheers him with her sympathy, who shares all his thoughts and feelings, and crowns his life with love and consolation, has all the dowry he wants. And this is an opinion founded on a long life of observation—an opinion that fire cannot burn out of me.

AMELIA E. BARR.

MRS. BEECHER:

WHY should not our daughters have dowries, if the father is able to give them? A dowry might be a very pleasant thing to have, if the love a lady gives her husband when she marries objects

to a separate purse, as well as a separate interest in everything else. If a father can thus provide for his daughter without injustice to the other members of his family, it might be for several reasons desirable. If her husband has ample means, there is no reason why the wife should not retain her dowry independently, *if she wishes.* But then the husband has said, "With all my worldly goods I thee endow," and the wife accepts this endowment. Having done so, does it not seem a little *mean* for her to keep her dowry for her own individual use? They are now *both one.* "What is mine is thine, and what is thine is mine." If that is the truth, and not uttered as a jest, what more natural than for the wife to propose that her dowry be carefully invested—in her own name, if thought advisable—as a kind of "nest-egg," to be used in case misfortune (to which all are liable) should cripple *their* resources? Then this reserved fund might be the means of warding off entire failure, and enable them to regain their former position.

Would not this give a good wife more true happiness than she could obtain by using her dowry independently—perhaps extravagantly—for her own selfish pleasures?

True, the maiden may have given her love before she knew the true character of her lover, and after marriage may find, too late, that he is unworthy. Then her dowry, if retained in her own right, might be the means of saving her from want; but far more to be dreaded than want might also be the temptation to cruelty and abuse from her husband through his efforts to gain possession of it. But so far this refers only to people of wealth. Let us look now in the opposite direction.

A young man is in business, or employed in a position which brings him $1,000 or $1,200 a year. He loves a maiden whose father *cannot* do more for her than furnish a wedding outfit; perhaps even that is beyond his ability. The lover makes an estimate of what will be his probable expenses if he marries. Should he be governed by the estimate which is made by some who are interested in this particular subject, he will find that the lowest terms given—$300 a year for his wife, $300 a year for himself, $400 for apartments, and $100 for outings—run far beyond the expense he would dare incur.

But $300 for each, or $600 a year for both, is far too large a sum to be taken from a limited income, and more than is neces-

sary to insure real happiness. We have known as happy homes as the sun ever shone upon secured by $300 *a year for all expenses*, rent of apartments included, with perhaps a little added by some extra sewing or one or two boarders, if an apartment can be spared. As for $100 a year for *"outings,"* that is absurd.

It is also said that, "where the wife has no dowry, if the husband is ever so considerate, there must be a painful shrinking on the wife's part from asking him for anything, knowing that his means are limited. In truth, the two who before marriage meet as equals, after marriage, in such cases, must cease to be so."

This is shocking; and if true, farewell to all efforts to build up a *home!* Why should the wife shrink from asking her husband for what she needs, if she knows he can afford to supply it, or wish for what she knows he cannot? Are they not *both one?* As well tell us that *one hand* will shrink from asking aid of the other.

But it is asked, "How on the husband's limited income, without the wife's dowry, can they live respectably or comfortably?" *By working together*—he outside, in the business world, to earn the money; she at home, keeping house with strict, but not miserly, economy.

Again it is said that "matrimony assumes forms in our American community which prevent the wife from being the help-meet; she can only be the play-fellow for her husband in his hours of leisure; but an idler in the hours he must give to toil for their support. This through no fault of the wife; she is the victim of circumstances and of Mrs. Grundy."

Fortunately, we have no acquaintance with Mrs. Grundy, and have neither fear nor respect for her. Why should the wife be idle and useless, when she has strength and ability to aid her husband, through any fear of so mythical a personage as Mrs. Grundy? "Oh, she would be tabooed in all good society if she did such work. Mrs. Grundy would make it impossible for her to associate with people of refinement."

No! No! We speak that which we do know; we testify to that which we have seen—and done. No woman with good manners and reasonable intellectual culture, who can from the simplest and cheapest materials dress neatly and becomingly (and that is not hard to do), need fear reproach from any in the very best society, even if known to do all her work without the aid of a

single servant. We do not say the gayest or most fashionable society. That is not the best, and with that class she has nothing to do.

But again we are told that "many men who on a limited salary venture to marry girls without a dowry wear themselves out, break down and die, or become insane, long before they reach middle age, from the stretch of nerve and expenditure of vital force in their efforts to support their families." In reply to the question, Would a dowry with the wife have averted this calamity? the answer given is: "Yes! Had there been such provision behind the early years of such a man's married life, he could have borne his arduous task lightly." If a man slaves to insure a very unsatisfactory position for his family, and through such ambition and overexertion "becomes insane or dies," as this theory prophesies, what then will Mrs. Grundy say? This will reveal at once to her malicious eyes the very facts he was killing himself to hide! It becomes difficult to pity one so weak and foolish.

Oh, tread such pride under your feet! Let every true-hearted woman give to her husband all the help, manual or intellectual, that their circumstances require. If her father gives the dowry, large or small, thank God for it, and save or use it together, when most needed, for the best good of both and the children God may give them. Let every wife do her duty to husband and children, whatever it may be, while her husband does his in providing the means to make a happy home for them all; and with God's blessing on her efforts there can be no danger that she will not command the best of such society as she finds congenial.

We are told that "the marriage-rate is decreasing because there is so large a proportion of men who wish to marry, but cannot, because the intended father-in-law has not the means to give his daughter a dowry." If such a settlement for the bride is the only sure preventive against the husband's failure by overwork, then it may be that the marriage-rate is decreasing. But we believe there are quite as many happy marriages and true homes among those who take a wife without a dowry as among those whose wives have large dowries—if, indeed, there are not more. Wives having none can aid their husbands by keeping house *themselves,—not having it kept for them,*—and they have less cause to fear failure for their husbands, either from overexertion or pecuniary loss.

Of course there must be many who, by sickness, accidents,

heavy losses, or bad investments, or failure of others, may sink into deepest poverty and end by insanity or death, and some may say: "If my wife had brought a dowry, all this would never have happened." Very doubtful. But all this happens quite as often to those whose wives come to them with rich dowries as to those who, with no such endowment to fall back upon, have joined heart and hand to work together with their husbands for the best interests of both, quite fearless and independent of fashion or the censure of Mrs. Grundy.

MRS. HENRY WARD BEECHER.

MRS. LIVERMORE:

THE evil which is the burden of Mr. Messinger's article, and which the author proposes to remedy by giving dowries to daughters at marriage, is by no means general. It cannot be denied that a very large proportion of the marriageable young men of the day are limited to small incomes, and that, as matters go, there is little prospect of their being increased. It must also be admitted that their incomes, in most cases, are still further reduced by habits the reverse of economical. For the majority of the young men of the time have come to regard cigars, ale, beer, or some like beverage, as an indispensable necessary of life.

Add to these the occasional game of billiards, the annual vacation trip, an expensive evening now and then at the opera or theatre, in which most young men indulge nowadays, and it can be readily understood that the thought of marriage appals them. The mental and moral fibre becomes weakened by selfish indulgence, and it is not strange that a dowried wife should suggest itself as the only remedy.

It is also true that in certain city circles there is a large class of young women who are "brought up to live without work" by unwise parents and guardians, whose outfit for life consists in a smattering of accomplishments by which they can never earn a penny, who are ignorant of housekeeping and of the imperative practical affairs of family life, and who are reared in indolent and extravagant habits. Pretty and graceful, well-dressed and pleasing, they find their way into the social swim, work hard at doing nothing for a few years, and then are married. Parents who are guilty of rearing such useless daughters should give them dowries, as a matter of justice, and in reparation of their neglect.

But why should a young man of small means marry so useless a woman? The act is voluntary on his part: he is not compelled to do so. The majority of American young women are of higher grade; they are useful and valuable. The last quarter of a century has wrought a marvellous transformation among the women of our country, and the good work is still progressing. A conviction has taken root in our best communities that a girl is not thoroughly equipped for life whose industrial education has been neglected, let her other accomplishments be what they may.

And in response to this new creed the doors of professions, trades, businesses, industries, and salaried positions have been opened to women on a large scale during the last twenty years. Carroll D. Wright, chief of the National Bureau of the Statistics of Labor, reports the number of professions, trades, and occupations in which women are working at the present time as 342.

A young man of slender income can marry a portionless girl to-day who will bring him a dowry in her educated head and hands, in her knowledge of some vocation or handicraft by which she has supported herself, in a cultivated character and a habitual self-poise which are the outcome of her large education and developed independence. She will become what a wife is designed to be—not a pretty plaything, an automatic, well-dressed doll; but a helpmeet, a comrade, an unfailing friend, a loyal, faithful wife.

She will wear the beauty that comes from self-respect and intelligence, while occupation and interest in life will give her peace, which is a diviner thing than happiness. She may not care very much for Mrs. Grundy or her demands, nor will she be likely to enter into "insane imitation and competition" with those higher than herself in the social scale. She has learned the worth of money, and has resources in herself.

I know one young wife, whose small house is prettily furnished and fastidiously kept by herself, who makes $25 a month by crocheting for a fancy store. Another, whom I employ as a type-writer, and who is an expert in the business, averages $4 a week. I know another whose manufacture of artistic novelties for the holiday trade yields her about $250 a year. I am, while writing, the guest of a young wife who, by decorative art, makes nearly as much money annually as her husband. She employs a servant to do the housework; the others do not. I know many others who fulfil their duties as wives, mothers, and

housekeepers, and yet earn more or less by journalistic or literary work, by teaching, copying, as stenographers, workers in hair, book-keepers, designers, painters, and in other occupations. One young wife earns money by the home manufacture and sale of cosmetics that are free from deleterious or poisonous ingredients. All our young women at the present time are not "brought up to live without work," nor do they become in marriage, "mere lookers-on and idlers."

If it were possible, it would undoubtedly be a great help to the young married couple if the father could always bestow a dowry on the bride. Throughout New England, whenever the parents can afford it, they give the daughter at marriage a furnished house, which is a dowry in itself, as it saves to the husband the paying of rent. It deprives the wife of money of her own unless the husband compensates her in his allowance. In the cases quoted in the leading article in this series there is no possibility of dowries for marriageable daughters.

The parents live steadily up to the full amount of their income in the senseless struggle to compete with "the higher classes." And to save money enough to portion one or two daughters at marriage, who are reared in elegant idleness and extravagance, deplorable ignorance and inefficiency, is simply an impossibility. It cannot be done. The daughters must be trained to self-support, to stand on their own feet, that the parents may be relieved of their terribly dead weight. They must receive a moral culture that will lead them "to have consideration for the purse of the over-taxed father," and to diminish his burdens by taking some of them to their own young, vigorous shoulders.

To inaugurate an economical fashion is well; only let it be one of prevention, not of cure. To rear a girl in absolute dependence, good for nothing, selfish in her aims, and exacting in her demands, is a sin against the daughter, and against society. To begin at her birth to economize and retrench in every department for the accumulation of money, that this monstrous perversion of her life may be accomplished and maintained, is grotesque and heathenish. Girls thus trained will fail of attaining a high order of womanhood. Their aims will be petty, their ideals low, and nothing very excellent can be expected of them in wifehood or motherhood.

Let the reform already inaugurated be made fashionable and be carried on. Let us begin a system of economy that will prevent

the evil which our author only proposes to cure, and by an utterly inadequate remedy. While we carefully guard whatever is womanly in our daughters, let them be trained to more of fibre and firmness. Educate them to self-denial, if pecuniary circumstances demand it, and not to self-indulgence. Accustom them to be of service in the household, to regard economy as praiseworthy and even heroic, and to add to all their other accomplishments a practical knowledge of work and the possession of some lucrative vocation or industry by which they can support themselves. Such girls, when portionless, will carry to their husbands dowries in themselves.

Then let the household of the young married pair be firmly ordered by themselves within the limit of their means. Do not demand that parents past middle life, themselves heavily taxed in almost all cases, shall retrench and economize that the young couple may keep step with the extravagant pace of their so-called superiors in society. Both must rigidly cut off superfluities, when they cannot be afforded,—cigars, the glass of ale, the opera, hothouse flowers, expensive dress, an extravagant style of entertaining—anything that taxes too heavily the family purse. Work for the accomplishment of a fashion that shall authoritatively utter the mandate, "It is not in good form for young people to live beyond their means." It can be as readily accomplished as the one proposed, which would shoulder the extravagance of the husband and wife on the toiling, slaving father.

Thousands and thousands of American families are to-day living on this high plane, and reaping the peace and freedom which are the fruits of wise living. They are not "in the swim" of fashionable society, nor do they aspire to it. They do not ape the methods and manners of the shoddy people who flaunt their sudden wealth in vulgar display "before all Israel and under the sun." But they have a firm hold on true enjoyment, and, by their self-mastery, their voluntary renunciations, and their habitual discipline of themselves, are slowly building a noble character—which is one of the true ends of life.

MARY A. LIVERMORE.

MRS. ROLLINS:

ASSUMING a dowry waiting to be given, and that the question concerns merely the propriety of giving it, by all means let it be

given; assuming, too, that the meaning of "dowry" is literally an endowment—something given, irrespective of the time of giving. At twenty, whether married or unmarried, let a sum be settled upon Dorothy, into possession of which she shall enter at once, that, paying her own expenses, practising her own pet economies and favorite extravagances, she may learn the care of property, the value of money, the cost of living, the satisfaction of independence.

Unhappily, the question, like the daughter, is a very dependent one. It really is, "Shall our daughters have dowries at the expense of everything, or anything, else?"

Here there are lines to be drawn. If to save money for Dorothy's future means limiting her advantages at present, let the dowry go. This, not for the trite excuse that money can never take the place of education, culture, travel, or society; but because opportunity neglected in the critical years of her youth can never be supplied later with equal success. If you have $2,000 for Dorothy, put $1,000 in the bank and limit her expenditure in Europe to the other thousand; but if you have only $1,000, send her to Europe. It is giving her expensive tastes? Better that than leave her with no tastes at all.

Mr. Messinger ignores the dependent phrase, and claims that at all hazards Dorothy must have a dowry. Practically, he also ignores the daughters, and, limiting "dowry" to its derived significance of a marriage portion, the question he answers is, rather, "Shall our brides have dowries?" He is sure that they should. The average income of young men, he tells us, is too small to support a wife without constant tendency to insanity and suicide from fear of not being able to pay her expenses much longer. The wife's possession of "a few hundreds," it is claimed, would relieve this pressure. It is here that Mr. Messinger ignores the daughter. The same custom that might insist on your receiving a dowry from your wife would insist on your providing a dowry for your daughter. Why is it difficult to save for a wife, but delightful to save for a daughter?—remembering, too, that a daughter would have expenses as well as dowry, while a wife without dowry has only expenses; remembering also that you can receive only one dowry with one wife, while you may have to provide dowries for several daughters.

But, it is said, the happiness, if not the income, of the

household will be increased. The father occupied in saving dowries will be secure from the suicide of him who is occupied in paying expenses. Why should it be a terrible tax to earn for your own household, and merely an inspiring delight to earn for another man's household, especially when that other man will not necessarily be one of your own choosing for either capacity or virtue, but merely any other gentleman to whom your daughter may decide she would like to have it handed over?

But the wife will be so happy with "a few hundreds" of her own! Is this certain? The wife with a few hundreds may begin to dream what she could do with a few more hundreds. Mr. Messinger is sure she would seldom be fretful or sad if she could have the sense of her own independence; but it is the woman, not the circumstances, that determines the amount of sadness in the household. She who would fret without money would fret with it; and you are putting into the hands of a fretful woman with a dowry that most terrible of weapons, the possible taunt, "Why should you complain? Am I any burden to you? Do I not pay all my own expenses?" "We must begin to save for Dorothy's dowry," would be one of the first things said after the advent of the new daughter, Mr. Messinger rightly remarks; adding that with this observation "the reign of ease and cheerfulness in that house would begin." This is one of those glittering generalities which can only be described as a statement; it is certainly not a fact; it is by no means an axiom; it is incapable of proof. The mother, undoubtedly willing to give up a new house that Dorothy may go to Europe, or a new bonnet that Dorothy may have one, might reasonably sigh over giving up things in order that the money may be put coldly in the bank for the sake of Dorothy's being sure, some twenty years hence, of having any bonnet at all. Add to this that the mother will have to see her other children constantly sacrificed to Dorothy's dowry, John losing his course in college or Philip his membership at the athletic club, and the peace of that household seems still problematical.

For we doubt the ability of John and Philip under these circumstances to rejoice as Mr. Messinger thinks they would, merely "in the increased cheerfulness of their parents." Neither would Dorothy herself be any happier. The young girl perfectly happy now with no dowry at all, because no young lady has a dowry, will be constantly mortified by having only a small dowry; like

the lady who did not wish for a carriage unless she could have a handsome one, because she was not too proud to walk, but was too proud to be seen in a shabby *coupé*. "Dependence upon a husband is a very different thing from dependence upon a father," Mr. Messinger claims: if it is, the balance is in favor of that upon a husband. No human being more truly earns the money she receives than does a wife. The lovelier the daughter the more gratefully will her father remember that even she is one of the beautiful things his wife has given him.

But it is such a comfort to have "solid savings" in the bank! Why, if you cannot touch them in any emergency whatever?—and the only security of a marriage dowry is that no one shall be able to touch it but Dorothy herself, and not Dorothy herself till she is married. That money in the bank, Dorothy, is to save your future husband from insanity, not your mother from overwork.

Mr. Messinger thinks $100 in the bank better than $100 put into life insurance. Life insurance is, he says, a sign of disease and anxiety in the community. But so is a physician. Would you refuse to employ a physician because his presence in the house would be a sign of disease? Life insurance is the physician, not the disease itself. If it is a good thing for a father with $5,000 to hand it over to the Farmers' Loan and Trust Company that his married daughter may have an income from it of $300 a year, it is surely a good thing for the father with only $300 to pay that yearly for life insurance, in order that his daughter, married or unmarried, may eventually receive the $5,000.

Nevertheless, we too approve of Dorothy's having a dowry; only let her receive it as a woman, not as a bride, and let it not be given at the sacrifice of her brother's advantages or of other better things for herself. This, not because the other better things are such as could never be taken away from her, but because they are such as, forfeited in youth, could never again be given to her.

ALICE WELLINGTON ROLLINS.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

I.

FALSE INFERENCES.

"THE mill will not grind with the waters that have run past" is a homely but very apt statement of a fact that finds many an application in our life and thought. That what has been must be is a line of inference that is painfully common among men who are well aware that the new conditions under which new facts are observed must determine the inferences from them. Of course, when ignorance is to blame for false inferences, a clear statement of the conditions and the facts usually sets matters to rights; but when obtuseness, malice, or self-interest is involved, then correction is not easy, and much harm may be done. Neither is the case very different when the support of some pet theory is aided by the assumption that the results of ignorance in the past are law for the future.

Assumptions of this kind, singularly well attired as facts, are often paraded by skilful writers, and one may easily accept them as such, unless on guard against them. For instance, the saying that "competition is the life of trade" is dinned into our ears from boyhood. We become actuated by the idea that competition is the sole energizer of all progress. Indeed, the phrase "aggressive competition" is now often used. Successful competition implies, indeed, the greater or less lack of success, or failure, of the other contestant. I have no wish to encourage socialism, which is not based on facts, or to prevent the proper recognition of any one's gifts, character, and industry. But surely there must be some other way to let one's own candle shine than by trampling those of others under foot.

Christ taught with great earnestness that men should help each other, and all modern knowledge supports him in his teaching. The happiness, morality, and thrift of a community do not depend on or result from the success of a few, no matter how great that success may be, but from the success of all its members. A community cannot reach a true state of happiness until all its members are happy. No success, commercial, intellectual, or physical, can ever take the place of true happiness, and no man has true happiness who is not at peace with his fellow-men. This fact may be classed either under science or religion; it fits one as well as the other, and one need not be at a loss for any number of facts to support it under either head. It is one of the instances where the experience of the past is strengthened, instead of weakened, by the knowledge of the present.

No man can disconnect himself from his fellow-men without soon injuring both his own and his children's interests. Strong competition soon arrays him against his own flesh and blood. Proper combination and coöperation enable all to move forward together; and the interest of each is the interest of all. The human race is a family, and the world is its home. To live and to let live, to get the good out of life that there may be in it, to develop and enjoy the great possibilities of this life as a preparation for the happier life in the future, will in time become the objects of a community, instead of the bare support of life, which is now the goal of most men.

What has been done in the past is less important than the lesson that the past teaches when illumined with the light of the present. And still more important is what the knowledge of the present indicates to be best in the future.

Another favorite theme with men is the subserviency of women. It is not well to go too far back in the past for references in this matter, for in that case a time will be found when women were mere slaves, and, as they have been continually getting more independent, it might be inferred that in time they would become entirely so. Writers who maintain that full independence should not be allowed to women are, therefore, careful not to strike in too far back. Many women, finding that they are not always sure of being supported by men, and having as little fondness as men for poverty, misery, starvation, death, or enforced criminality, have in late years taken to supporting themselves. To the objection that they should make themselves competent to manage homes, they answer that desirable homes are not always offered to them to manage. If it is urged that they should marry, they retort that many of the men are not worth marrying, and that the right men will not be rejected. If it is said that women cannot fight, they return that they can at least pay taxes or hire men to fight, or that modern science is making war an impossibility in the near future. If it is suggested that independence makes a woman unwomanly and incapable of loving, they answer, "How do you know that?" If it is added that they also become unlovable, they point to a train of followers. If it is said that they should educate themselves to be mothers, they retort that they are as well fitted to be mothers as the men are to be fathers. After an extended and acrimonious discussion of this subject the male writers usually drop it; and it may be observed that for some time afterwards they exhibit great bitterness in their treatment of other subjects. On the other side, the female writers continue to elaborate many hundreds of pages in elucidation of their position. The fact is that this sauce for the goose also imparts a singular piquant flavor to the gander. Literary epicures are fond of the latter bird served with this sauce, and consider it a delicacy equal to the famous Roman dish of nightingales' tongues.

Some of the evolutionists reiterate in a most cold-blooded way that a certain number of unfortunates must be extinguished that the fittest may survive; by which is presumably meant that those best adapted to the then existing conditions may survive. They state further that, as this has always been the case in the past, it must always be the case in the future. This is the same as stating that the conditions will not change in the future. At this one naturally asks, "How do you know they will not?" Whereupon the anthropological evolutionist adroitly changes his base, and talks about survivals of tails, toes, and teeth until the seeker after truth begins to marvel greatly at his own ignorance of these things, and holds his peace, not daring to ask what seems to him a fair question—"Why must these unfortunates be produced at all, if the laws of evolution and heredity are so well and so fully understood? Why can we not apply the principles of evolution, if they are so important, and so gain the benefit of them, as we do in the case of other branches of science?"

Many other interesting instances of the peculiar inability of the average human mind to apply to the development in the future the development experienced and fully recognized in the past might be adduced. Thus, the criticisms of Wagner's music are much the same in effect as those that were made of Beethoven, and the criticisms of Beethoven but repeated the attacks that were made upon Gluck. Indeed, Plato denounced the degenerate character of the music that was "modern" in his day. The telegraph was ridiculed, the telephone was deemed visionary, and now the same stricture is made upon the phonograph. The possible dangers predicted from the use of illuminating gas are revamped and adapted by the gas-men to oppose the progress of electric lighting.

The arguments advanced against Bellamy's nationalism, when analyzed, are mostly assumptions that the state of affairs predicted by him cannot come to pass because some of the experience of the past does not indicate such a tendency, or they are attempts to prove that it ought not to come to pass. Yet no valid arguments seem to be presented to show that, in view of our past ignorance and present

and continually increasing scientific knowledge, the tendency of development will not be along the lines he indicates. The latter argument is the important one.

The gist of the matter is that for the first time in the history of the human race physical science has become the leading factor in its development. The reasons of observed phenomena and the connections between events are becoming more and more apparent, and men are naturally able to avoid many of the disasters of the past. Consequent upon the development of physical science follows the development of natural science, particularly of late in the field of biology, and as a result the successful treatment and prevention of diseases have made enormous strides. So it is around the whole circle of knowledge. It is not safe, and, indeed, it never has been, to attempt to state what cannot be done in the future, unless the conditions are thoroughly understood. It is futile to assert that the experience of the past must be law in the future, unless it can be shown also that the conditions or the environment has not changed. So far as one has facts to present, let them be received with respect and grateful appreciation; but when inferences are put forward, let them be recognized as such, and not as facts, and let them be subjected to the most searching investigation; for the conditions determine the correctness of the inference, and any alteration in them frequently invalidates entirely the inference: in the words of the good old saw, which is a philosophical truth, "circumstances alter cases."

PETER TOWNSEND AUSTEN.

II.

THE AMERICAN STUDENT.

EVERY sphere to-day tingles with fresh life. It is change, development, transformation, new birth. There is no present tense in America, so rapid are the currents of the time; it is only past and future. The American has no still-power. A mighty thrilling force permeates land and people, urging on to ever newer forms of action. Ours is the atmosphere of the counting-house, the mill, the machine-shop, the forge, the laboratory.

Beautiful is this activity, so varied, so continuous, so extensive, investing material forces with almost spiritual charm. There is nothing inert, sluggish, stagnant, dead. We are, perhaps, too near to realize its immensity or appreciate aright the vast, immeasurable expenditure of power with the magnificent attainment. Life, society, the arts, the sciences, the humanities, seem to be approaching their final stage, as the era of the tinder-box recedes and that of the electric motor is upon us. The shores of the New Atlantis are less distant with each advancing wave of knowledge. Is the finite over, and has the infinite begun?

People, and nations too, often have the defect of their virtues, and there are grave dangers even in this Augustan age of American progress. Activity carried too far is a disease. It is perpetual emotion which fills the hospital and the asylum. American stir, bustle, change, development, achievement, should arouse our pride, it is true, but our national safety dares not rest on Yankee notions alone. There must be pauses, there must be leisure, there must be gentler influences and a more restful atmosphere; in one word, there must be higher ideals than the money-standard, mortgages, exchange, and cheap clothing.

It is half a century and more since Emerson, in a memorable address, which is still charged with all of its olden inspiration, exhorted the American scholar to be true to himself, to stand upon his own feet and see with his own eyes, thus creating an American culture of which the universe need not be ashamed. Those ringing words have had their influence: the sting and the spur were timely. The prophet had come, but the nation was not ready to hear and obey—a common occurrence in the history of mankind. Emerson emphasized eloquently enough the scholar's function and the scholar's relation to the Republic. That to-day American scholarship is not broader and richer is largely because the American student fails to recognize his position and his opportunity. Does he ever soberly reflect upon the student's duty and purpose in every national crisis? Shall he be trader like the rest, or guardian of the ideal? Shall he be moulded by his surroundings or shall he mould them? Hammer or anvil—which shall it be?

In other lands the student is a national factor. He is the fourth estate—nay often the first estate. Those bands of eager young men, poorly-clad and half famished it may be, know how to strike the key-note of rebellion that will spread from city to city. It is student enthusiasm which can fan the flame of revolution. Discontent in their universities must be reckoned with by European potentates and impotentates. It was the student torch that burnt the fiercest in 1848. The students of Spain, Germany, France, Austria, Hungary, are more than mere schoolboys with parrot recitations and trite graduation exercises. They are part of the nation—a student soldiery, in fact. To-day in Russia the student power is feared by the government, or repressive legislation would not be enacted against the universities. But frantic absolutism can proscribe, exclude, persecute; the students will not be restrained even by threats of Siberia and the knout. They demand freedom; social and religious equality. They will stand upon their own feet—even if some, in their rampant agnosticism, prefer to stand upon their heads.

Here in sunny America the student has no need to be a revolutionist, but he must revolutionize himself and his methods. He must realize the student's opportunity and vindicate the American character at its ripest and best. We have hundreds of colleges in our land, large and small, old and new; colleges of solid stone and colleges of bric-à-brac foundations. But this seems to be the aim and end in view—to graduate students and confer degrees; not to vitalize the national life. In England the universities are represented in the public service and in Parliament. In America, unhappily, the bar-room, not the academy, has the strongest "pull" at elections.

The student's voice must be an effective factor in the work of American redemption. But to become effective the colleges themselves must coöperate and instil into their students other elements. The knowledge of the alphabet is one thing—the alphabet of knowledge quite another. More chairs are needed than those existing; and men, not money, are wanted to supply them. The classics, ancient and modern, philosophy, history, the science of numbers, and numbers of sciences are the usual subjects taught. How shall these be supplemented?

First, there should be a chair of enthusiasm. Without enthusiasm, all knowledge is poor dross indeed. It is the electric current which sets the student in sympathy with his work and makes him love labor until labor becomes love. Enthusiasm for learning for its own sake, for truth for truth's sake, for humanity for humanity's sake, transforms the student from the mere plodder and pedant to the master and teacher. Otherwise he may exclaim with Goethe:

> "He has the fragments in his hand,
> But missing is the spiritual band."

Mighty is the power of enthusiasm; resistless its forward sweep. It shall glorify instruction, redeem it from pedantry, and summon our thoughtful youth to noble effort and lofty ambitions. To the enthusiasm of one man, Gemistus Pletho, after the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, Europe is indebted for the Renaissance, for the revival of learning in the middle ages. Enthusiasm is at the basis of every movement for human progress. It weaves a crown of glory around prophet and teacher; it enters in triumph the martyr's cell; it nerves the missionary in distant lands; it encourages the worker in every sphere. You can measure men and women by their enthusiasm. The greater and nobler they are the steadier burns the flame. Whatever their right hands find to do they do it with all their might, and forget toil, anxiety, self, in the quest after their Golden Grail. Blessed are the enthusiasms that preserve humanity from stagnation.

Next to a chair of enthusiasm, let the colleges provide a chair of reverence. It was a thought worthy of Goethe's genius to have special instruction in reverence in the ideal school of ethics which is described in "Wilhelm Meister." Critics often state that we Americans are deficient in reverence, and go so far as to hint at a certain national defect. We might possess more of that trait—the invisible dew which sweetens and sanctifies the intellect. "Let knowledge grow from more to more," sings the poet, "but more of reverence in us dwell." Reverence for what? For musty tomes, for dust-covered folios, for antiquated formulæ, for the strut and

circumstance of pedantry? Nay, reverence for the humanity which learning transmits to us and makes intelligible in its wider scope. The student should be taught to read reverently the message of the past, whether traced on stone from Greece, written on parchment from Judea, or burnt into brick from Assyria. All history is sacred; there is no abrupt transition from the sacred to the profane. All learning is holy which broadens our vision and teaches the nearer duty. The past is but the story of men and women like ourselves, with their virtues and failings, their sorrows and triumphs. The present is but the same drama, in which we are the actors. Dress, dialect, dwelling, may have been different, but soul and heart were the same. They loved, hated, suffered, conquered—is it not our history, too, although we pride ourselves on sleeker bearing and more outward polish?

Let the student revere humanity in all its movements and phases, and be grateful for the vista of the past and prospect of the future. Whether history, philosophy, the languages, or natural science spur him on, let him be reverent in his task; with the scrupulousness of the Arab who will not permit a torn page of the Koran on the floor of his dwelling lest, perchance, Allah's name be profaned, but consigns all fragments to the flames. Moreover, there is not a human study, however fragmentary, which bears not a higher imprint and teaches not the diviner lesson. The true student has always been reverent. "Teach thy tongue to say, 'I do not know,'" exclaimed a rabbinical sage; and that has been the motto of the best and wisest. Knowledge has its limitations which must be recognized. Nature must have its veil before which the student must reverently stand and admit his helplessness. There lived once a famous philosopher who resolved to pierce the mystery of a rose's perfume. He took in hand a royal flower, all aglow with color and sweetness. Leaf by leaf, petal by petal, he plucked it apart; and found at last that he had the fragments, not the fragrance, the ashes, not the essence, of the rose.

The American student, then, must possess more than mere push and pluck—qualities which exist in the atmosphere and need no special cultivation. With the three-leaved clover as their badge, knowledge, reverence, and enthusiasm, our bands of students will form the true Prætorian Guard of the commonwealth. And if in the old-time legend one Roman's heroism saved the Eternal City, what might not the American students accomplish for our country if the ten thousand at our colleges be true to themselves and that higher culture which dignifies, beautifies, immortalizes? In an era of political greed and corruption, be it theirs resolutely to point to loftier aims and arouse the public to loyalty to fundamental American principles—the gentle life, the reverent mood, the modest bearing, those quieter and sturdier qualities which give character and permanency to a nation.

Culture crystallized into patriotism—can there be a nobler aim for the student? Harvard's memorial to her heroic sons who fell in defence of the Union is full of suggestiveness. "They *died* for her," wrote Lowell in his thrilling "Commemoration Ode." What epitaph could be nobler? In olden days men made learning the objective point; to-day the true student will never despise learning, but will regard all culture as useless which fails to inspire him with reverence and enthusiasm, and spur him to battle for his country's sake and the dearest interests of humanity.

ABRAM S. ISAACS.

III.

LUCK IN LITERATURE.

IT IS curious to note in the history of literature how many authors have owed their fame to a single thought, the chance inspiration of an hour. As there have been painters, not generally much above mediocrity, who have scaled the heights of excellence in a single picture, so there have been poets, ordinarily only second- or third-rate, whom a solitary ode or sonnet has lifted to the level of the masters of song. In some happy hour, some mental crisis, they have soared on the wings of fancy to a high heaven of invention; but when, flushed with confidence by their success, they have plumed themselves for another not less daring flight, and essayed to "dally with the sun and sport with the breeze," they have "fallen flat, and shamed their worshippers." There is hardly any cultivated man that has not at times brief

visitations of fancy and feeling, when his mind is illumined by "thoughts that transcend his wonted themes, and into glory peep"; and if he has a talent for versifying, it is not strange if, after a thousand failures, he chance to make one lucky hit, and embody his casual inspiration in "thoughts that breathe and words that burn." He must be a wretched marksman who in a lifetime of trials has never once put a ball in "the bull's-eye."

Pomfret was a poet of this "single-speech-Hamilton" class. Though endowed with one of the most prosaic of minds, he yet chanced one day to blunder upon a lucky theme, and to treat it in a true poetic style. Dr. Johnson and Southey both declared that his poem entitled "The Choice" was the most popular one in the language; but, though it won boundless praise in the author's lifetime, who ever thought of wasting time on his other effusions? The life of his intellect seemed to run itself out in one effort. All the pure juice of the vine flowed into a single glass. The same was true of Lady Anne Barnard, who wrote the inimitable ballad, "Auld Robin Gray," but committed poetical suicide by a continuation; and, again, of an English nobleman, Lord Thurlow (not the great lawyer), who wrote early in this century a volume of verse, mainly doggerel, which was published with the title of "The Doge's Daughter," and ridiculed by *The Edinburgh Review*. Amidst the wilderness of nonsense there was a sonnet—addressed to a water-bird haunting a lake or stream in the winter—which was so beautiful as, in the opinion of an acute critic, to merit a place in every anthology of English sonnets.

Sir Egerton Brydges was another poet of this class. Had he written only his exquisite sonnet, "Echo and Silence," which Wordsworth and Southey so warmly praised, he might have been admired and envied, and all the world would have lamented that his muse was so chary of her favors. But his subsequent efforts dispelled the charm he had raised, and showed that he was indebted to fortune, not to a real poetic genius, for his success. Though he devoted all his life to the most patient courtship of the muse who had flirted with him for an hour, she never gave him another smile. Akin to this was the case of Wolfe, who produced an ode that provoked universal admiration, and was pronounced by Byron one of the finest in the language. Had the author of "The Burial of Sir John Moore" published only those memorable lines, which have been declaimed in schools and academies and parodied oftener than, possibly, any other English verse, who would have suspected his poverty of imagination? As it was, his succeeding failures betrayed the secret, and showed that his inspiration was fortuitous, and not the result of natural temperament—a flash of fancy only, not the steady blaze of genius. The first shot struck the very centre of the ring; the others could not be found.

Similar remarks might, perhaps, be made of Collins, not the author of the ode on "The Passions," but of "To-morrow," that "truly noble poem, . . . the climax of simple sublimity," as Mr. Francis Turner Palgrave, who places it in his "Golden Treasury of Songs and Lyrics," justly characterizes it. No one knows whether the author attempted to write any other songs, but if he did, they have passed, like his Christian name and all knowledge of his birthplace, into oblivion. Of Sir William Jones as a poet, what do we know beyond the lines beginning, "What constitutes a state?" or of Herbert Knowles, what more than that he is the author of the sombre lines written in the churchyard of Richmond, Yorkshire, beginning, "Methinks it is good to be here"? Joseph Blanco White was not a poet; yet, though English was to him an acquired tongue, he wrote a sonnet on "Night" which Coleridge does not hesitate to pronounce the grandest and most finely-conceived sonnet in our language—or, at least, as he afterwards adds, only rivalled in Milton and Wordsworth. To these transatlantic poets may be added our own American poet, Woodworth, who had but one moment of inspiration, when the idea of "The Old Oaken Bucket" flashed upon his mind; and Key, to whom the muse once lent her fire, when he electrified his countrymen with "The Star-Spangled Banner," but was ever afterward grudging of her fine frenzy. Some forty years ago a young law student in Maine contributed to a newspaper which I was publishing a beautiful poem entitled "The Life-Clock," which was republished for some years in many different journals, sometimes with the name of H. W. Longfellow, sometimes with "From the German,"

attached to it; but, though he wrote considerable other verse, there was hardly a spark of inspiration in it all.

We have in this country scores of would-be poets who have each produced one or two creditable pieces which are to their other productions like *Falstaff's* "half-penny worth of bread to this intolerable deal of sack." What can be more cruel than for the friends of these rhymers to goad them on to further effort, after it has become evident that

"Calliope jamais daigne leur parler,
Et Pégase pour eux refuse de voler"?

Because, in a lucky moment, one has dashed off a few verses whose words are steeped in Castalian dews and "colored like the golden exhalations of the dawn," does it follow that he has "the vision and faculty divine" of the inspired bard? Who knows that he has the strength of wing for a series of successful flights - that he has not exhausted himself by his happy efforts? Carlyle says that booksellers would get more for their money if they got less—that is, if they paid for quality instead of for quantity. In like manner, it is better for a poet's fame to have produced a few good verses than a thousand mediocre ones; better one brief poem, shorn of all excrescences and condensed into power, than a myriad of diffuse ones, which are only "tolerable," and therefore "not to be endured."

WILLIAM MATHEWS.

IV.

JOURNALISM IN JAIL.

IT WAS late on Thanksgiving eve in 1883 that the first copy of *The Summary* was struck from the press of the New York State Reformatory at Elmira. Previous to the publication of *The Summary* there had been unsatisfactory attempts in many places to establish a prison newspaper—a newspaper which should be edited and published exclusively by prisoners, which should echo the spirit of its convict founders, and pursue a course to be dictated, not by official pleasure or policy, but by the good sense and judgment of its editor. For many reasons these efforts had either never "grasped the skirt of circumstance" or had died a natural death from inanition. When Mr. Z. R. Brockway, the general superintendent of the reformatory, made known his wish that a newspaper be started in the prison, there was only one man in the place who was deemed capable of undertaking the task. He was a young burglar, who had graduated from Oxford University in England, and had had a little literary and journalistic experience in New York.

The printing office of the reformatory contained a few fonts of the more common type, and the only printing-press in the institution was a little foot machine, on which about 200 or 300 copies of one 8 × 14-inch page could be run off in an hour. This machine had done service for several years in the reformatory for rough job work, and when the editor of *The Summary* looked it over for the first time his heart failed him, for the press was pretty well battered, and it had a creaking, disjointed movement that augured ill for the success of the enterprise. The prison engineer, however, patched it up as well as he could. There were two or three typesetters in the institution who had had a very limited experience in small job offices. It was understood that the projected newspaper should cost the State only a merely nominal sum, and all of the material and work was to be found in the office.

After a period of preparation extending over two or three weeks, the first complete copy of *The Summary* was put in form, and the work of running off began. The project was kept a close secret, so that the distribution of the first edition of *The Summary* caused a genuine sensation. The general plan of the paper was rather ambitious: it embraced a *résumé* of select foreign and domestic news, selections from choice contemporary literature, a page of editorial opinions on home matters, and a page or more of such prison news as was not of a distinctly criminal or vicious character. About 500 copies comprised the first edition, and nearly all of these were distributed among the prisoners.

A few copies, however, managed to get into the hands of outsiders, and the result was more or less notoriety for *The Summary* and its editor. The country press in the vicinity of Elmira "boomed" the undertaking, and urgent requests for infor-

mation concerning the price of subscription, etc., poured in upon the editor. Thus, although it had been intended to confine the circulation of *The Summary* to the prisoners of the reformatory, the paper began to go out among people whose curiosity or sympathy had been aroused, and many editors who had heard of the innovation generously offered exchange courtesies.

The editor of *The Summary* at this time was also secretary of the prison schools; he enjoyed very few more privileges than were granted to any other prisoner; hence most of his work was done late at night in his cell. The printers, too, were busy all day at their regular tasks, and could find time only at uncertain intervals to work on the paper. Moreover, the little rickety press had a habit of going to pieces on critical occasions. At such times, when the damage was too great for the editorial hand to repair, the kind offices of the daily newspapers of Elmira were sought. *The Summary* never missed an issue, but went on in steady progress till its size was increased and it was published at more frequent intervals. It is now an eight-page weekly paper. It devotes an entire page to extracts on topics of the time, another to notes of sociological importance, another to "Contemporary History," another to "Salmagundi"; there is also a page giving a *résumé* of the week's news; and the editor reserves a page for the expression of his own opinions. The home news occupies two pages.

It is noteworthy that very little assistance has been rendered by the prisoners in the way of contributions to *The Summary*. A "Contributors' Page" was established in the early days, and maintained for two or three years; but the editor was obliged to write nearly all the "contributed articles." The scarcity of suitable editors among the prisoners has always been discouraging. I retained the editorial management of the paper for three or four years, and subsequently two prisoners successively had editorial control. A position in Elmira was offered me not long after I left the reformatory to go to New York, and again, by special request, I took charge of *The Summary* on a salary, and held it for some time. Mr. Brockway prefers not to exercise any dictatorial function in the management, and, while he writes an occasional article, he has never been editor of the paper.

The name of *The Summary* was adopted with a distinct purpose. It was originally intended that the paper should be a summary of the best news of the day; and so far as the treatment of outside matters is concerned *The Summary* more than vindicates its pretensions. Many prominent journalists and authors have kindly expressed their appreciation of what they were pleased to call the "admirable condensation" of *The Summary* and the "dignified and polished tone" of its editorial utterances. It has been necessary, however, to depart to some extent from the original plan so far as the treatment of home matters is concerned. By far the larger part of prison life is routine, and the sensational incidents that occur are of necessity carefully suppressed, so that one of the most serious problems that has always confronted the editor is the difficulty of securing eligible home news. Many a time I have left my desk and stolen out into the prison yard to obtain, if possible, some little item that might interest my readers. I have been almost glad when a prisoner has been injured by machinery or an accident to a belt or a pulley has occurred in one of the shops. A large fire once in the prison factories was a god-send.

It was not always pleasant work, however. There were the inexorable two columns to fill with home news, and "padding" was out of the question. My system was to have two or three men in each department of the institution keep an eye out for news. Prisoners are not permitted to talk to other prisoners, and this added to the difficulty. Whenever the Board of Managers met, I was always sure of a "three-stick story" at least. The physician also supplied me with an occasional interesting item, and I worked the mine of the schools to the last vein. It was necessary, however, to guard carefully against any appearance of triviality or frivolity in the news columns. At one time I secured the favor of the superintendents of various departments, and from them obtained many interesting "stories."

One man did all the work. He prepared and edited the news and the newspaper and magazine selections, wrote the editorials, read proof, and "made up" the forms. After a while the office was enlarged, a Hoe steam press was purchased,

and the typographical facilities were improved. We had three New York daily newspapers and a considerable number of weekly exchanges, and we borrowed the magazines. We thought at one time during the blizzard in the spring of 1888 that we should have to miss an issue, but we secured communication with the outside world in time.

The editorial writing gave us a little trouble. For a long period we indulged in moral homilies, but the necessities of weekly journalism and the obligations which an extended constituency imposed were recognized and met, and we came after a time to discuss secular matters with freedom and candor. We frequently had occasion to criticise public men, and we tried hard not to discriminate between Trojan and Tyrian. Once I wrote a severe criticism of something the Rev. R. Heber Newton had said, and he promptly sent to me a handsome letter of thanks. There was always a well-defined spirit of friendly rivalry between *The Summary* and the prison papers that followed us, and this formed the subject of many an editorial leader. We usually took care, however, to discuss questions of general interest, and the only time we transgressed the bounds of courtesy was in a controversy with the editor of the *Ohio School Journal*, a paper published at the Ohio Reform School. Then we became almost vituperative, but the discussion ended amicably.

Among its home readers *The Summary* has become a moral and intellectual censor of more or less power. It shapes the public sentiment of the institution on important questions, since it receives the exclusive news and makes its interpretation with a certain *ex-cathedra* definiteness. It has helped to raise the moral and intellectual standard of the place, and Mr. Brockway values it highly as an educational agent. It serves to maintain among the prisoners that sympathetic interest in outside matters which a convict nearly always loses, and which is one of the most horrible results of imprisonment; and it forms, also, an important tie between the felon in the cell and the spirit of righteousness that moves in free human society.

After the fame of *The Summary* spread abroad, several newspapers were started in prisons, and at present there are a number of such journals.

X. X. X.

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